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THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

James Sprunt Historical Monograph

No. 3.



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Letters of Nathaniel Macon, John Steele and William
Barry Grove, with Sketches and Notes
by Kemp P. Battle, LL.D.

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INTRODUCTORY.

The James Sprunt Monograph No. 3 consists of letters, not heretofore published, from Nathaniel Macon, John Steele and William Barry Grove, written at various times from 1792 to 1824, with copious notes explanatory of the allusions therein. The originals are among the papers of General Steele, which were transferred to the University of North Carolina in accordance with the will of the widow of David L. Swain, once Governor and President of the University. The letters of General Steele are copies retained by him and in his handwriting. I prefix short sketches of each of the writers, and of James Hogg, to whom some of the letters of Mr. Grove were addressed. There will be found also a letter of Colonel Joseph McDowell, of Quaker Meadows, in reply to one from General Steele.

KEMP P. BATTLE.

NATHANIEL MACON.

Nathaniel Macon, of Huguenot descent, was born in Warren county, North Carolina, in December, 1757. His father, Gideon Macon, was a prosperous farmer, and his mother, Priscilla, daughter of Edward Jones, was of the best and oldest families of Warren. He was at Princeton University (then College of New Jersey) when the Revolutionary war broke out, left college and enlisted as a private, but resigned from the army by advice of General Greene, when he was elected to the General Assembly. He served as Senator 1780-'81-'82 and 1785 and '86; after that, giving place to his brother John, who was an esteemed Senator and Commoner for fourteen years. In 1791 he took his seat as Representative in Congress and was continuously re-elected until 1815 when he was transferred to the Senate. He was Speaker of the House 1791 to 1806. His service as Senator continued until 1828—for three years, 1825, 1826 and 1827 being President *pro tempore*. He thus had thirty-seven years of continuous service, elected with little opposition. Virginia voted for him as Vice-President in 1824. His leaving the Senate in 1828 was on account of the infirmities of old age. He thereafter resolved to lead a quiet life but was drawn from his retirement to serve in the Constitutional Convention of 1835, of which he was unanimously elected President. His last public work was as Elector on the Van Buren ticket of 1837. His death occurred the same year, June 29th.

His Congressional career, together with others of his letters, and additional particulars of his family and private life, are given in the James Sprunt Historical Monograph No. 2. In politics he was a very strict construction Republican, a

Crawford man and a Democrat, but he occasionally refused to follow his party when in his opinion it deviated from the straight path. He was a Trustee and warm friend of his State University. The strictness of his integrity in private equalled that of his political life.

JOHN STEELE.

John Steele, who, on account of having been elected by the General Assembly to the highest post in the militia, is usually called General Steele, was born in Salisbury, North Carolina, in 1765. He was the son of William Steele and Elizabeth, his wife, the latter being known in history for a most praiseworthy act in the darkest hour of the Revolution. On the 1st of February, 1781, Gen. Greene spent the night at her house. Dr. Read, who had charge of the American hospital at Salisbury, called to see him. Said the General: "I have ridden hard all day in the rain. I am fatigued, hungry, lone and penniless." Mrs. Steele overheard the words. She went to her hiding place and brought out two bags of specie, all she had, the savings of years, and gave them to him, saying: "Take these, you will need them. I can do without them." It was in her parlor that the picture of George III was hanging. Gen. Greene turned the face to the wall and wrote on the back, "Oh, George! hide thy face and mourn!"

John Steele, the son of this most excellent woman, was a merchant and a planter. He represented the borough of Salisbury in the House of Commons in 1787 and 1788, and in the Conventions called to pass on the Constitution of the United States in 1788 and 1789. His vote in both was given for the Constitution, which was ratified November 21, 1789.

Mr. Steele was chosen to be one of the first members of the United States House of Representatives, and took his seat April 19th, 1790. Hugh Williamson had preceded him on March 10th, John Baptist Ashe on the 24th of the same month, Timothy Bloodworth on the 6th of April, and John Sevier, from across the mountains, did not appear until the 16th of June.

General Steele was a warm admirer of President Washington but not an unquestioning supporter of all the administration measures. In common with his colleagues he opposed Hamilton's plan of the assumption by the Union of all the debts of the States contracted for gaining our independence, believing that it was impossible to adjust the account equitably. As might be expected he voted for the location of the seat of government on the Potomac. In 1791 he supported the bill for establishing a national bank, the constitutionality of which was fought so earnestly by Jefferson, Madison and their followers. Sevier agreed with him, but Ashe, Bloodworth and Williamson were on the other side. On the question of reduction of the army he was earnestly in favor of the measure, making strong and elaborate speeches, endeavoring to show the superiority of militia over regulars. His motion, however, did not prevail. Of his colleagues Ashe, Grove and Macon were with him on this question, Williamson against and Sevier absent. On the resolutions of censure of the Secretary of the Treasury, he voted uniformly, with Williamson, in opposition to Ashe and Macon, in Hamilton's favor. Grove favored one of the resolutions.

Mr. Steele's course in moving to reduce the army, being perverted into indifference to the sufferings of the frontiersmen from Indian hostilities, probably caused his defeat for the 3rd Congress. That he was appreciated by the State at large is shown by the fact that he was elected by the General Assembly Major General of Militia, and also at a later period, 1806, a Commissioner, with Montfort Stokes, afterwards Governor, and Robert Burton, who in 1787-'88 was a member of the Congress of the Confederation, to adjust the boundary line between North and South Carolina. For this purpose the commissioners chose as their scientific expert, Rev. Dr. Joseph Caldwell, President of the University of North Carolina. Their action was ratified in 1813.

In 1796, by the appointment of Washington, he undertook the responsible duties of first Comptroller of the Treasury, and

held this position until 1802 with such acceptability that he was requested by President Jefferson to continue in the office. He determined however to resign, chiefly on account of unwillingness to be separated from his family and similar unwillingness, to remove them to Washington.

It has been mentioned that he was a member of the House of Commons from the borough of Salisbury in 1787 and 1788. He was again a member in 1794 and 1795, also in 1806, 1811, 1812 and 1813. In 1811 he was Speaker of the House. He was again elected a member of the House on the 14th of August, 1815, but died on the same day.

General Steele married Mary Nesfield, of Fayetteville, N. C., whose ancestors emigrated from Dublin, Ireland. She survived him many years. They had three daughters, Ann, who became the wife of General Jesse A. Pearson, an uncle of Chief Justice Richmond M. Pearson; Margaret, who married Stephen L. Ferrand, M.D., and was grandmother of John Steele Henderson, late a representative in Congress from North Carolina, and thirdly, Eliza, wife of Colonel Robert MacNamara.

General Steele was universally recognized as a man of sound judgment and loftiest integrity. He was in all respects a model citizen.

WILLIAM BARRY GROVE.

Wm. Barry Grove, although once a prime favorite with a large and intelligent District and for twelve years a member of Congress, has almost disappeared from our history. As his family many years ago removed to the West or Southwest, their residence not being known, no information has been obtainable from them. Mr. Edward R. McKethan, a prominent lawyer of Fayetteville, and Mr. Allan A. McCaskill, an aged and very intelligent citizen of Cumberland, enable me to give a few facts of his history.

His mother married Robert Rowan, who gave the name to Rowan street in Fayetteville. His stepfather appointed him as one of the executors of his will and devised to him a lot of ground on that street. His residence was that of his stepfather, the colonial mansion at the corner of Rowan and Chatham street. It was a notable structure for that day, its situation on a hill, with the basement of brick, giving it a striking appearance. Mr. McCaskill remembers that its superiority to the other houses of the neighborhood was such as to remind him of an old baronial castle. It has long ago disappeared but the ground is called the Grove lot to this day. Mr. Grove dispensed a bountiful hospitality. The town was on one of the main lines of travel between the South and the North. Members of Congress, journeying, many of them on horseback, to and from the seat of government, often found it convenient to become his guests, the duration of the visits being limited only by the will of the guests.

As his stepfather devised to his mother his plantation, called Hollybrook, it is probable that he inherited it. At any rate his style of living showed that he must have had other in-

come than the receipts of his profession, that of the law, and his per diem as Representative.

Of the early life of Mr. Grove we know nothing. We first hear of him as in 1784 Register of the County of Fayette (as Cumberland was called by act of Assembly of that year, soon to resume her first name). His popularity is proved by his election to the House of Commons in 1786, 1788 and 1789. In 1788 he was likewise a delegate to the Convention called to consider the Constitution of the United States, and voted with the minority against the resolution to postpone it. He was sustained by his constituents, and the next year was elected a member of the Convention of 1789, as well as of the General Assembly. In this Convention he was one of the 194 against 77 which made North Carolina a part of the Union. He also succeeded in having the State constitution of 1776 amended so as to make Fayetteville a borough town, entitled to a member in the House of Commons, as were Edenton, Newbern, Wilmington, Halifax, Hillsborough and Salisbury. He had two years before induced the General Assembly to constitute Fayetteville a district court town, in which superior courts were held twice a year for several counties.

Mr. Grove's popularity was such that he was easily elected to the first Congress and continuously thereafter until he went down in 1803 before the irresistible Republican party. He was thus a member of the House of Representatives of the United States during the most critical period of the new government. He served during most of the administration of Washington, all of that of Adams and two years of Jefferson.

He was in the main a supporter of the measures known to be approved by the Federal leaders. On questions regarded as of peculiar interest to the South he voted with his section.

He opposed the bill giving bounties to the great Great Bank and Cod Fisheries. When Washington vetoed the bill to apportion representatives, because not in accordance with the Constitution, he sustained the President. He naturally favored the law for the restoration of fugitives slaves, and did

not favor the proposal to levy duties on tobacco and sugar. He opposed the increase of our navy for the Algerine war. In the dispute with Great Britain, which led up to Jay's Treaty, he favored the non-Intercourse measure, and notwithstanding its unpopularity in North Carolina, voted for carrying into effect the provisions of the treaty. In this he was conspicuous for courage, as with him were only three members south of the Mason and Dixon line, all the other Southern members siding with Madison and other opponents of the treaty. He gave his vote for the direct tax, and for appropriating a sum sufficient to finish the frigates *Constellation*, *United States* and the *Constitution*, (old Ironsides). He generally sustained President Adams. He voted for protection to our commerce, and establishing a naval department. In contemplation of a probable war with France he favored raising a provisional army. He showed more courage than political discernment when, alone, of all the members from his State, he voted for the Alien and Sedition laws. Other measures supported by him are the suspension of Intercourse with France, the prohibition of the slave trade, mausoleum to Washington, and the repeal of the Sedition law. He opposed the the repeal of the act authorizing the appointment of additional judges, usually called the "Midnight Judges," also the admission of Ohio as a State, and the receding to Virginia and Maryland of jurisdiction over the District of Columbia.

The foregoing statement shows why Grove, like Davie and other able and patriotic Federalists, was unable to withstand the overwhelming forces of Jeffersonian Republicanism.

Grove's political career, was closed after losing his seat in 1803. He however did his State much service as an active and efficient worker for its University. It shows his high rank in the public confidence, that, when in 1789 in its charter were named as Trustees forty of the most eminent citizens who had already attained, or were destined to attain, the highest positions as Governors, Senators, Judges, Representatives in Congress, and the like, Grove was one of the number. He

held this office until 1818, probably the date of his death, and was always ready to give the struggling institution wise and ready aid. President Caldwell was in the habit of consulting him about the appointment of Professors, and the purchase of books and apparatus for instruction. On the whole he was an honorable, intelligent and highly respected servant of the people.

JAMES HOGG.

James Hogg was no politician and never aspired to, and probably would never have accepted, public office. He was, however, one of the most influential men of his day, and his descendants have been, and are now, most honorable and useful citizens.

He was a native of East Lothian, Scotland, and resided in that section until after his marriage and the birth of several children. He then removed to a farm leased by him in the parish of Reay, near Thurso. He was made a Justice of the Peace and, by his activity in the detection and punishment of crime, then very prevalent in the Highlands, he incurred the bitter enmity of the natives. In the autumn of 1770 a ship was wrecked on the rocks in sight of his home, and, as in duty bound, he displayed great energy and pluck in saving the goods from the wild wreckers, who claimed the ancient right of pillage. A company was formed to murder him. His home was broken into and finding that he was absent the malefactors burnt it. Nothing daunted he did not rest until the perpetrators were brought to justice. He then determined to emigrate to North Carolina, where some of his relations had preceded him. After much stormy weather and consequent delay he landed in Wilmington in 1774. By his persuasion a goodly number of his neighbors accompanied him, among them, the Straughans, or Strayhorns, Craigs, and McAuleys. He settled first at Fayetteville, as a merchant, carrying on business at that town and Wilmington, in conjunction with his consins, Robert and John Hogg.

During the Revolution he took the side of the colonies and served during the war on the Committee of Safety, travelling on one occasion to Connecticut on public business.

After the war he continued his mercantile pursuits for some years, and then concluded to retire from business and devote himself to agriculture. He purchased a plantation of 1160 acres on both sides of Eno river near the corporate limits of Hillsboro, and for some time resided on the north side of the river in what is now called "the Old House," in the beautiful park of the late Paul C. Cameron. He then in 1880 built him a home on the south side and named it Poplar Hill, for many years afterwards the residence of the Norwoods, now the model farm of Julian S. Carr, called Occonechee. There are still on the place ornamental trees and shrubbery of his planting.

Mr. Hogg was one of the picked men of the State—forty in number, selected in 1789 to carry into effect the mandate of the Constitution of 1776 requiring the establishment of the University. In those days of wretched roads and few bridges travelling was attended with numerous discomforts, but he was one of the most punctual and active Trustees. He was at the first meeting on the 28th of December, 1789, and at the second in November, 1790, when; as agent of General Benjamin Smith, he presented to the Board warrants for 20,000 acres of land to be located in West Tennessee, whenever the Indian title should be extinguished. He also answered to the roll-call in August 1792 and doubtless voted with the majority, for Cyprett's Bridge over New Hope in the county of Chatham, as the centre of a circle thirty miles in diameter, within which the University should be located. When one commissioner from each Judicial District was balloted for to select the site, he was elected, the others being Wm. Porter, John Hamilton, Alexander Mebane, Willie Jones, David Stone, Frederick Hargett, Wm. H. Hill. On November 1st, 1792 he met at Pittsboro five of these commissioners, Hargett, Mebane, Hill, Stone and Jones. After inspecting various points in Chatham, they fixed on Chapel Hill, the owners of the land generously donated 1080 acres.

Mr. Hogg's interest in the University did not end here. He

assisted the young institution by his wise counsels in the selection of its professors, the adoption of its curriculum and starting on its career of usefulness, until his resignation in 1802, which was caused by a paralytic stroke, under which he lingered until his death in 1805.

The family name of James Hogg, which is said to mean in Scottish, a year-old lamb, is not among his descendants. Those were the days of rough jokers, who spared not age nor dignity. Annoyed by witticisms on boars, pork, shotes, pigs, hams, sausages and other hog products, in allusion to himself and his children, he applied successfully to the General Assembly to change the last name of his sons Walter and Gavin, to Alves, their mother's maiden name. He said that his daughters had power to change their own names and hence they are not found in the Act of Assembly.

He was a member of the great Transylvania Company, of which Judge Richard Henderson was President. This company assumed to buy of the Cherokee Indians an immense tract of country, part of the present states of Kentucky and Tennessee. The states of North Carolina and Virginia declared the sale illegal, but each allowed the company 200,000 acres by way of compromise. Some of the descendants of Mr. Hogg left the State and settled in Kentucky on part of this purchase.

The wife of James Hogg was McDowal Alves, daughter of Alexander and Elizabeth (Ingles) Alves. Of their children Walter and Gavin Alves were successively Treasurers of the University and the former was also Secretary and Trustee. Walter Alves was Commoner of Orange county in 1793, '94 and '95. He married Amelia Johnston, daughter of another member of the Transylvania Company, a merchant of Hillsboro, and settled near Henderson, Kentucky, said to have been named after John Henderson, who married his daughter. There are many descendants of Walter Alves, five of whom in the first quarter of the late century, were students of the University of North Carolina.

Of the daughters of James Hogg all changed their names. Elizabeth married John Huske, leaving two children, John, from whom are descended the Huskes of Fayetteville, prominent among whom was the late Rev. Joseph Caldwell Huske, D.D., and Anne Alves, the wife of Mr. James Webb, of Hillsboro, from whom came many excellent citizens. Helen, the second daughter, married Wm. Hooper, son of the signer of the Declaration of Independence of the same name, and had a son, William, who became a prominent professor of Ancient Languages and Baptist preacher. She married a second time, Rev. Joseph Caldwell, D.D., President of the University for thirty years. They had no children.

Robina married Judge William Norwood, and left a numerous and influential posterity, among them Rev. Wm. Norwood, D.D., of Virginia, the sound lawyer John W. Norwood, of Hillsboro, Colonel Wm. Bingham, Colonel Robert Bingham, and Major Wm. Bingham Lynch.

On the whole, considering the good he did in his day, and the incalculable beneficial influence of his descendants, it may well be doubted whether our State has ever had a more valuable citizen, than James Hogg.

LETTERS.

*Gen. Steele to Col. Jos. McDowell.*¹

Salisbury Novemr. 20th, 1794.

Sir:

I have been informed by several persons that during the late Superior Court at Morganton, you took the trouble to circulate a variety of objections against my conduct, while acting in the capacity of a Representative in Congress.

What purpose these objections were intended to answer or what motives produced them are equally immaterial, the public manner in which they were mentioned entitles them to some notice. This can only be done at present by requesting that you will do me the favor to particularize in writing such parts of my public conduct as amount in your estimation to a dereliction of the interests of the State which I then represented and particularly what authorized you to say that I was not a friend to the western parts of North Carolina.

In doing this, let nothing be kept back, for scrutiny is desirable where motives are pure and actions virtuous.

Truth which is due to an enemy, as well as a friend, is all I require, and if you have been imposed on by misinformation in regard to me, I will venture to believe, that your candour, upon being better informed will induce you to acknowledge it. In the meantime however I cannot help lamenting, that you or any representative of North Carolina should be willing to receive impressions unfavorable to a citizen of your own State, from the report of mere strangers, while Mr. Macon and Mr. Grove were present, from whom the truth, and all that the truth

might have been obtained. These gentlemen are independent of all parties, they must recollect that the Representatives of this State were unanimous on the motion to reduce the army as amended by Dr. Williamson, and in opposition to the extension of the Indian war, they remember also the reasons which influenced these two votes, and on their report I intend to rest this part of the business.

Copy of a letter to Col. Jo. McDowal, inclosed to Mr. Grove.

¹ These first two letters throw light on the first letter of Macon, which follows.

All the letters are printed with the spelling, etc., of the originals.

Col. McDowell to Gen Steele.¹

Philadelphia Jan.-12th-1795.

Sir

I received your letter the contents of which I have attended to and as to what you mentioned that should have fallen from me at Morganton at the September terme, I recollect perfectly that when in conversation with the Judges & Some of the attorneys, when politics were the subject of conversation, and the parties in Congress mentioned and the part that different Characters had taken & you among others, I recollect mentioning that you were considered by a great number of the Members from the Southern States and by those from Pensylvania & Virginia in particular, to have joined the aristocratical party, stating that when you first came forward and perhaps for the first Session you were strongly opposed to the ² Secretary of State, & to certain men and measures, but that they had by some means they could not account for got you to join their party and that after which you advocated their Characters & Cause more strenuously than you had at first opposed it I not ready at first to credit this report but when so repeatedly stated, I began to suppose there was some truth in the assertions,

and as to what I mentioned respecting your Conduct towards the frontiers, that I took from the

assertion of Mr. Dayton of Jersey in the House which was not contradicted by any person and further it was mentioned to me in privet by Mr Clark who brought forward the resolution, for calling forth the Melitia for the protection of the Southwestern Frontiers to act on the defensive or offensive—which I found you Voted against and was told you exerted yourself in argument against which I did not think so much of as your ater Conduct as Stated by Mr. Dayton³ in the House—when he Called up your Conduct and stated that you argued and acted differently when the galleries were Open than what you did when they were closed, and further Stated your—Calling up several letters, Charging the Conduct of the people on the frontiers and that assigned & exposed their conduct to the extent, and that you stated you well knew the Whites were as much if not more to blame than the Indians and mentioning your having a General knowledge of their transactions but how you acquired that knowledge I am at a loss to say, but admitting it to be the fact—Such an account of the Conduct on the frontiers must opperate strongly against protection being granted them as you well knew the Opposition which generally exists with Eastern States

and I do assure you I want to have been friendly enough to have wrote you respecting the—manner in which Mr Dayton arraigned your Conduct, but expecting MrGrove or Mr Macon would as you and them was in the habit of corresponding with you, the information and report of your conduct made such impressions on my mind as I conceived to be my duty to make it known and in that way that you would heare of it, but as to my mentioning many people or taking pains to do it is wrong and as to what you mention about Motives you Sir nor no other Man under heaven has a right to call in question as I have given proffs Sufficient to the world—

the inclosed paper will give you the news—

I am Sir
your most Humble Servant
JOS McDOWELL

Genl.

John Steele—

NOTES.

¹ There were two Joseph McDowells. The writer of this letter was known as a "Quaker Meadow Joe," the other, his cousin and brother-in-law, being "Pleasant Garden Joe." The first was major at Cowpens and King's Mountain, often a member of the General Assembly, a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1788, and a representative in Congress, 1788-'95 and 1797-'99. In 1797 he was a commissioner to run the dividing line between North Carolina and Tennessee. He died August 11th, 1801, aged forty-five.—a strong Republican.

Joseph McDowell Jr., of Pleasant Garden, was a physician, a captain at King's Mountain; member of the Constitutional Convention of 1788, and of the General Assembly.

² As Jefferson was Secretary of State it is probable that Col. McDowell meant to write Secretary of the Treasury (Hamilton).

³ Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey,—officer in the Revolutionary army, delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1787; Representative 1791-'99; Speaker of the House, 1795-'99. A friend of Aaron Burr and suspected of being privy to his conspiracy in 1807.

Nathanicl Macon to John Steele.

Philadelphia Decr. 11th-1794.¹

Sir

Your letter of the 22d ultimo² addressed to³ Mr. Grove, which was intended as well to myself as him, has been shewn me together with its enclosures. The speech was delivered during my confinement the date of Clarks motion⁴ will plainly shew you this, and I am really sorry that it is not in my power for that reason to say a word on that subject or to sign the certificate agreeable to your desire. Although I was not present when you made the speech, I remember perfectly well, that you, Grove and myself agreed that the motion, which occasioned it, was a very im-

portant one, and that we agreed in sentiment on the subject, and as well I recollect the speech contains the substance of our conversations on the subject of the motion, except that I thought the constitution would not warrant the giving such power to the President, though I could not have made the observation in the house for a reason before mentioned. On a bill of a similar nature last session I made objections of the same kind. Indeed I am certain, that ⁴“I never shall consent to give such a power to any President—Grove and myself have examined the journal for the message of the President which you want, But have not been fortunate enough to find such a one, the other papers he will send you

It appears to me that proper reflection and time will convince every one, that you have deserved well of the State, It is said there are ⁵two parties in Congress, But the fact I do not positively know, if there are, I know that I do not belong to either, But what is strange to tell, and at the same time must be a convincing proof that you acted independently, is, that there is good reason to believe that neither of these parties are desirous to see you here again—

With sentiments of respect and esteem

I am Sir

Yr most Obt- Sert

Nathl Macon

Genl. Steele

NOTES.

¹ The seat of government under the present constitution was for the first year 1789-'90 at New York, then at Philadelphia until 1800, then removed to Washington City.

² We have not a copy of this letter.

³ Wm. Barry Grove, a sketch of whom may be found on preceding pages.

⁴ It seems that Steele was accused of having joined the “Aristocratic party.” Also that on Clark’s resolution for calling out the militia for the protection of the Southwestern frontiers. Steele was in the opposition and was alleged to have said that the whites were as much to blame as the In-

dians. Of course it was charged that he was not a friend to the people of the West. He seems to have applied to Mr. Macon to set him straight.

⁴ Abraham Clark, who offered the resolution was in the Continental Congress 1776-'82; in that of the Confederation 1787-'8 and Representative in Congress of the United States 1791-'94.

The Presidential powers considered by Mr. Macon to be dangerous were such as the exclusive authority to issue passports to those going beyond the Indian boundary line, to remove by force those attempting to settle west of the line, to give redress to those injured by the Indians.

⁵ Historians are generally of the opinion that the advocates of a strong government and those jealous for States' Rights were in opposite camps before December 1794, Hamilton the leader of one and Jefferson of the other. Mr. Macon evidently means that these parties were not yet organized openly.

Macon to Steele.

¹ Buck Spring 15 Sept—1802

Sir

² Mr. T, has returned from Peterburg and delivered me the enclosed I hope it will be deemed satisfactory to the gentlemen of the turf in and about Salisbury—I have nothing worth telling you, I live almost too retired for the neighbourhood news, I send to Warrenton now & then for the news, and what is old to most others is new to me

I had like to have forgotten to have told you that I have a grandson, a stout and hearty looking fellow

We have generally pretty good crops of Corn, tobacco will be rather short both as to quantity & quality, but as some have planted a good deal of Cotton this may probably nearly balance the deficiency in the quantity of tobacco, I mean as to value

This is Friday though I am not sure what day of the month, I have guessed the 15th

I saw ³ General Davie to day who appears to be in good health

I have only a word more, which is an important one

both to you & me, and will no little interest the feelings of some of my friends near you, which is this, That you will with the consent of your family leave home on your return to Washington so as to stay a day with me I would rather ask for a week or a month but this I fear would not be granted, one day is as little as could be asked, yet I know it is much for you & your family to grant; If it shall be convenient for you to make this trip, pray write me when I may expect you,— We have some races I believe in November at Warrenton, perhaps you could take them in on your way, if so I will advise unless it should be advertised in the papers the day

I have written this in some haste

I am Sir yrs. sincerely

Nathl Macon

(Mr. Steele)

These are the Weights agreeable to the New Market Rules of racing—

three	Year Old	to Carry	86 lb
four	Ditto	Ditto	100
five	Ditto	Ditto	110
Six	Ditto	Ditto	120
Seven	Ditto	Ditto	130

Sterling Gary

Keeper of the Course

Septr. 10. 1802

NOTES.

¹Buck Spring was Macon's plantation, a few miles from the County seat of Warren County.

²The trade of Warren County was, in Macon's day, transacted in Petersburg, Virginia.

"Mr. T." is probably James Turner, who was a private with Macon in the Revolutionary war. He was Governor of North Carolina, 1802-'05, and United States Senator, 1805-1816. He had a large plantation in Warren and raised race-horses. His son, Daniel Turner was a Representative in Congress, 1827-'29. Daniel's wife was a daughter of Francis S. Key. A daughter of Governor Turner married George E.

Badger, a Judge and U. S. Senator. Macon also raised horses and patronised the turf.

³General Davie was Wm. Richardson Davie, ex-Governor and a special Commissioner to France together with Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth and Van Murray. Their embassy averted war. Davie was called Father of the University of North Carolina. He was defeated for Congress in 1802 by Willis Alston.

Steele to Macon; (a copy).

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your two favors concerning the weights to be carried by running horses. The certificates will settle all disputes. Our Judges have concluded to fix the same for each day. Between fifteen and twenty horses are in keeping for these little purses. It diverts me to see how much the passions of men can be excited in competition even for trifles.

There are few things, my friend, I do assure you which could afford me greater pleasure than to pay you a visit in Warren:—but in my present circumstances it is totally impracticable. Since the last of Augt. my family has been so much indisposed ¹(Mrs. Steele of the number) that I have not in my power to make any arrangements in my private affairs preparatory to their removal to the seat of Government, and it is too irksome to live there as I have done for some time past without them. Thus circumstanced I have found myself under the necessity of relinquishing (for the present) the intention of returning. The mail which carries this carries also a letter to the President requesting him to accept my resignation. After the sickly season ² shall have passed, my plan is to amuse myself with improvements in agriculture, and as my principal business to resume a course of general reading which my appointment six years ago interrupted. These will fill up my time to the exclusion of politicks, and with them I trust every passion which could disturb a virtuous and tranquil retirement. I have done justice to my feelings by assuring the President “that I am duly sensible of

his polite treatment and that in future it cannot but be a source of pleasing and grateful reflection to me to have been invited by him to continue in the Office." This alludes to a letter which he had the goodness to write to me last summer before the recess of the Executive in answer to my application for leave of absence. The greater part of my letter to the Secty. of the Treasy. is on business. It contains the following paragraph.

"In conducting, for six years past, the business of an office distinguished for the labor and responsibility which it imposes my first object has constantly been fidelity to the public, the second, a respectful deportment towards those with whom it was my duty to maintain official intercourse. It will afford me no small degree of gratification to understand that I have succeeded in these to your satisfaction."

Mr. Macon.

¹Salisbury and its neighborhood were for many years much afflicted with malaria. The existence of a large mill-pond was thought to have been the guilty cause. The great improvement in health since its abolition points to the truth of the theory.

Grove to Steele.

Fayetteville Oct. 1st 1802

My Dear Sir

I returned yesterday from Hillsboro where I went on the 6th Sept. with Mrs G on a visit to her friends, on my return I found in the Post office your favor of the 16th ult. which gave me the first information of your return home, altho' I made inquiry after you while in Orange. I hope your family have recovered since you wrote, & that you continue to enjoy good health in your native clime tho' Salisbury is loosing its reputation of being healthy.

From your letter & the copy of the one to the head of your Department, which you done me the favor to inclose for my perusal, I perceive with regret that you have new cause to be dissatisfied with your situation in the Govt.

As soon as I read the report of the *Investigating*, discriminating & criminating Committee, I could not help seeing the *deep cut* made at the Former Treasury Depart. From the temper and Views of the majority of the Committee, it was to be apprehended they would seize on every Possible case to injure the feeling & reputation of the former Administ. but from the Examination & report of the Committee of the session before last, on the Treasury Depart, I did suppose the *new investigation* would find little to add, as to that branch of the Government, but in the spirit of the times, they have wisely and economically discovered, that for want of *their legal and saving construction* of the acts of Congress, monies have been disbursed without an act of appropriation, of course these monies should be refunded, & they the Committee appointed as a Standing Board of expounders—!—The contempt mixed with indignation which that late Report excited in me induced me to think, that the men of sense and decency of their party would condemn it, as a crude, partial, & ignorant production—& that tho' they might for political reasons *wink* at its censure, I did not presume that the head of any Depart. would sanction & adopt the report as the rule of their office—I am really sorry to find there is reason to believe it otherwise, & that the present Head of the Treasury in the case of 'Woodside is disposed to give a new construction to the Law, so as to produce a clashing of opinion Between your Judgment & former decisions, and his own—If this difference of opinion on the meaning of Law, arises alone from the honest & impartial Judgment of the Secretary, or is unconnected with any other cause or motive than a desire to construe Laws fairly, I can not think it should add to your inducements to leave the Department—of this you alone can best judge—But while you are permitted to act and think independently on your own judgment and sentiments, & are treated with that delicacy and attention due to your success, your character & your situation, I most earnestly wish you to continue in office—If this is not the case, I know you too well, to suppose you would act with any set of men.

We have no news here, and were it not for the rail-

ings and abuse of ² Duane, ³ Callender, &c. against each other, we should find the papers dull, but these fellows unfold some things worth knowing respecting the falsehood & knavery which has been going on among them, & are fulfilling two things, that Dog will eat Dog; and that when rogues fall out honest men come to their right.

I am very certain you join me in regretting—sincerely regretting the fate of poor ⁴ Spaight. He has fallen a sacrifice to his own violence of temper, for he might have adjusted his dispute with honor, without going to extremities.

Flour will probably continue about 5 to 6\$—Cotton from \$12 to 15\$ per cwt, picked—3 to 3½ per cwt. in seed—and indeed I fear that all kinds of produce will be low compared to late years—⁵ Shells are generally to be had here at ⅓ to ⅓d per Bushl. —lime is dearer & scarce.

Mrs Grove desires to be united with me in a tender of our best respects to yourself, & Family, and particularly to Miss Ann—

Believe me My Dear Sir

With real esteem & regard

Yrs Sincerely

(John Steele Esq)

W. B. Grove

NOTES.

¹ Decision of Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, relating to drawbacks on sugar.

² William Duane, from 1795 to 1822 editor of the leading Democratic paper, the Aurora, of Philadelphia.

³ Thomas Callender, convicted by the influence of Judge Samuel Chase for passages in his pamphlet, "the Prospect before us," which were construed to be libellous under the Sedition law. President Jefferson pardoned him.

⁴ Ex-Governor Richard Dobbs Spaight, killed by John Stanly in a duel. The Federalists, as a rule, sustained Stanly. The Republicans declared that Spaight was in the right and that Stanly (a Federalist) was a murderer. Stanly was pardoned by Governor Benjamin Williams. The quarrel occurred in their canvass for Congress.

⁵ Oyster and other shells were, at that date, bought in bulk

and burned for lime. They were hauled by wagon from Fayetteville to Chapel Hill for that purpose.

Macon to Steele.

Buck Spring 10 Octr. 1802.

Sir

Yours of the 30 ultimo has been received, and it is with real sorrow that I learn of your determination to resign. The reason which produces the resignation is surely a cogent one, but I think it probable that the season is approaching which will restore your family to health, and then you might with convenience have removed them to Washington; The office of Comptroller is surely among the most important in the U. S., especially as it relates to revenue; besides this, the settling accounts with foreigners, is one in which both the interest and honor of the nation are concerned; nor can I close this sentence without repeating my sincere regret at your resignation; who will be your successor I cannot even guess, no doubt many may be found willing enough to accept the office who know nothing of the duties; and I devoutly wish that a successor¹ may be found, adequate in all respects to the office; I know from the best authority that the President was highly pleased with your conduct, but I am repeating what I have before told

The hot foggy weather has injured tobacco in some instances by moulding it, The crop will not be large, nor of extraordinary quality, Cotton it is said promises well, The crop of corn is generally good

I wish more than ever to see you, but God alone knows when this will be, Had I the time to spare I would take a trip² to Salisbury

I am with perfect respect

Sir yrs. sincerely

Nathl Macon.

(Mr. John Steele
Now at Salisbury
No. Carolina)

NOTES.

¹ Steele's successor was Gabriel Duval, who was Comp-

troller until 1811. He was a Representative in Congress 1794-96, then Judge of the Supreme Court of Maryland. In 1811 he was appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States and held the office until 1836.

² By the travelling methods of that day a journey to and from Salisbury took about ten days, provided there were no freshets in the streams. These might delay the traveller much longer.

Steele to Macon.

Salisbury April 11th 1803

Dear Sir,

By Major Williams who left this place at the close of our court I wrote you a few lines in which I omitted to remind you of your promise to see me in the course of the ensuing summer. Nothing I assure you would give me more pleasure than to take you by the hand at my hut, and our girls hope you will favor them with the company of your daughter at the same time. They will do everything in their power to make her time while here pass agreeably. In return for a few weeks of your own society I will treat you with some of the *Visions* of a cidevant. A station in the background you know sometimes affords views not altogether uninteresting to those engaged in the busy scenes of the front ranks. The only merit of mine is that they have been formed with calmness and deliberation. ² There is one important subject on which I cannot forbear to give you a few hints in anticipation. A good deal of reflection since has confirmed me in the opinion I expressed to you about a year ago. The reasons in support of that opinion wd. be too long for a letter by post. I allude to the Mandamus, and the fashionable doctrine which it was made use of to establish, that the courts have power to pronounce Acts of Congress unconstitutional and void. There is a remarkable coincidence in the arguments lately published of ³Mr. Lee and the Chief Justice.⁴ To whom the credit of originating and digesting them belongs is not perhaps material. Between them they have made the most of the occa-

sion. Logicians in the forum like Partizans in the field show their skill by passing the strong and selecting the weaker points of attack.

It is certainly a sound principle that in a well organized government of Laws as we believe ours to be every wrong shd. have its proper remedy. If this principle can be shown to have its effect in the cases stated by the Chief Justice the necessity for judicial interference will not exist, as all the arguments in favor of such interference are predicated on hypothesis that an injury has been done to the applicants by the Executive and that they are without remedy except from the Judiciary. This is the point which the Chief Justice and the learned counsel pretended to examine. By the theory of our Government the Legislature, the Executive & Judicial departments are in a certain degree, or for certain purposes distinct. It is inaccurate to suppose them equal in trust, or in power. The officers who compose the President's council are his constitutional advisers and with him form what is denominated the Executive. Should the Secty. of State a constituent part of this great department do wrong in his official capacity to an individual or the public with or without the sanction of the President the intimate relation which the constitution supposes to exist between him and the President may be dissolved by removal or impeachment after which he is amenable to the Judicial authority in the form of an indictment and perhaps by civil process. Until that connection be dissolved the official acts of a Secty. of State are to be regarded as the acts of the President. With respect to them he stands on Executive ground not examinable by the Judiciary. The courts have no constitutional power to inquire whether (for instance) a patent for land be wrongfully or rightfully withheld. If withheld the first step of a purchaser supposing himself entitled shd. be by petition to the President, afterwards if redress be refused by petition to the house of Repvs. where impeachments originate. The remedies in the power of these two authorities to afford cannot fail to be effectual, the course to be pursued to obtain them is plain and consistent with the most obvious principles of our Govt. It avoids that worst of political evils a

war of Departments, and the disorganization and public injury which such collisions produce in a country where opinion is free if neither of the contending authorities (as is the case with the Executive and the Judiciary) be in relation to the other paramount, and if one of them as the Chief Justice has avowed shd. refuse to acknowledge the Legislature as the common and rightly superior of both. Admit the right of the supreme court to step on Executive ground in the case of a patent or a pension and you subject at once the Comptr. to judicial discipline and all the vast concerns of the Treasy. to the revision of a department which in theory is the third but in practice aims at becoming the first power of the state. With respect then to the particular case of Mr. Marbury & others they cannot in my humble opinion demand either their commissions or transcripts from the records of the Secty. of State as matters of right and after the opinion given by the court that a transcript would be of equal validity with the original it would be wrong to furnish it as matter of courtesy. It was here that the Chief Justice showed his skill in passing over the most formidable objection without notice. Both he and the learned counsel treated it in their argument as a point conceded that the Justices of the peace for the district of Columbia are Judges in the sense of the Constitution. The law which provides for their appointment contains the refutation of this opinion. They are to be commissioned for five years and not during good behavior. There are but two descriptions of tenures by which offices are held under the constitution. All offices must be of one or the other. If the Justices are Judges in the sense of the constitution the law which limits their appointment to five years is *unconstitutional*, and of course according to the Chief Justice *void*. Any tenure different from that prescribed by the constitution "*during good behavior*" would be so. If they are not Judges in this sense they are like other officers removable by the President. The law can not be valid and void at the same time, good to vest the power of Judges but void as to the limitations of their authority. This is too great an absurdity to be seriously maintained, and yet without recurrence

to some such fiction it is difficult to perceive on what foundation the title of the Justices of the peace for the district of Columbia to hold their offices independently of the will of the Executive rests. It cannot be from the nature of the duties to be performed else the Comptr. Auditor, Accountants, Commrs. under certain laws and treaties wd. be equally independent for they all perform duties in a certain degree judicial, and in some points of view much more important to society. The act which provides for this appointment must then be presumed the only foundation of their independence and this proves as clearly as a point can be proved by implication that they were not to be regarded as Judges in the sense of the constitution and that the term of five years was fixed for their service merely that the Executive department might at stated periods review the roll and leave out such as age or other causes had rendered unfit without recurring to the painful alternative of removal.

The President is said to derive the power of removing all officers not commissioned to hold their offices during good behavior from the constitution, if so according to the maxims of the Chief Justice an act to divest him of that power or to restrain the exercise of it in terms wd. be unconstitutional and void. The consent of the President to such an act wd. be equally unconstitutional because Congress even with his approbation cannot alter the constitution. In England it is otherwise. But even there "the King is not bound by any act of parliament unless he be named therein by special and particular words. The most general words that can be devised affect not him in the least if they may tend to restrain or diminish any of his rights or interests:—for it wd. be of the most mischievous consequence to the public if the Executive power were liable to be curtailed without its own express consent by constructions and implications." The limitation of five years then cannot create an independence of the Executive to whom it exclusively appertains as incident to the power of Appointment to determine when and how vacancies happen free of any kind or degree of responsibility to the judicial department and consequently a right to demand the

Commissions, or transcripts of them, or to exercise in virtue of either the authorities of Justices of the peace contrary to the will of the President is without foundation. A case exactly in point occurred not long since in Pennsylvania. The present Gov. removed an officer, I think the Adj. Genl who held his appointment under a law which fixed the tenure to a term of years like that of the Justices of the Ds. of Columbia. There was moreover a salary attached to this office which in a state where rights are so well understood and so highly valued as in Pennsylvania wd. not have been yielded if a power to revise and correct the procedure had been supposed to exist in the courts. However men may differ in their opinions as to the expediency and perhaps the justice of some parts of Mr. McKean's political conduct all I believe agree in paying homage to his professional knowledge and it is for this reason only that the case is cited.

Can the Judge, by Judicial sentence pronounce Acts of Congress unconstitutional and void? This is a power so transcendent and calculated to alter so essentially the relations which diff. departms. of Government bear to each other that it shd. have some better foundation than the constructive inferences of those who claim and are to exercise it. By the theory of our Govt. the three great depts. are distinct though not equal. The Legislature in the nature of things is supreme because it not only prescribes rules of action but possesses independently of the other departments the power of compelling obedience. Its members moreover are under the same solemn obligation to do right and support the constitution inviolate, and possess the same right to determine in their legislative capacity the meaning of its doubtful parts, that the Judges do in their official capacity. That both Houses of the Legislature formed as they are, the Presidents and heads of Depts. shd. be more liable to be mistaken or more disposed to violate it than perhaps a bare majority of the Judges of the supreme court is not to be conceded. Whence then originates the error in supposing that the judges possess this new & gigantic power? I answer, in the facility with which small bodies of men can be brought to

embrace an opinion favorable to their own dignity and official influence, to the common interest which gentlemen of the law feel throughout our country in extending their sphere of action by increasing the jurisdiction of the judicial dept. and as a necessary consequence the chances of litigation—but above all to inaccurate notions which are perhaps the offspring of the foregoing combination concerning the original distribution of the powers by the constitution and the indulgence with which that Dept. on accot of its weakness has been regarded by a generous people. If a bill having passed thro the forms of both houses shd. be returned by the President because he deemed it unconstitutional, two thirds of each house aflds. concurring it becomes a law the opinion of the Executive notwithstanding and the Secty. of State must receive and deposit it among the rolls accordingly. Can it be presumed that a prerogative defined with scrupulous exactness and limited in reference to the second department of Govt. sh'd have been intended by the convention to be confided to the third by implication in a sense as broad too as the most express words could convey it. A doctrine so entirely unsupported by reason and analogy cannot stand the test of examination. How then it may be asked are the Judges of the Supreme Court to act in cases where they conscientiously believe the law and constitution to be at variance? 1st they sh'd suspend their decision and present to the President a respectful representation for the purpose of having the attention of the Legislature called to the subject. If after considering the representation of the Judges an attempt be made to repeal the law without success, or if a session be allowed to pass without repeal or modification it then becomes the duty of the Supreme Court to acquiesce in the same manner as an inferior tribunal is bound to yield obedience to a superior. It is hence the difficulty originates. The Supreme Court cannot regard the Legislature as a superior tribunal and until its superiority is established decisively the question will remain unsettled. The solemn mockery of the oath applies equally to the members of the Legislature and of the Executive who were concerned in the passing as to the Judges and officers whose

duty it may be to execute a law which the latter may deem unconstitutional. A district Judge for instance may conscientiously believe a tax on carriages unconstitutional yet if adjudged to be otherwise by the Supreme Court he is bound to yield acquiescence and give it execution. It is equally clear that the Supreme Court owes and may be compelled to yield similar obedience to the deliberate and solemn acts of the Legislature the highest and most august tribunal of a free country. Order and the genuine relations of Govt. cannot long be preserved in any other way.

NOTES.

¹ Probably Marmaduke Williams of Caswell, who was elected to the State Senate in 1802 and the next year to the House of Representatives of the United States. He served until 1809, and then removed to Alabama, where he was a delegate to the convention which formed the State Constitution. In his old age he was County Judge.

² In the case of *Marbury vs Madison*, Secretary of State, the Supreme Court held that the plaintiff, having been appointed Justice of the Peace for the District of Columbia by the President and the Senate having approved the nomination, the commission having been duly signed and sealed and left by the late Secretary undelivered, was entitled to his commission, and that mandamus should lie to compel the delivery by the new Secretary of State, but that the act giving the Supreme Court original jurisdiction was unconstitutional. Although the power and duty of the Court to nullify unconstitutional acts is now universally conceded, able men in that day thought otherwise. General Steele's letters gives their line of argument.

³ Charles Lee, Attorney General 1795 to 1801. He had been Delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress.

⁴ Chief Justice John Marshall of Virginia. He advocated in the convention of 1788, the adoption of the Federal Constitution; Envoy to France with Gerry and C. C. Pinckney in 1797; Congressman 1799-1800; Secretary of State 1800-'01;

Chief Justice of the United States, 1801 to his death, July 6 1835. Author of *Life of Washington*.

Macon to Steele.

Raleigh 11 June 1803

Sir

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters the one by Major Williams, the other postpaid, The last received at Washington, I think was answered, though of this I am not certain; The great hurry of business and the very constant and lengthy sittings of the house may possibly have made me neglect to answer, The house was very seldom in committee of the whole, and were in session from nine to eleven hours for a few of the last days; The fatigue occasioned by this constant delay, had nearly overcome me, though having reluctantly undertaken the task, I had at first determined not to yield to any duty but the absolute loss of health. in this determination in every circumstance I uniformly persisted, and was for a short time after the adjournment really apprehensive, that my constitution was considerably injured, but this apprehension was soon entirely removed, and I have since enjoyed my usual good health

I have duly considered the contents of your last letter, and candidly acknowledge that I think there is great strength in your arguments, but my doubts are not completely removed. cases may be stated to shew that the court did not possess the power to declare a particular act unconstitutional, other cases might be stated in which it would seem that they had the power; of the first kind is the law to apportion representatives, The pay of Members of Congress, The articles of war for land & naval service &c. &c.; Because none of these require their aid to carry them into execution; of other kind is the power of the supreme court to hear any original suit, when the authority is not derived from the constitution, such an action for debt between the two citizens of the same state &c. &c. These would require their aid to carry them into operation, The court

must make every declaration of the unconstitutionality of a law at their peril; because the judges are made accountable for their conduct by the constitution, & if Judges could declare acts void; without being liable for their actions, they would be the supreme authority of the nation, and that without controul—and the only department in the Government where a power might be exercised to any degree, without the least check or controul by any other department of the Government; I confess the mode for the Judges to proceed, where they believe a law violates the constitution, as pointed out by you, would be the most adviseable, and liable to the least objection, both in practice and theory, but the true question is have the courts the power from the constitution of the U. S. to declare a law unconstitutional; In the case of the mandamus, the opinion of the Court as to the result was correct; the rule was discharged, but the reasoning which lead to the conclusion, seems to be directly opposed to it, and put me, in mind of a noted member of Congress who always spoke on one side, and voted on the other. if they had no power to determine on the merits of the complaint they had no authority to grant the rule in the first instance, and the mandamus ought not to have been issued, the argument on which the question seemed to be decided, had nothing to do with the question, but certainly had a squinting towards another, although I am not quite convert to your opinion as to the power of the Judges, I most cordially agree with you as to the Mandamus

I fear it will not be in my power, to visit you at Salisbury this summer, inclination is not wanting, and it is almost too strong to be resisted by poverty and inconvenience; besides the pleasure of seeing you and family, I could say much to you in the small way, which is too little to put in a letter, and would bear telling when it would not writing

I have written this in haste, without revising and without your letters by me, I mean this is an explanation if one should be necessary for not perhaps answering in every point, but an apology I hope necessary, and I will not attempt to make one—— Permit me my friend to say to you, that I had rather you

would have not paid the postage of your letter, between us it seems almost too formal, I am well aware that it proceeded from great delicacy but I cannot help thinking, that you doubted whether to pay it or not, I will own to you, that I have often doubted that to do on like occasions. Write often and postage or no postage I will not scold you again, unless it be for not writing

Be pleased to offer my best respects to your family and believe me to be with sincere regard

Sir yr. most obt sert—

Nathl Macon

(Mr. Steele)

NOTES.

¹Probably Gen. Sam'l Smith of Maryland; Colonel in the Revolutionary war; U.S. Representative in Congress, 1793-1803; and 1810-'22; Senator 1803-'15 and 1822-'33. Commanded the Maryland troops in the defence of Baltimore in 1814 and quelled the Baltimore riot of 1835.

Mr. Macon was usually accurate. This "always" is evidently an exaggeration.

Steele to Macon.

Salisbury Sept 12th 1803

Dear Sir

Accept my thanks for your favor of the 7th ulto. It came to hand when I was a good deal occupied with workmen in superintending some necessary alterations of the inside parts of my house which could only be done during the season when chimnies are not in use. This is my apology for not acknowledging it sooner.

It is natural that you shd. feel a little curiosity to know the fate of my essay in Toast making. I will endeavor to gratify it. On Friday evening preceding the 4th of July a very heavy rain fell at Lethe my river plantation where I had a considerable qunty. of wheat cut & in the field exposed to injury. This obliged me to go there instead of meeting the committee on Saturday morning the time appointed. I

however apologized for my absence by a note, and transmitted for their consideration the sketch which you have seen and which I am happy to find meets your approbation. The members of the Committee all attended except myself, chose Judge Macay¹ for their Chairman, proceeded to business. Of the seventeen which I submitted they adopted six without alteration. These were the 1st. The day &ca. 6th. Foreign nations in amity &ca. with a quotation from Mr. Jeffersons inauguration speech 11th. The militia &ca. A nation armed &ca. 14th The Press &ca. 16th. The fair sex &ca. 17th. The State of Ohio &ca. Others they adopted in part but with alterations which can hardly be called improvements. The 2nd. 7th. 13th. 15th. they rejected altogether. To the 3rd. *The Fed. constitution* they annexed a sentiment incorrect in principle and in language. It was this. The paladium of our rights, let it never be violated. (The paladium of Troy from whence the term descended was in the sense of the Trojans incapable of violation.) The true paladium of our rights consists in our sense of their nature and value; in our virtue to chuse proper persons to represent us, and last of all in our swords. It is absurd to say that our rights are dependent on the Fed. constitution. We were free before it existed as now, perhaps not quite so tranquil. Instead of the 4th they substituted the memory of Genl. W. In favor of this alteration I understood it was urged by³ Mr. H. that to connect with that name, any other name or description of characters wd. derogate from the respect due to it, as if he could have accomplished any thing without the co-operation of others. Instead of the 5th They adopted simply "the President of the U. S." without even using the name of Mr. Jefferson. From the 8th They expurged the words⁴ *Governor and* and adopted the remainder which was in substance the same but like the 5th not quite so respectful to the chief magistrate. Instead of the 9th & 12th some general, commonplace sentiments in favor of learning & commerce were adopted. Of the 10th the adopted the first part, *The absence of party spirit* and rejected what followed. (I regret that it was the fate of some of the best to be totally lost, or so mutilated as not to be worth

publication). The 14th might be improved by the alteration which you suggest and I sincerely wish that good men would quite to correct the evil upon your plan which appears to be the only practicable way. The greater part of the committee I understand were but Mr. H. from whom the opposition chiefly came was strenuous to retain some of those which were rejected; and they compromised for the sake of unanimity, and as a compliment to other members who also had been at the trouble to prepare sketches for the consideration of the committee. They complimented me by the adoption of more than my proportion, and probably if I had been present a few more wd. have been recd. and perhaps fewer alterations made.

I have seen the charge of Judge Chase⁴ as published in the Nat. Intelligencer. It is extra Judicial and in humble opinion extremely indecorous; but if there were no other objections to it, on the score of principle it wd. be indefensible. Men in high public stations shd. be careful to guard agt. the influence of their passions always apt to mislead the understanding, if not corrupt the heart. The opinions of some of the Judges⁵ on other subjects are so inaccurate and preposterous that I am not surprised at this, my only wish is that friend Moore⁷ may prove as I am sure he will like pure gold, the more bright for being tried in such a crucible. Mr. Patterson⁷ I consider also a man of sterling integrity; of some of the others you have long known my deliberate opinions. It is useless to repeat them.

The purchase of Louisiana is certainly a great affair. It will give lustre to the administration which achieved it. Future Historians will rank it, (like the declaration of Independence the treaty of peace, the adoption of the Fedl. constitution) among the memorable events of our country, and shd. we also obtain the Floridas the acquisition will be as important in its consequences as any of them. The sum⁸ to be given is large, but not too much. To have taken possession of the fortifications and other establishments necessary to retain it by force wd. have required much more. To think correctly on the expense of military enterprises we shd. call to our rec-

ollection the experience we have had in erecting fortifications on the sea coast, in the Pittsburg⁹ & No Hampton expeditions, in prosecuting Indian wars, to say nothing of the delays and disgrace which have attended them. It is no disparagement to the pacific plan of the President that our Envoy arrived at a fortunate crisis. It is always the part of a statesman as it is of a Genl. to watch events and to profit by them; but even there it is ascribable wholly to accident, as it is the way of the world to make a man responsible for his bad, they shd. also give him credit for his good fortune. A few days ago I was imperceptibly led into a warm dispute with a Federalist an acquaintance of yours on the question whether the British Govt. wd. not be justified in taking possession of New-orleans at any time before the ratification of the treaty by our senate. A good deal was said on both sides, but I endeavoured to conclude the argument by placing it on this simple footing.....Were the French competent to sell? Yes. Were we competent to purchase. Yes. A fair sale and a purchase being made by competent parties, on the 30th of April a time too of general peace, any attempt by the British Govt. to prevent the execution of the contract by taking forcible possession of the place purchased wd. be an aggression which wd. justify war on the part of the U. S. He maintained however to the last that a treaty is of no validity until ratified, and as we are not bound to pay until the ratification we could not be injured by an event which wd. afford sufft. reason to refuse both. This was departing from the question, because shd. such an occurrence take place, we wd. nevertheless be at liberty to ratify and withhold payment until possession, which the french Govt. could not think unreasonable, or perhaps under such circumstances that Govt. might authorize the application of the purchase money towards dispossessing the Intruder. This wd. be a subject for subsequent negotiation, and not necessarily connected with the ratification. Another reason has been stated here which I have since seen hinted at in some of the papers to justify the British Govt. in such an interference, that the privileges secured to F and Spanish Vessels exclusively of all others are contrary to the stipulation

of the Treaty of London which guarantees to the subjects of Great Britain in our ports the privileges of the most favored nation. Without contending that the stipulation in favor of F. & Sp. bottoms is not a favor granted but a consideration of the cession, or rather a reservation of certain rights for a limited period by a nation possessing at the time and about to yield a complete sovereignty, it may be replied that the treaty of London contains a provision in favor of british vessels of Canada in the No. Wt. ports of the U. S. exactly similar where the reason did not apply with near so much force as in the present case. See the article. A favor which we did not grant to F. V. in any of our ports nor even to B. V. except in the No. W. ports; this altho objected among ourselves as an unconstitutional provision was never I believe complained of by France; having no existing rights she could not reasonably object to an arrangement which deprived her of none and had for its object only the local accomodation of another, then with respect to those ports, like Britain now with respect to the ports within the Mississippi, A nation about to cede has a right to make its conditions, and there is certainly a clear distinction between a territory received under such conditions, and favors granted in the ordinary course of commercial arrangement. G. Britain having no actual participation in the trade of the Mississippi before could not I think have complained even if the treaty of cession had obliged us to exclude her vessels altogether but this would have been a departure from our system of policy which I hope always will continue to be "*liberal commerce with all nations, entangling alliances with none.*" There is however one stipulation in this treaty which I sincerely lament, because I am sure it will increase the difficulties of the Secy. of the Treasy. I mean the payment of the interest (of the stock to be created) in Europe. I suppose it must have been either insisted on by the F. Govt. or perhaps inadvertently agreed to by Mr. Livingston. It is for other reasons, beside the difficulties of remitting, an unfortunate part of the contract.

The foregoing is the copy of Gen. Steele's letter retained by him. We have not the original.

Drafts respectfully submitted to the consideration of the committee appointed to prepare them for the 4th July 1803.

1st. The day.—Perpetuity to the principle of the revolution which it commemorates.—

2nd. The United States.—Common interest their best cement.—

3rd. The Federal constitution.—A good form of Government prepared for us by wise men in the spirit of mutual concession.—

4th. Our late illustrious fellow citizen George Washington and the long list of Statesmen and Heroes who cooperated with him in the establishment of American independence.—

5th. Thomas Jefferson President of the United States, and the Majorities of both houses of Congress.—Let the reflection that they are invested with powers delegated by the whole people inspire them with sentiments of justice and moderation and their political opponents with those of acquiescence and respect.—

6th. Foreign nations in amity with the United States.—Liberal commerce with all, entangling alliance with none.—

7th. The people of North Carolina.—Happy under a form of Government in theory simple, in practice safe and economical.—

8th. The Governor and Constituted authorities of North Carolina.—

9th. Our University and other institutions for the instruction of youth. It shd. never be forgotten that knowledge and virtue are the best preservatives of civil liberty.—

10th. The absence of party spirit.—Wherefore shd. it exist? "We are all republicans and all Federalists."

11th. (Public arsenals in proper situation adequate to the complete equipment of) The Militia.—A nation armed united and free is invincible.

12th. Agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.—Extension, and security to them all, they are the great sources of american prosperity.

13th. Public credit and the public debt.—An honorable performance of our legal engagements will

increase the one by the regular and speedy extinction of the other.

14th. The Press.—Let us learn to distinguish between its freedom and licentiousness.—

15th. Our rights on the Mississippi. Should diplomatic means fail Government may safely trust the final issue to god, and the energies of a people who will neither do nor suffer injustice.—

19th. The fair sex.—Without participation in public affairs their dominion is in the hearts of their countrymen.

17th. Our Sister State Ohio.—[The day is not distant when her importance to the Union (as a frontier) will be known and appreciated]—Young in years but growing fast into importance.

NOTES.

¹ Spruce McCoy, a Judge of the Superior Courts of Law and Equity in North Carolina 1790 to 1808.

² Archibald Henderson, son of Richard Henderson, who was a Judge prior to the Revolution. and brother of Chief Justice Leonard Henderson. He was the leader of the bar of Rowan, and Representative in Congress 1799 to 1803; a Federalist.

³ The Governor thus "scratched" was a Republican, James Turner, of Warren county. He was elected thrice, 1802-'05. At the close of his term as Governor, he was chosen to be United States Senator and served until 1816. Further notice of him is given elsewhere.

⁴ Samuel Chase, of Maryland, Judge of the Supreme Court of United States, 1796-1813. His charge to the Grand Jury of Baltimore, May 2nd, 1803, was extremely obnoxious to the Republicans. He declared that the repeal by Congress of the law for the election of sixteen circuit judges, the establishment of universal suffrage in Maryland and further alteration in the state judiciary contemplated, will take away all security for property and personal liberty. "The independence of the national judiciary was already shaken to its foundation. Our constitution will be a mobocracy, the worst of all possible governments," and more to the same effect.

The impeachment against Judge Chase alleged injustice, partiality and intemperate conduct and language. There were eight articles. The first alleged misconduct in the trial of Fries, the next five similar outrageous conduct in the trial of Callender for libel; the seventh charged wrong-doing in refusing to dismiss the grand jury until they should indict a printer for treason, and Article VIII. characterized the charge to the grand jury at Baltimore as a prostitution of the judiciary to low partisan purposes, with intent to arouse hatred against the government of Maryland and of the United States.

Twenty three votes for conviction were necessary, as it takes two-thirds to convict. On the first article only 16 out of 34 voted guilty; on the second only 10; on the third 18; on the fourth, not one; on the fifth only 6; on the sixth 10; on the seventh 10; on the eighth 19.

Samuel Chase was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, an ardent and useful patriot, an extreme Federalist, an able lawyer, but of overbearing disposition.

⁵ The other Judges were besides Chief Justice Marshall, 1801-'35, William Cushing, of Massachusetts, 1789-1815, William Paterson (so spelled), of New Jersey, 1793-1806, Alfred Moore, of North Carolina, 1799-1804.

⁶ Alfred Moore had been a Captain in the Revolution, and Attorney General and Judge of North Carolina.

⁷ Wm. Paterson, had been member of the Continental Congress and U. S. Senator. In the Convention of 1787 he was author of the "New Jersey Plan," which guarded the sovereignty of the States.

⁸ The price was \$11,250,000 in United States stock payable in fifteen years, and also \$3,350,000 due by the French government for depredations on our commerce; in all \$15,000,000. The purchase was supposed to contain over a million square miles, that is, over 640,000,000 acres, about twenty three cents an acre. The white inhabitants were about 50,000 of French and Spanish birth and 40,000 slaves. The treaty was

negotiated with Napoleon by Robert R. Livingston, but Monroe, being sent by Jefferson specially for the purpose, joined with him in completing the negotiation.

⁹ Mr. Steele probably refers to the expenses of suppressing the Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylvania and Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts.

Macon to Steele.

Washington 27 Novr. 1803

Sir

I write to you now, not because I have anything worth writing, but because I hope it will be the means of inducing you to give me the news of Salisbury. This place affords nothing new, which you will not find in every news paper; The vote to repeal the Bankrupt act,¹ was not a party one, & the few who opposed the repeal, were not, one excepted, in favor of the principle, but wished it amended and to expire by its own limitation

It is believed, that it will be known here, in 15 or 20 days, either that the U. S. are in possession of New Orleans; or that the Spanish Government² there will not deliver it to the U. S., no fact is yet known here to induce a belief, that it will not be surrendered; every thing tranquil at New Orleans as late as 11-instant, no act at that day done, which indicated the least hostile intention

I cannot think of any thing else to write, and were I to see you it is possible, a thousand small affairs might come to my recollection which might serve to excite laughter

I am with great respect

Sir Yr. most obt sert

Nathl Macon

(General Steele

Salisbury

No Carolina)

NOTES.

¹ Passed April 8, 1800. Repealed October, 1803. It was thought to be "prolific of fraud, wastefulness and a wild

spirit of speculation." The vote for repeal in the House was 99 to 13.

* In 1682, LaSalle took possession of the territory and named it after Louis XIV. Bienville founded New Orleans in 1706. In 1762, France ceded the territory to Spain. In 1800, Spain retroceded it to France. In May 1803, France sold it to the United States. December 20, 1803, Laussat, Commissioner of France, formally surrendered it to Wm. C. C. Claiborne and James Wilkinson, Commissioners of the United States. A body of militia of Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, was held in readiness, and a small force of Tennesseans was moved to Natchez, in order to quell any resistance on the part of the inhabitants, but none was offered. The province was at once divided into two territories, that of Orleans, and that of Louisiana. Wm. C. C. Claiborne was the first Governor of Orleans, in 1812 the State of Louisiana.

The Spanish Government, through the Marquis de Casa Yrujo, strongly protested against the right of France to alienate the territory, alleging that there was an agreement not to do so, and, secondly, that the sale to France by Spain was not binding, because the contract of the former in regard to Tuscany, which was the moving consideration, had not been carried out.

Macon to Steele.

Washington 11 Decr 1803

Sir

Your letter^t of the 25 ultimo has been duly received, and the remarks therein made ought to satisfy every one on the subject; but it is no easy thing, to satisfy those who make improper and unjust demands and expect to support their claims, not by the law, but by an evasion of it, and not by an evasion, which justice could warrant

The letter therein referred to, has been received, and an answer was left at home to be sent to Warrenton to be put in the mail for you; I suppose it is

still at home, and must remain there at least till my return

By the papers you will see, that hitherto we have had nothing like a storm in Congress; it is however true, that we have had a brisk gale or two, but of short duration;

I do not expect, that any subject will be before the house, which will produce the general sort of debate, which you have sometimes witnessed, and which never added much to the reputation of the speakers or to the character of the Nation

The forming a Government for Louisiana will probably be the most difficult part of the present session I say this, because I have heard several plans spoken of, neither of which would I believe be adopted

I have sent this scrawl in some haste,

I am Sir
most sincerely
Nathl Macon

(Genl- Steele
Salisbury
No Carolina)

NOTE.

¹ We have not this letter. The claim from Rhode Island, elsewhere explained, is probably alluded to. Mr. Steele when Comptroller rejected it.

Macon to Steele.

Washington 12 Feby 1804

Sir

I have duly received yours of the 19 ultimo, and sincerely wish it was in my power to communicate to you, all the wishes and intentions of every Department of the Government, It is I think quite probable that no one knows less of them than I do, my situation in the House keeps me almost constantly confined, and I am generally so tired of politics by the evening, that I had rather hear of anything else, besides a hurt which I received on my way to this

place, has kept me much at home, so much so, that I have not been able to make such enquiries as I have heretofore done

On the subject of the lands¹ claimed by citizens of N. C. and others lying within the Indian border line, and within the limits of Tennessee, I know not what to say; Those who ought to urge a decision of the house on that point, seem always to be otherwise engaged; I shall most certainly use every effort in my power to have a decision, but it is one of those questions that I have so often supported, that I cannot now think of any thing new on the subject, and most cordially hate to repeat old speeches, even to new members. I have however a hope, that both the N. C. & Tennessee members will perfectly understand the question, and treat it in such a manner as to make others completely comprehend it. I have indirectly heard, but I do not now recollect in what way scarcely or from whom, that the President was very desirous to get the Indians especially those to the South to remove themselves over the Mississippi

The British Minister² has kicked up a little dust about his & his wife's rank, such as going first out of the sitting to the dining room; having number one given to his wife at the dancing assembly, and this prank of the Briton, has acted as a spur to the Spaniard, and the Marquis the³ Casa Yrujo has also taken it into his head to shew a trick or two about this new fangled doctrine of rank, where the people nor their form of government acknowledge any; However I suspect both the claims, although not for money, will meet, the same fate, which claims so often meet from the Committee of claims, that is, leave to withdraw

There is at this moment a great deal of business before Congress, though none of much consequence, except forming a plan of government for Louisiana, and carrying the revenue laws of the U. S. into operation in that Country; The quantity of business seems necessarily to put an adjournment a good way off, but the quality of it, is much against a distant day; yet it is impossible to form any tolerable correct opinion when an adjournment will take place

Accept my best wishes, and believe me to be very truly

Sir Yrs. Sincerely
Nathl Macon

(General Steele
Salisbury
No Carolina)

NOTES.

¹ By Acts of the General Assembly of North Carolina of 1782, 1783 and 1784, the warrants for lands granted to the officers and soldiers of the Continental line of that state were to be located in what was called the Military Reservation, in the western part of what is now Tennessee. In December 1789, North Carolina passed the Act of Cession of Tennessee to the United States which was approved by Congress, April 2nd, 1790. In this Act the rights of the officers and soldiers were protected. In 1796, Tennessee was admitted into the Union but the unappropriated lands were not ceded to her. Tennessee claimed that North Carolina's rights expired in 1792 because the time of the claims was originally limited to that date and the latter state had not reserved the power of extension of the time. In 1799, Tennessee asserted by resolution her ownership as sovereign of all unlocated lands within her limits. In 1801, she confirmed all prior entries under grants, and prohibited by heavy penalties any further action by North Carolina surveyors and entry takers. In 1803, she appointed Judge John Overton to adjust the difficulties with North Carolina, which resulted in giving the latter the right to issue the military warrants.

In 1806, Congress in a spirit of liberality ceded to Tennessee, the title of the United States, reserving the claims of North Carolina under the Act of Cession, and certain Indian titles. The part not ceded was about one-third of the state, and was west and south of the line known as the Military Reservation line.

The Indian titles thus reserved were those of the Chicka-

saw Indians under the Pioningo Treaty of 1786. By treaties in 1805, 1816 and 1818 the Indians agreed to sell their rights and move beyond the Mississippi. After satisfying all claimants, between two and three million of acres remained, which in 1846 were donated to Tennessee by Congress. The proceeds of the sale of one-third of such military land warrants as escheated to North Carolina formed the endowment of her State University prior to the Civil War, the other two-thirds being taken by Tennessee for her own colleges.

Jefferson adopted the rule of "pell-mell" for his dinings, i.e. that there should be no precedence, no grades among foreign ministers. "All are perfectly equal, whether foreign or domestic, titled or untitled, in or out of office." Anthony Merry, the British minister, arrived at Washington in the fall of 1803. He and his wife were invited to a reception on December 2nd, and contrary to usage, (France and England being at war) the President urged with success, M. Pichon, the French chargé, also to attend. When dinner was announced the President escorted Mrs. Madison and placed her on his right. Madame Yrujo, the wife of the Spanish minister, was placed on his left. Mr. Merry, without being assigned to any seat, started to sit next to Madame Yrujo, but was crowded out by a member of the House of Representatives. M. Yrujo wrote home that Merry and his wife had reason to resent the, apparently studied, preference given to himself and wife over Mr. and Mrs. Merry.

Soon after at Madison's reception the host took to the table the wife of the Secretary of the Treasury, Gallatin, and in the confusion on account of this unexpected conduct, Mrs. Merry was left alone, until her husband walked up and offered her his hand. M. Pichon wrote that in his opinion the Secretary of State wished "Mr. Merry to feel more keenly the scandal he had made." The scandal consisted in Merry's assertion that his treatment by Jefferson was intended as an insult to the nation he represented.

Mrs. Merry, whom Jefferson in a private letter calls a vir-

ago, was indignant at her treatment. She was joined by Madame Yrujo and a tempest was stirred up in the tea pot of Washington society. An explanation of the American usage of equality was made, but it was not successful in producing peace among the ladies. Jefferson praises Merry but adds "if his wife perseveres she must eat her soup at home, and we shall endeavor to draw him into society as if she did not exist."

Jefferson's disregard of etiquette was approved by his party, but was contemptuously denounced by the Federalists.

Comptroller Duval to Macon.

Comptroller's office F 16. 1804

Dear Sir

Having been informed, that you have received a letter from Mr. Steele relative to the Rhode Island petitions, which have been referred to me by the house of Representatives, & presuming that it may throw light on the subject, I have to request the favor of a perusal of it, unless it contains matter of a private nature, or unless there may be any other matter which may forbid a compliance with my request

I have the honor to be
with great respect & esteem

Your obedt. servt-
(signed) G Duval

directed to me

NM

Macon to Comptroller Duval.

Washington 17 Feby 1804

Sir

Agreeable to the request contained in yours yesterday, I herewith enclose you the letter of my friend Mr. Steele; It may not be improper to state to you, that this letter is an answer to one from me to him, & that it was thought due to him to transmit with my letter the statement which was presented to each

member of the House of Representatives on the claims referred to in his letter

I am with great respect

Sir Yr. most obt. sert—

(signed) Nathl Macon

directed to the Comptroller of the Treasury—with the following—N. B. after reading please to return the letter .

Macon to Steele.

Washington 26 Feby 1804

Sir

Herewith you will receive the copy of two notes; If I erred in letting the present Comptroller read your letter, you will pardon it I am sure, either Mr. Gallatin or some member of the house to whom I communicated the contents or permitted to read it, must have informed him of it, I confess to you my anxiety on the subject of the Rhode Island petitions, would not permit me to delay sending your letter as requested; On the committee of commerce & manufactures it certainly had an effect, because they had before the reception of it reported in favor of some of them, I believe the securities; afterwards it recommitted to the same Committee, because it was stated, there was more testimony to be laid before the committee, and after retaining them a considerable time, The Committee asked to be discharged, & to have the petitions referred to the Comptroller, both motions obtained,

I have not heard, whether the comptroller has decided on them, The reference to the Comptroller, is rather a new proceeding in Congress, The general practice having been, not to refer subjects on which a Committee had acted to any department .

The Supreme Court I understand have decided in favor of the sugar refiners, This question was brought before the Court by an appeal, from a circuit court, which decided against the refiners

I know of nothing else either legislative, executive, or Judical worth telling, nor even the substance of

the testimony which has been collected against Judge Chase.

I am Sir truly yrs
Nathal Macon

(Genl- John Steele
Salisbury
No Carolina)

NOTE.

¹ By the courtesy of Hon. R. J. Tracewell, the present Comptroller, I learn that there were conflicting claims to the bounty offered for a four months fishing cruise by owner, master and crew of the schooner, employed. Congress ultimately paid the bounty to the owner or his agent.

Macon to Steele.

Washington 25 March 1804

Sir

Late last evening I had the pleasure to receive yours of the 15- instant, and acknowledge it early this morning, lest the book of accounts should prevent my doing after breakfast

Every thing this two days past has been hurry, but yesterday the H. of R. cleared the table of every order of the day, on which it is expected it will act in the present session; some bills of real importance are yet before the Senate, and tomorrow is the day fixed for adjourning; The loss of the Philadelphia, and the effects it may produce on Tripoli in particular and the Barbary powers in general are not easily to be calculated, but the situation of the unfortunate captives is readily felt

I am very sincerely your friend
Nathl Macon

(Genl Steele
Salisbury
No Carolina)

NOTES.

¹ Bainbridge commanded the Philadelphia a 38 gun frigate,

in the war with Tripoli. On October 21, 1803 he chased an enemy cruiser into shoal water and, while hauling off, struck a reef. The Tripolitan gunboats captured his vessel and succeeded in floating her under the guns of the castle. Lieutenant Stephen Decatur was detailed by Commodore Preble to take seventy five men in a captured Tripolitan vessel to destroy her. On the night of February 16th 1804 he ran into the harbor, boarded the Philadelphia, threw her crew overboard, burned her to the water's edge and escaped without the loss of a man.

A Treaty of Peace was made June 4th, 1805 by which Tripoli agreed to cease depredations on our commerce, and on payment of \$60,000. to release all American captives.

Steele to Macon

Salisbury June 7th 1804

The want of something, My friend, which wd. be worth postage has delayed until now the pleasure I shd. otherwise have had of acknowledging sooner the receipt of a letter which you did me the favor to write to me about the close of the late session of Congress. It contained, if I remember rightly, the first intimation I received of the capture of the Frigate Philadelphia, and perceiving lately that though lost to us she is also by the gallant conduct of Capt Decatur lost to our inhuman enemies, the same occasion will serve to convey to you my condolence and my congratulation for these two events. This mode of balancing the account is the more agreeable to me too, as I am not in the habit of indulging myself in complaints about public or private misfortunes. All nations and all men are liable to them, and when they happen "a wise man has nothing to do but to sit down and digest them." I sincerely hope however, that our brave Tars will not remain long in captivity, and that they will find a suitable remuneration for their sufferings in the gratitude of their country

You were kind enough last winter to give me some information concerning the 'Rhode Island pamphlet

but I have not yet learned the final issue of that application to the Government. The courts gave judgment according to my construction—the Treasy. authorized stay of execution that application might be made to the Legislature for relief as no other power of the Government appeared competent to afford it Congress declined interference, discharged the committee and transmitted the cases for further order to the Comptr. Here your last letter left the affair which on the part of Congress seemed equivalent to a direction *to let the executions issue*. Was this the impression at the time, or had the Treasy. adopted any more opinion concerning the law or the merits of the cases?

I wish you would also inform me whether the ex-Justices² of the District of Columbia have revived their application for a mandamus agt. the Secty. of State; and what appeared to be the opinion of the most sensible and dispassionate men in Congress as to *the judicial management of that subject*. The motion you know for a rule was dismissed but the Chief Justice in assigning the reasons of the court not only admitted the right of the applicants to redress but pointed out (in terms sufficiently explicit to be understood) the mode of obtaining it.

A³ question of vast magnitude to the whole state of North Carolina and especially to the inhabitants of what is called Lord Granville's part of it is to be decided by the same gentleman at the ensuing Federal court at Raleigh. It is not possible that as individuals we are in any danger of losing, or of even being disturbed in the possession of our estates by the decision:—but nevertheless as a public question it is entitled to attention and as citizens of a community so deeply implicated both in its political character and its pecuniary interests, it is natural that we shd. feel an unusual degree of solicitude. The payment of quit rents alone (even since the Treaty of peace) unconnected with any question concerning the right of soil wd. produce very great embarrassments:—a decision of both agt. us would be attended with the most serious consequences. I think I have heard some years ago, that a similar⁴ question was decided in the courts of Virginia in relation

to the title and claims of one of the Proprietors there perhaps Lord Fairfax, and that our presiding Judge first as Counsel on the part of Lord F. and afterwards in virtue of a *joint interest* was concerned and had the principal management of the cause, I am not sufficiently informed to say whether there is any analogy in the cases, and if there be, whether the decisions in Virginia were of a nature to increase or diminish our apprehensions. It is probable your neighbor ⁵ Judge Hall understands this subject fully. Perhaps it has been considered at the seat of Govt. Be so good as to favor me with your ideas, and information upon it.—

I have lately seen, and not till lately the pamphlet of Aristides, ⁶ in vindication of Mr. Burr. It indicates a degree of rancorous irritation among men in the State of New York of which I had supposed the American character was not yet susceptible. It is indeed to be lamented, that instead of union and affection we shd. discover in any part of our country such evident symptoms of deep rooted animosity and distraction. Contemplating scenes of civil discord the great and good Jos. Addison might well exclaim "Gods what havock doth ambition make among your works."

Yours sincerely, Adieu

Jno. Steele

Nathaniel Macon Esqr.

Let me know if you please to what part of the country Mr. Orr has removed from the City of Washington. I wish to write to him but do not know by what mail.

J.S.

Civilians are not better agreed on any point in the whole science of Govt. than that party spirit is the evil genius of republics and that the dangers to be apprehended from its excess are in exact proportion to the degree of freedom enjoyed within, and the remoteness of hostility from without. This consideration alone shd. induce virtuous men in high public stations who derive thence an increased portion of influence in society to endeavor not vainly to deprecate its existence, for in the nature of free govern-

ments it cannot be prevented; but by the inculcation of wise, just, and patriotic maxims of administrations to moderate its effects, which is all that is attainable or perhaps even desirable. A cooling regimen is best calculated to preserve unimpaired the health and vigor of the american body politic, and to give proper employment and direction to its intellectual powers. With respect to the Southern States I am sure this treatment is necessary and would prove salutary. Those who recommend a diff. course are weak passionate or ambitious men; some of them sincere perhaps in their opinions, but certainly not profoundly skilled in the leading principles of civil society, the nature of man, and the conflicting interests of our country geographically considered.

NOTES.

¹ See note to letter of 26 February, 1804.

² The Supreme Court, in *Marbury vs Madison*, held that while it had not original jurisdiction it did have appellate jurisdiction. *Marbury* however did not bring suit in the lower court, probably because he had only a five year term, and so much time would elapse before he could get a decree, the gain would not justify the expense.

³ Earl Granville alone of the Lords Proprietors refused to surrender his one eighth title to Carolina. His share was allotted to him in severalty in 1774, being the land between the Virginia line and 34° 36' N. He sold many tracts reserving quit-rents. The test suit brought by his heirs against Wm. R. Davie and Josiah Collins was tried in Raleigh before the circuit court of the United States, Judge Henry Potter presiding. Chief Justice Marshall declined sitting because of his connection with similar claims before going on the bench. The jury decided against the plaintiffs and they appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. The appeal was not prosecuted. Great Britain had accepted three millions of dollars in discharge of debts due her subjects, but the states, being only recommended to restore confiscated lands, never

complied. Wm. Gaston was leading counsel for the Granville heirs and Duncan Cameron for the defence.

⁴See note to next letter.

⁶The pamphlet of "Aristides" was in behalf of Burr, a vicious attack on his opponents, the Clintons, Livingston, Hamilton and others. The author was William Peter Van Ness.

⁵Judge John Hall afterwards Supreme Court Judge of North Carolina.

Macon to Steele.

Rock Spring 2 July 1804

Sir

I yesterday had the pleasure to receive yours of the 22 ultimo: and sincerely regret that it is not in my power, to give such an answer to your enquiry concerning the fate of the Rhode Island petition as would please myself, before leaving Washington and after I had finished my business with the Treasury & bank, I called at the Comptrollers office with no other view, than to ascertain, whether he had finally determined the case, and to enquire what that determination was, provided he had made one; He was not in the Treasury department at the time: I however understood, though not officially that he had decided in favor of the prayer of the petition; on what ground the opinion was formed I do not understand; The decision made by you, would I am sure have been confirmed by the H. of R. and I entertain no doubt but there were some, who voted for the reference, under the belief that the decision would be confirmed by the present officer, without perhaps reflecting much on the nature of the reference, This opinion is in some measure entertained, because the vote to refer was taken without debate, and I know that there were members, who are in the habit of speaking who approved of your decision; I also understood, that the present officer was exceedingly sorry that it was referred

I have not heard any thing of Medeterranian affairs more than you have seen in the papers, Though

I believe the P-would willingly be at peace with them as well as the rest of the world; provided peace would be had on fair & honest principles; This opinion is formed only on the general conduct of the man

The case of the heirs of Lord Granville is not now talked much of, with us, it is generally said he will not recover; and most, if not all seem satisfied with the opinion; I have not heard the opinion of any Lawyer or Judge. It was made an objection to the treaty negotiated by Mr. Jay, that it would at least induce the heirs to put up a claim and Mr. Tracey¹ of Connecticut, then in the house examined the question, and declared detidedly that the heirs could never recover one foot

The Fairfax claim² was purchased (as I have understood, or rather as well as I now recollect, what I formerly heard,) about the time of the treaty, suits were brought, Mr. Marshall was a partner in the purchase, his brother James made the contract with the English claimant, whether Mr. M. appeared as counsel for the plaintiff I do not recollect, but he certainly was in fact, the leading counsel, whether he appeared at the bar or not; The State of Virginia and the purchasers of Fairfax at last compromised but I do not know on what principle the compromise took place

Patience will bring everythng right in a free country, and if contrary to my expectations the claim is supported, we must exercise the same patience, which we have done, on other great questions, The assembly I hope will not touch or meddle with the subject at their next meeting

Permit me to assure you, that the sentiments of respect which you have expressed are & always have been reciprocated by

yrs sincerely

Nathl Macon

(Genl. John Steele
Salisbury
No Carolina)

NOTES.

¹ Uriah Tracy, Senator from Connecticut; a lawyer; member

of House of Representatives 1793 to 1796 and of the Senate 1796-1807. He contended (a) that North Carolina succeeded to Granville's, as well as the crown lands, by the Act of Independence. (b) North Carolina's claim was good by Acts of Confiscation. (c) That the treaties of 1783 and 1794 conferred right only on those who owned lands at those dates. It was reported that the Granville heirs had received £60,000 from the British treasury as compensation for their losses.

² Thomas, Lord Fairfax, of Greenway Court, in the Northern Neck, between the Potomac and the Rappahannock. He owned over 5,000,000 acres of Virginia lands. He died in 1781 devising part of his estate to his nephew Denny, afterwards Lord Fairfax, a resident of England. Messrs. Marshall, Colston and Lee bought the interest of this nephew. After litigation, John Marshall, attorney, also one of the purchasers, in 1796 made a compromise with the state, which was carried into effect by an Act of the Assembly. The devisee of Lord Fairfax, and their assignees relinquished all claims to those Fairfax lands, "which were waste and unappropriated at the time of the death of the elder Lord Fairfax, and the state of Virginia relinquished all claims to lands specifically appropriated by the said Lord Fairfax to his own use, either by deed or actual survey." The act was passed "on the petition of sundry inhabitants of the counties of Hampshire, Hardy and Shenandoah."

Macon to Steele.

Washington 12 Decr. 1804

Sir

This place has during the present session been one continued calm, no political event has hitherto produced any warmth on either side, nor is there yet a motion made, which will change this happy state of affairs, but a report which must be made on the petition of those generally denominated yazoo men, will probably destroy the quiet of the session, this opinion is formed rather from former debates, than any thing that I have heard since coming here; Not-

withstanding this temperate state of the house, the intercourse between those of different politics, is not more frequent than formerly;

The city is uncommonly dull, and houses increase faster than inhabitants a few new ones are building, while some of those already built are not inhabited,

Georgetown has improved a little particularly the streets since you saw it.

It is believed by those who pretend to be best informed, that Tripoli² will soon be compelled to peace; if this should be the case, and the European belligerent powers not infringe our neutral rights, we shall soon be in a situation to reduce the tax on some imported article,

This letter will convince you, that nothing but a desire to write to you, could be the cause of writing—yrs truly

Nathl Macon.

(Genl. John Steele
Salisbury
No Carolina)

NOTES.

¹ In 1795 four land companies, by bribery as was believed, obtained from the General assembly of Georgia grants for about 35,000,000 acres, about half of the territory between the Georgia line and the Mississippi river, for \$500,000 or about one and a half cents per acre. In 1796 a new legislature passed an act revoking the sale, and many of the stockholders surrendered their contracts. Many, however, sold their claims to persons in New England and elsewhere who stood in the light of innocent purchasers. In *Fletcher vs. Peck* the Supreme Court sustained their title, the repealing act being unconstitutional. In 1802 Georgia ceded the territory west of her limits to the United States. The purchasers from the grantors of 1795 applied to Congress to perfect their titles or compensate them in money. John Randolph opposed them fiercely and succeeded in postponing action for years. In 1813 Congress compromised the matter for \$5,000,000, payable out of the sales of the land in question.

It is noticeable that Randolph was defeated for this Congress by John W. Eppes. Able commissioners, Madison, Galatin, Levi Lincoln, with James Jackson, Secretary Baldwin and Governor Milledge, had recommended a compromise.

Steele to Macon.

Salisbury Jany. 17th, 1805.

Dear Sir,

About four weeks ago I had the pleasure to receive your much esteemed favor of the 12th of December and wd. have acknowledged my obligations to you for it sooner, if an entire failure in the arrival of our Mails since that time (occasioned by uncommonly deep^r snows) had not prevented me. Your kindness in remembering an absent friend is entitled to the best return which a sincere and grateful heart can make:—mine I trust you will always find duly sensible of your attentions and devoted to the cultivation of those friendly dispositions which in every situation, but especially in a retired one, constitute a principal share of our best enjoyments.—In private life, it is natural that a man should appretiate highly the offices of personal regard, and when these come, like yours, from one of a diff^t party name they win upon the heart not as friendly attentions merely but as indications of candor and liberality rising superior to the prejudices and passions of the times. To the want of a sufficient degree of this same spirit of candor and liberality is to be ascribed that distance and reserve which you inform me still continue to be kept up among the Members of Congress— This state of things, however we may unite in lamenting its existence is an evil not to be cured while both parties believe or pretend to believe, the fault to be with their opponents and not with themselves as if virtue and vice were synonomous with party distinctions— Those who in a party sense *have been Federalists* (for you must notice here as in former letters that I speak of that party as *having been*, because it was in my opinion dissolved at the conclusion of the late general^r peace when the French revolution terminated, and our proclamation of neutrality of 1793 and the great-

er part of the measures which grew out of it had their effect) charge 1-2 of your party with maintaining the odious doctrine of a general expulsion of all who are called Federalists from office, and the other and better because less unjust and irrational half, with the toleration of those who are *in* but the rigid exclusion of all who are *out*. This last, they say, not less than the first is a departure from the broad and generous principle avowed in the President's inauguration speech, which is the only one that can or ought to last, and that indiscriminate exclusion for matters of opinion with reference to our disputes, is in effect not merely to "call by different names brethren of the same principle" but to treat one class of brethren worse than Aliens. Although the Federal party in the sense which I have supposed the proper one may be dissolved, the individuals continue, and notwithstanding the submission of many of them to the will of the majority in changing the Administration, their explicit approbation of some of the acts of Government since (particularly the acquisition of Louisiana and the measures adopted for the reduction of the Funded debts) an entire cordiality in their intercourse with your party, either in or out of Congress, is not in the nature of things to be expected, while their *indiscriminate exclusion* is either openly vindicated, or tacitly adhered to as a maxim of administration. It would well become a man of your independence and influence to inculcate the injustice and narrowness of such a sentiment, and that being, though in a less violent degree than expulsion, a species of political persecution you may easily show that it cannot stand a temperate and enlightened examination. Another reason will of course occur to you, that from the tendency of elections in some of the States it must have become manifest of late to the good men of your party, that in southern sections at least they have more to apprehend from another quarter than from the Federalists, and that however complete your party triumphs may seem to be, they cannot have beneficial and permanent effects, unless you guard agt. *the arts and violent counsels of your Exclusionists*. Had Majr Franklin³ understood this subject better, had he turned his eyes in time to the quarter whence real op-

position came, he might perhaps been continued six yrs. longer!!! Here my friend, let your own reflections supply the rest. What I have suggested has at least the merit of being disinterested, and proceeds from that unreserved confidence which has characterized all my intercourse with you:—an intercourse begun when opinions were free, long before political differences were sharpened into animosity, and sustained without interruption through the most virulent seasons of it.

Not having seen a newspaper for some weeks, owing to the detention of four mails I am as ignorant of what is going on at Washington since the date of your letter as the man in the Moon. These privations which only disappoint my curiosity a little are not however without their advantage, for they leave my mind more unoccupied and better fitted to pursue a course of reading which keeps me employed with the hope of becoming a more intelligent and useful member of society. In this pursuit I have moved on for two years past with greater assiduity and success than in any other equal period of my life; a good arrangement of my little estate leaving me but few cares or interruptions except such as proceed occasionally from the want of health in my family, and these visits which are only autumnal I shall endeavour to prevent after another year by a temporary residence annually at the Botetourt springs⁴, or some other civilized place where I can keep my wife and children well. Twenty acres of cotton more than my overseer at Lethe is preparing to plant for the next crop will enable me to do this, and then (— my own health being already quite robust) I shall be as happy as peace of mind, and good will to all the sons of Adam can make me. Of this long, and the misanthrope would perhaps say shabby list, there is not one who would serve you with more pleasure or who is with greater sincerity and truth your friend than the one who now wishes you an happy new yr. and many of them, full of honor and uninterrupted satisfaction

Adieu

Jno. Steele.

Nathaniel Macon Esqr.

House of Representatives

It will require some greatness of mind on both sides to search dispassionately for the causes of this, and still more perhaps to apply a rational and well timed remedy.

There are times when passions are necessary but such are not the present. Your best Doctors and Dr. Macon among the rest, I have no doubt recommend a cooling regimen as the best means of abating that fever which has brought, and must if not checked continue to bring noisy and inferior men into places of distinction. You want, especially from the Southern States, clear headed, well informed, virtuous men:—whether your chance of obtaining them be increased or diminished by the doctrine of exclusion is a very simple question.

NOTES.

¹ A similar snow fell in North Carolina in 1857.

² The Treaty of Amiens, March 25th, 1802, negotiated by Lord Cornwallis and Joseph Buonaparte, concluding the war between England and France and their respective allies. The peace proved to be only a truce and was ended in 1803. General Steele's notion that the Federal party came to its end in 1802, proved to be illusory. Jefferson seemed to approve it when he said in his first message; "We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Federalists—all Republicans."

³ Jesse Franklin, U. S. Senator 1789-1805. State Senator 1805 and 1806. U. S. Senator again 1807-'13; Governor of North Carolina 1820-'21. In 1805 he was defeated by James Turner.

⁴ In the mountains of Virginia.

Macon to Steele.

Washington 19 Jany, 1805

Sir

This Session of Congress has not hitherto produced a fact, worth writing which may not be seen in every

news paper in the U. S. It is possible I may have told you this once before; The debates have generally been conducted with moderation & temper notwithstanding there has been a subject or two, which in their nature must have very much interested the feelings of many; of this kind is the present trade to St- Domingo; which is chiefly carried on by armed vessels, without authority for arming, and mostly it is believed in articles contraband of war; The armed vessels as well as their warlike cargoes are understood to be sold in the Island at very high prices; This kind of trade must I conceive produce the same sensations, in the European governments, who have colonies in the West Indies, as it will produce in the states whose population is not all of the same condition and color; The Government of France¹, which has not yielded the idea of conquering the Island, and reducing the inhabitants to the situation they were in before the revolution; may view this merchantile project, in rather a more strong light, than the other European Nations; A bill to regulate the arming of merchant vessels has passed the H. of R. and is now before the Senate, The bill is scarcely strong enough I fear, to produce the desired effect, when the great profit of the trade is considered

To restrain if possible, by law the violation of our neutrality and our neutral rights in our waters, will be a subject of some difficulty, the opinions which have been expressed on this point are various indeed, no decisive vote has yet been taken by which an opinion may be formed, as to the result,

The British Government are I am informed determined to enforce their navigation law², This will probably if rightly carried into execution, give some uneasiness to our Merchants & navigators, and may possibly during the present session give rise to a motion or two if nothing else; This determination will doubtless produce in the U. S. many projects to countervail, almost every politician will have a plan, and each of them will fancy his own quite certain to produce the desired effect; Whenever a step shall be taken on this ground, must be examined in the most deliberate manner; it effects may come to every man

at home, It will also produce as serious consequences to the people of Britain.

I have not heard, who the new³ attorney general is to be; before this you have seen that Mr. Lincoln has resigned—It is reported, that there is some difficulty in getting one to accept

We have a very severe and very dull winter in the city—I am Sir yrs truly

Nathl Macon

(General John Steele
Salisbury
No Carolina)

NOTES.

¹ The eastern part of Santo Domingo under the Spaniards was not affected by the rebellion in the western part 1791-'97. In 1795 Spain ceded its rights in the island to France. In 1801 Toussaint Louverture ruled the island. In 1802 the French occupied it, but were driven out of the western part, retaining their hold in the eastern until 1809, when the English captured Santo Domingo and Samana and gave them to her ally Spain.

² The chief object of the navigation law at this time was to prevent Americans and other neutrals from carrying French and Spanish sugar from the West Indies to Europe.

³ Robert Smith, of Maryland, was transferred from the Navy Department to the Attorney Generalship. After holding the office for a few months he was appointed Secretary of State. In 1811 Madison replaced him by James Monroe. He was succeeded in the office of Attorney General by John Breckinridge, grandfather of vice-President John C. Breckinridge; Senator from Kentucky 1804-'05. Caesar A. Rodney, of Delaware, was successor to Breckinridge, who died in December, 1806.

Macon to Steele.

Washington 3 March 1805

Sir

I have received your letter and owe you answer,

which I have not before given; can only now say what you know, that the session is almost at an end, and that I am truly

Yrs.

Nathl Macon

Debating a bill to add to the pension list

(Genl- John Steele
Salisbury
No Carolina)

NOTES.

Endorsed on this letter in Gen. Steele's hand writing is the following, doubtless his mode of cultivating his plantation Lethe.

1805	¹ Ch. side	50 cotton	¹ Peg H.	40 oats	¹ Barnf.	60 wheat	¹ Bottom	20 corn
1806	"	oats	"	wheat	"	cotton	"	60 corn
1807	"	wheat	"	65 cotton	"	corn	"	oats
² 1808	"	_____	"	corn	"	oats	"	wheat
1809	"	65 corn	"	65 oats	"	65 wheat	"	65 cotton
Total, 260 acres.								

¹ Names of his different fields. We can only guess that Ch. side is Chilly side and Peg H. is Peg Hill. Barnfield and Bottom are sufficiently plain. The list is printed in order to show the rotation of crops adopted by General Steele, as well as approximately the size of his farm. As plantations in his day had a generous quantity of woodland. I conjecture that Lethe contained 800 to 1000 acres.

² Ch. side was "turned out," or lay fallow in 1808.

Macon to Steele.

Washington 10 Jany 1808

Sir

The letter you wrote to me on the 20 - ultimo, came to hand yesterday. The contents was immediately communicated to Mr. Turner, who instantly answered that his agent in Carolina had informed him, that his horses were engaged for the next season, and that if they had not, he would most willingly let you have one on the usual terms; I do not know where either of

the horses mentioned by you are to stand next spring, nor do I know to whom either of them belong; Whip was last year in Georgia

Mr. Turner informed me that he expected the pedigree & performance of his horses would be published in the news papers, he has them not with him, or I would send them to you He also informed me that Magic would stand this season in your neighborhood and that he would sell one; I was this morning at Genl. Blount² lodgings, where the conversation turned on horses, he had in his possession several volumes of the Sporting Magazine he turned to one, and read an account of the winners for 1806, in which Mountaineer a son of Magic won 13 times that year

It is I think quite probable that all the stallions of note, are engaged before this for the next season

I am sorry that you should make any apology for writing, your letters are always gratifying and acceptable, & I have more spare time than usual, because my health will not permit me, to be engaged so zealously in business as formerly

What is to be the result of our disputes with foreign nations God only knows; The last account from Norfolk is that Mr. Rose³ was still on board the Frigate in which he arrived, It has been said that the necessary orders were issued for his landing before his arrival, and that they had been repeated since, I know nothing as to the truths of these facts, but give them as I have heard them; France will probably now execute her decree,⁴ of the 21 Novr. -6, against G-Britain; This if done, will be felt by us and will I think add to the difficulty of settling our affairs with Great Britain and there seems to be difficulties enough already to puzzle the wisest head; France & G. Britain may be compared to a Tiger & Shark, each destroying every thing that comes in their way, their late conduct to Denmark and Portugal, without recurring to any other fact is enough to establish the propriety of the above

By the public prints you have discovered, that Congress have made very liberal appropriations⁵ for fortifications and gun boats, to this liberality I have no claim; the first seems now to be almost useless in

Europe, and as to the second, we ought to have a little more experience before we adopt it as a system of defence,

I am very much & sincerely

Yrs.

Nathl Macon

Mr. Steele.

NOTES.

¹ Governor James Turner.

See letter of September 15, 1802. Note 1.

² Thomas Blount of North Carolina. Lieut. at Eutaw, Major General of militia. Representative in Congress 1793-'99, 1805-'09 and 1811-'12, died in Washington City. February 12, 1812. He was a younger brother of General and Senator Wm. Blount.

³ George Rose was British minister to the United States 1807-'08 to settle the difficulty arising from the attack on the Chesapeake by the Leopard. The President had issued a proclamation, interdicting all armed vessels of Great Britain from the waters of the United States & forbidding all supplies to and intercourse with them. Vessels in distress or bearing dispatches were excepted. Mr. Rose under instructions refused to consider the question of the Chesapeake outrage unless this proclamation should be withdrawn. The President offered to withdraw it on the same day that the reparation should be made. This was declined on the ground that the proclamation was offensive. Mr. Rose likewise objected to including the right of searching merchant vessels for British seamen. As no agreement was reached he returned to England. In 1809 the affair was settled, the act of Captain Humphrey of the Leopard was disavowed, the men taken from the Chesapeake restored and provision for the sufferers was offered. The British minister announced that he considered the non-intercourse act of the preceding session as placing France and England on the same footing and hence was willing to offer reparation.

⁴The Berlin Decree. It declared the British Isles in a state of blockade, and all British merchandise, even on neutral vessels to be lawful prize. It greatly injured the United States.

In 1793 and 1794 England prohibited trade with France. November 11th, 1807 a sweeping order was made prohibiting trade from the United States to any European country under Napoleon's power.

⁵ 103 gunboats were built. Thomas Paine was employed to defend the policy of relying on them. He endeavored to show that seventy four guns on seventy four vessels would do twice as much damage as seventy four guns on one vessel, and would cost much less. The experiment was not successful.

Macon to Steele.

Washington 20 Feby 1809

Sir

I have received the letter which you wrote to me on the 29 Ultimo, our affairs are still as perplexed as ever, what course Congress may take during the session, relative to our foreign affairs is yet doubtful in my opinion

By this mail I send you a message of the President, which is a *valuable* collection of the wrongs that belligerents have inflicted on neutrals

I am much & sincerely

Yrs.

Nathl Macon

(Genl. John Steele

Salisbury

No Carolina)

Macon to Yancey.

Buck Spring ¹ 20 June 1820

Sir

I have received your letter of the 2-instant, and thank you for the trouble about the linnen, if you should get it, it will answer for another year, but as it is now too late for this; trouble yourself no more about it, if however you have got it, send as before requested

As I never did nor never shall shyhog,² I only know, what was to be seen or heard about it at the last session, much was done and more openly about the Missouri compromise than I ever witnessed before; I have no doubt, it would not have taken place, had not the administration, and the supposed leaders of those opposed to it, declared in favor of it, after Storrs'³ motion had been rejected; which would have given two degrees more to the people of the south; The history of the transaction is too long for a letter: of the great men at Washington, Crawford⁴ I think rather stands highest, though he not so high as he has done; Monroe has no opposition in Congress, nor has he much real support, it is a sort of calm, all looking beyond him; Adams has a few warm supporters, a part of them from local considerations, and others for his violent defence⁵ of the attack of the Spanish forts in Florida; Calhoun stands well with the military; the manufacturers not so well as formerly, though well enough, and with those for internal improvements very high Clay stands high with the two last mentioned, what his plans are I know not, had Tomkins⁶ have been elected Governor, he would no doubt have been a candidate or rather run for the Vice President, I should not be surprised, if he attends the next session of Congress

I have no desire for any place & shall attend the next session of Congress, because the Missouri question, may return on the admission of the state to the union; If Holmes⁷ & Hill should be elected Senators from Maine, they will strengthen the Senate on the question, which is now believed to be strong enough for the admission, but may weaken the H. of R.

I sincerely hope you may call here on your way to Halifax, I am very desirous to see you; The last was the most disagreeable session I ever attended, though I have seen some more hot & boisterous

R. King⁸ has I think lost ground, with his party; Pinkney'⁹ & Smith'¹⁰ replies to him on the Missouri bill, lessened his reputation as a statesman and public speaker, or rather his own speech done it: Remember me in right down good will to your wife &

children I should be truly glad to see them believe
me your friend

Nathl Macon

(Mr. Bartlett Yancey
Caswell C. H.
No Carolina)

NOTES.

¹ Mr. Macon's Plantation home.

² Often used by Mr. Macon. The word is undoubtedly metaphorical, taken from "beating the woods" for shy, or run-away hogs.

³ Henry R. Storrs, of Connecticut; settled in New York. Representative in Congress, 1817-'21 and 1823-'31. His motion was that slavery west of the Mississippi should be interdicted in the territory north of thirty eight degrees.

⁴ William Harris Crawford, of Georgia. His paralytic stroke was not until the summer of 1823. He never recovered his vigor of mind and body though he long clung to the hope of being President. He was Secretary of War 1815 to 1816, and Secretary of the Treasury 1816 to 1825.

⁵ The seizure by General Jackson of the posts of St. Marks and Pensacola, and the fortress of Barancas, on the ground that the Spaniards harbored hostile Indians and instigated invasions of the United States. John Quincy Adams, was Secretary of State. The House of Representatives sustained Jackson by 91 to 65. Calhoun, the Secretary of War, disapproved Jackson's course. After several years, Jackson learned this from Crawford and became hostile to Calhoun.

⁶ Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, Vice President from 1817 to his death in 1825; Governor during the war of 1812.

⁷ John Holmes, Senator from Maine, 1820 to 1827, and 1829-'33.

Mark L. Hill was a Representative from Maine, 1821-'23.

John Chandler was the other Senator from Maine, 1820-'29. Maine was admitted into the Union April 15th, 1820.

⁸ Rufus King; Born in Massachusetts; Delegate to the Con-

tinental Congress, 1784-'86, and to the National Constitutional Convention, 1787; Removed to New York City, 1788; United States Senator, 1789-'96, and 1813-'25; Minister to Great Britain, 1796-1803, and again 1825-'26.

⁹ William Pinkney, of Maryland. One of the Commissioners under Jay's Treaty. Minister to Great Britain, 1706-'11; Attorney General of United States, 1811-'14; Representative in Congress, 1816; Minister to the two Sicilies, then to Russia, 1816-'18; United States Senator, 1820, to his death in 1822. After his speech in reply to King, the latter shook his hand and said, "Sir, you have acquitted yourself to-day as a scholar, a statesman, and a gentleman."

¹⁰ William Smith, of South Carolina, was Senator, 1817-'23, and 1826-'31; twice refused appointment as Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; Removed to Alabama in 1833; was opposed to nullification.

*Macon to Bartlett Yancey.*¹

Washington 29 Jany 1824

Sir

It was said of old, that one good turn deserves another; They may not be of equal value; though the desire of each may be equally friendly; The opinions of the court of Kentucky,² & your reasons for a new trial, have been received, for which accept my thanks: A Juryman is not allowed to be a Judge of law, but only of facts, unless in criminal prosecutions; hence it is not fit for me, even to attempt to decide between such mighty law characters; It may however be allowed to observe that in trials, of the very greatest importance; if the shadow of doubt exist in the mind of the Court a new trial ought to be granted; nay where the interest of a whole society may be at stake, it might be worthy of a Court, to grant a new trial, to convince the most interested; that his case, was not decided without a patient & vigilant investigation

The constitution of the U. S. ought to be executed, as it was explained by its friends in the state conven-

tions which adopted it; The same remark will apply to the amendments which have been made to it, to take by construction or implication more power, than was claimed by them; seems to savour of deception, nay almost of a fraud on the people; One reason for adopting it, was to get clear of paper money & to have but one currency in the nation; Unfortunately however power has been assumed to establish banks & they issue a paper currency, which is not of the same value, in the same state; Credit is the effect of property or good character; unless the morals be perfectly sure, it often shakes both; negotiable paper of all sorts; results from Credit & that from want of money, which is rendered more scarce by the use of credit; which was intended to supply the want; Every kind of negotiable paper adds to the evil & increases the tendency to render money more Scarce

I fear these observations are too old fashioned for you, though they were once, in good repute with the old republicans: as they are out of fashion, they are only intended for your own eyes, & not for those of any other person; That happiness & prosperity may attend you, & all that are near and dear is the sincere wish of

yr. friend
Nathl Macon

Add that the currency of banks is alien, in states which did not establish them, & that all debtors are liable for hard money: Indeed the branch banks of the U. S. are almost alien to each other & to the mother bank

NM

NOTES.

¹ Bartlett Yancey was a lawyer, and one of the most influential men of his day in North Carolina. He was a Representative in Congress, 1813-'17; Speaker of the State Senate, 1817-'28. He declined the mission to Peru, tendered by Adams.

² Mr. Macon probably speaks of *Briscoe vs. Bank of Kentucky*, 11 Peters, 257, which decided that the bills of a bank

chartered by a state are not "bills of credit," which are prohibited by the constitution, even though the state is sole stock holder and agrees to pay the bills in case of failure by the bank.

Macon to Yancey.

Washington 7 Feby 1824

Sir

If you are not at home, when this letter gets to Caswell-C-H-; It may stay in the office; or Mrs. Yancey may take it, open it & read it, & then keep it for you

It was written to a much esteemed friend, who before it was sent, came here, & as I hate to write for or to no body it is transmitted to you, not that I think it any great thing, but that I had rather you had it than to burn it, which you may do

Gales & Seaton's¹ paper yesterday announced the ante caucus² determination, & the invitation to one; Crawford³ is much mended since my last, & told me last night, that he was mending fast in every respect

It is reported that the friends of Clay & Calhoun continue to be the most industrious; & that Clay exerts himself very much; I have been told that all unite against Crawford, & against a caucus; He however I am almost certain has more than 80 friends in Congress, perhaps near one 100—God bless you & yours

Nathl Macon

(Mr. Bartlett Yancey
Caswell C-H-
No Carolina)

NOTES.

¹ Joseph Gales and William W. Seaton. Their paper was the National Intelligencer, 1807-'60. They also published the Annals of Congress, in forty two volumes.

² Mr. Macon means the anti-caucus call. His prediction was not verified. Only 66 out of 261 members of Congress

attended. Crawford and Gallatin were nominated. This last Congressional Caucus was held February 14th, 1824.

³ Crawford had a stroke like paralysis before this and it was used against his candidacy.

Macon to Yancey.

Washington 24 Feby 1824

Sir

It is now believed here, & some say known, that Calhoun¹ has withdrawn from the contest for the presidency; & that his friends will support Genl. Jackson; I have heard, whether truly or not, I do not know that the greatest exertions are to be made, for the General in North Carolina,² I mention this, that you may be advised early of the doings & expectations here;

I have heard that a meeting was to take place last Saturday at Warrenton to nominate the General; when I left home a great majority in the county appeared to be for Crawford, & I imagine are yet so; a meeting for the same purpose, was to take place in Hillsborough, the day not recollected

God bless you & yours

Nathl Macon

(Mr. Bartlett Yancey
Caswell C- H-
No Carolina)

NOTES.

¹ Calhoun did withdraw and was nominated for the Vice Presidency.

² North Carolina cast her 15 electoral votes for Jackson and Calhoun. In the House of Representatives a majority of her members cast the vote of the State for Crawford.

Macon to Yancey.

Washington 31-March 1824

Sir

Since my last not much if any change is understood

to have taken place, in relation to the presidential election; Genl. Smith ¹ of Maryland told me yesterday, that he believed Crawford was gaining in that state. Some of the New England members, also say he is in their opinion gaining there: But reports are in circulation that he is losing in our native N-C- Did you only know the Pennsylvania member ² who is considered the best advised about public opinion in N. C. you would be surprised, if not mortified

What will be the vote of the Senate on the tariff ³ bill & that for internal improvement by federal government not known, a near one is expected

I wish, that I could see you & your family; In the present unsettled state of the politics of the country, it is desirable that the republicans should be always at their post; power once lost is not easily regained, & republicanism must be preserved in the states, or it cannot prevail in the federal Government. The opinions of the states will be carried to Washington, and that of the people ought to give the tone to both governments

I never was more tired of a session than this, & am growing old faster than is wished; it is the course of nature, to which all must submit; I cannot speak a half hour without being hoarse

Crawford was mending he told me, on last friday very fast; Mrs. Miller ⁴ continues to look well & is as lively as you ever saw her, always enquires after you; That God may preserve you & your family in health & happiness is the sincere wish of your old friend-

Nathl Macon

(Mr Bartlett Yancey
Caswell C-H-
No Carolina)

NOTES.

¹ Samuel Smith, of Maryland, in the House and Senate 1793 to 1822 and Senator again 1833-'35.

² I can only guess that it was Daniel H. Miller.

³ Passed the Senate and became a law. That for Internal Improvements was also passed.

⁴ Probably the wife of Daniel H. Miller, Congressman from Pennsylvania.

Macon to Yancey.

Washington 6 May 1824

Sir

Since the receipt of your last letter nothing has occurred worth notice, more than you will have seen in the news papers: when Congress will adjourn God only knows, perhaps in this month

It is very probable, that N. Carolina will be the place of great electioneering this year and that some who do not now live in the state will either take it in their way home, or visit it for the purpose of advising the good people of the state for whom to vote for President & Vice President; those expected to visit for the purpose, are the friends of Jackson I mention this that you may be advised of my opinion in due time; it is supposed that King¹ & Moor² of Alabama & Eaton³ of Tennessee will take the route, it is the nearest way for King, but for the others I do not imagine it is. As this is only opinion, it is intended for yourself alone,

The tariff⁴ will I fear pass, it depends on two men in the Senate both from New England, who will finally I suspect vote for it, provided they can get a few alterations to suit them

I never was so tired of being here; nor never witnessed so much shyhogging: the subjects are the presidency, internal improvements, & the tariff, one is over, others yet on hand

I want much to see you, & should be equally glad to see Mrs. Yancey, but do not expect that it will be in my power to get to Caswell;

Lowrie⁵ has certainly so far got the better of his opponents; The President has contrived to get himself in an awkward situation; nothing it seems to me, can be more disagreeable, than for an old man, who has spent much of his time in public life, to be about to quite the service of the country, in a condition not to be coveted;

Remember me in the most friendly terms to Mrs. Yancey, & believe me

Yr. friend

Nathl Macon

(Mr. Bartlett Yancey
Caswell C-H- No Carolina)

NOTES.

¹ William Rufus King, Representative in Congress from North Carolina 1811-'16; United States Senator from Alabama 1819-'44; and 1846-'53; Minister to France 1844-'46; Vice-President 1852 to his death, April 18, 1853; Alumnus of the University of North Carolina.

² Gabriel Moore, of Alabama, Representative in Congress, 1822-'29; Governor, 1829-'31; U. S. Senator, 1831-'37.

³ John Henry Eaton, of Tennessee; U. S. Senator, 1818-'29. Secretary of War, 1829-'31; Governor of Florida Territory, 1834-'36; Minister to Spain, 1836-'40. Published a Life of Andrew Jackson. Alumnus of the University of North Carolina.

⁴ The Tariff bill passed May 1824, increasing duties on iron and some agricultural products, by a vote in the House of 105 to 102. Seven Senators from New England supported it, Samuel Bell of New Hampshire, John Holmes of Maine, Wm. A. Palmer and Horatio Seymour of Vermont, Nehemiah R. Knight of Rhode Island, Henry W. Edwards and James Lanman of Connecticut. The vote was 24 to 21.

⁵ Walter Lowrie of Pennsylvania; U. S. Senator 1819-'25; Secretary of the Senate 1825-'36.

Lowrie, who was a Crawford man, authorized the publication of a statement that General Jackson had advised Monroe to appoint two Federalists in his Cabinet. Jackson and Monroe denied this, but after much agitation of the subject the letter of Jackson, which was the foundation of the statement, was published. It was found to contain such expressions as, "to exterminate that *monster* called party spirit," "to select characters most conspicuous for their probity, virtue, capacity, and firmness, without regard to party," and a recommendation to appoint to the war department Colonel Drayton, who had been a Federalist before the war. Crawford men at least thought Lowrie had proved his allegation substantially, as Macon says. Jackson however was not injured.

Colonel William Drayton was a Representative in Congress

from South Carolina, 1425-'33. He was Colonel and Inspector General in the war of 1812.

Macon to Fancey.

Washington 25 Decr. 1824

Sir

A day or two before I received your letter of the 22 instant, I had written you a full Sheet, about matters & things in general; today I told Saunders^r he ought to give all the news about the shyhogging on the election of a president, he answered, he had written you on the subject;

With you, I consider the present times vastly important. The question most important before the people, & the legislatures of the Union and the States is this, at least according to my poor Judgment; Can the federal government do whatever it deems expedient; or in other words can it promote the general welfare in any way it pleases: if it be so the rights of a minority are at the will of majority, the constitution of the U. S. is either limited or unlimited, if limited the rights of a minority are protected by it & do not depend on the will of a majority: The majority want no law nor rule, both are made to secure the minority; This paragraph may be taken as part of my other letter

All parties here are I believe very anxious to know who will be the successor of Burton^r in the H. of R., I have been repeatedly asked, who I thought would be the man: I answered, I had no information upon which to base an opinion

Claims often heretofore rejected, will I expect pass very easy this Session, because there are three millions of dollars stated to be in the Treasury, beyond the demands on it, & it is possible other circumstances may aid to get improper claims through; money not wanted for immediate use, had always better be in the hands of the people; money ought never to be borrowed unless certainly wanted; people who borrow often and much, never get rich, the banks I think could prove this, and borrowing gov-

ernments are not apt to get out of debt, witness Great Britain

The enclosed paper³ contains a letter from Capt. Porter, on which no comment will be made, if G. Britain was in the place of Spain, a war might be expected

The Senate⁴ has not acted on the bill from the H. of R. the object of which is to take possession of the mouth of Oregon (Columbia) river: I do not covet distant posts, the trade in the South Sea, has been carried on ever since we were a nation; & now all at once; a post must be maintained there, and ships of the navy must be sent to protect a trade, which has been carried on, without protection, a fleet in the South Sea, another in the Mediterranean, and another which is actually needed in the West Indies; do not calculate on economy, when money can be borrowed at less than five per centum: those who hold the public debt, never wish it paid, its value depends much, on its being considered permanent

The rulers⁵ of a nation, ought not to be in debt, if a just and economical administration is desired by the people; whoever is much in debt can hardly be perfectly free, he is dependent on his debtors: and a nation in debt always has its strong arm of defense tied fast, the longest purse being the longest sword; whether in public or private life, those in debt, are generally projectors, under the hope that every new project may afford them some relief or make them rich; & the law under which the debts were contracted, are not always the laws, by which they desire the payment to be made or enforced

I have now done as I did in my last, written much more than was expected when I began

That you, & your whole family may be well & do well is the sincere wish of

Your friend

Nathl Macon

NOTES

¹ Romulus Mitchell Saunders, Representative in Congress from North Carolina, 1821-27 and 1841-45. Judge and Attor-

ney General in North Carolina; Minister to Spain, 1846-'49.

²Hutchins G. Burton, Representative in Congress 1819-'24, when he was elected Governor of North Carolina.

Willis Alston was elected in his place and served 1825-31. He had already served 1803-'19. His unsuccessful competitor in 1803 was Wm. R. Davie.

³Commodore David Porter in suppressing piracies landed an armed force in Porto Rico. The Spanish Government protested. He defended himself on the ground that the Spanish authorities were in complicity with the pirates and that his action was necessary. He was court-martialed, convicted of disobedience of orders and suspended for six months. He resigned and was for awhile in the service of Mexico. He returned to the United States and was appointed Minister to Turkey by Jackson.

⁴This measure was championed by Mr. Floyd of Virginia, whose main argument was that it would be of advantage to the whale fishery and to the trade with China and India. It was objected to because of the inaccessability of the Oregon country and the likelihood that if the country should become populous, it could not possibly be incorporated into the Union. The vote against it in the House was 100 to 61. The Rail Road system has destroyed the force of these arguments.

John Floyd, Representative from 1817 to 1829; Governor of Virginia 1829-'34. He was father of John B. Floyd, Governor of Virginia, 1850-'53; Secretary of War, 1857-'60; Brigadier General of the Confederate States.

⁵Probably a thrust at Clay, who was often involved in debt. Once his debts were discharged by his friends, James C. Johnston, of Edenton, being one of the number. He is said to have been much addicted to gambling. Webster was also very careless of pecuniary obligations, but as he was not a candidate for the Presidency, Mr. Macon hardly had him in mind.

Wm. Barry Grove to James Hogg.

Philadelphia, March 17, 1791.

Dear Sir

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th Feby under Cover of your obliging favor of the 25th from Wilmington: In reply to the former I cant help wishing you had been at Newbern,¹ as I think tis probable you could have devised something that might have been favourable; your information however of the good spirits and *firmness* of our Western friends afford me some Consolation, and I heartily join you & them in promising ourselves better times, & fairer Representation² in our Genl Assembly. As a Trustee³ rely on my attendance and exertion at Hillsboro, where I hope to be if I am alive to assist so far as in my power to promote the Institution.—As to the late Assembly doing more, harm, than good, so far as their proceedings have gone respecting the Ordinance⁴ matter I join you; tho they have done good in Lending the Univ. 5000 £,⁵ and I am indeed pleased at the extension of time & privileges allowed our Canal Company;⁶ as to the other business I have heard or seen little more than merely the Caption of the Laws passed, from which one cant judge; and my friends while at Newbern were not as communicative as I had reason to expect, from my attention to them.

I am really concerned to understand that business is dull at Fayetteville, your reason for it I think altogether probable, to encourage Commerce at our little Town ought to be the Wish of every friend to Cape-fear.

You surprise me when you say Moore⁷ has not delivered the Lock. I hope he does not mean to let the Winter pass away, and keep us aback another Summer for Want of that Lock— I approve of the plan for the first Lock, the upper works which it seems is most likely to decay can be repaired at small expense—you say that the Lock now to be undertaken by Mr Monroe⁷ is for the Second Seat, where is the One at present finished to be placed— I shall before I leave this Country at the rise of Congress make myself particularly acquainted with every information and in-

teligence relative to the proposed Navigation in this State &c &c agreeable to your directions—I am glad Mr Hay⁸ can afford any assistance toward facilitating the Work on my account; tis what I have much at heart.—

I am glad you have receiv'd *McIntosh*⁹ and that it pleases you.— before now you will have heard of the final passage & ratification of the Post-office & Post road Law, and that our *elder Sister* Wilmington and her Sons, have no just cause to exclaim at a Want of attention to their interests in the regulation of the Post roads; the old route as you speak of from Virginia. by Edenton, Washington, & Newbern is continued to W. ton, and We have added to this a Cross Post from Wnton to Fayette. far be it from me to attempt, (if I had it in my power) to do any thing that should, injure the Town or Citizens of Wilmington; I have always been convinced that the true interests of that *Town* and of *our own* was the same, they are surely by Nature inseperably connected, and why should they be jealous of each other; I Could Venture to pronounce the man who wishes to Create any other sentiments, as an Enemy to both places; it would be like parting *Man & Wife* When we reflect on the circumstances and manner which the More interior parts of our State have been heretofore treated on the subject of Posts, *We are the persons who should complain*— I may venture to say with great safety, that had the present new route been established at the Commencement of the New Governt. our Citizens would not have been so shamefully pillaged of their Certifes.¹⁰ as they have been for want of a conveyance of information among the people, this has not only been a real loss to individuals but to the State; had our own People held their Paper Credit, they would have gained the advantage of the increased Value, and become friends and attached to that Government which they Now in some measure *abhor*— Mr Hamilton thinks as I do on this subject, and expresses real Concern at the event: since North Carolinas future importance begins to be known from the riches & Population, our Ministers &c will be cautious how they recommend measures in opposition to our Will and interests.

It appears to me indeed that the *Apostate*¹¹ T-y in his late vote and conduct was actuated by Chagrin & resentment of them, he lost sight of the true interests of his Constituents to gratify such passions, he is not fit to represent *Freemen*, and should be, as I think he will be dispised by those who were before his friends, and thereby become a proper example for future public Characters.—

I am very happy our Saw Mill proprietors are likely to get a good Market for Lumber. I think it probable the disturbances in the We Indies will have an effect to keep that article in demand.—

The subject of the Cession¹² of our Western Lands at the late Treaty with the Cherokee Indians, is most undoubtedly a very important and interesting event to the Citizens of No. Carolina, and I apprehend will be a perplexing affair to Congress: The papers relative to that business came enclosed to Doctr. W-n¹³ and are now before Congress, but as the Session is so near a close and so much business to be acted on before that affair can be taken up, that I fear no decision¹⁴ can be had on the subject before we rise, however every attention shall be paid it.— The Memorials of the No Carolina Merchants¹⁵ have been read and referred to the Committee of the Whole House but has not yet been taken up; every person confesses the peculiar hardship of their Situation, but seem to think that Congress have not the power of redressing the grievance, I have myself long conceived the Citizens of our Country under these Circumstances in a very deplorable situation.

It was generally believed when Mr Hammond first came to America that some Negotiation would be affected wh. might put things with respect to the Treaty, & Commerce on a proper footing; but latterly I have heard it suggested that there is little probability of those important events being brought about just now, between Mr H- and our Executive this information is not from the best authority indeed that would be in a measure impossible to be attained as the Senators are not very communicative on any matters before them.—

Congress¹⁷ has been engaged in a troublesome investigation for some days past on a Contested Elec-

tion from Georgia between Genl. Wayne & Genl. Jackson; the Election is set aside and a New appointment must take place.

The Indian operations have induced a pretty considerable augmentation of Troops, consequently the expenses for the defense of the frontier is greatly increased more funds for this end than the *Surplus* in our Coffers it seems will be necessary—I suppose a Loan will be the plan—as a further tax would be highly impolitic at this time. We expect before the rise of this Session to amend the Excise Law by reducing the tax 8 *Cents*, and ameliorating the other parts as respects searches &c &c &c—

As I send the papers regularly to Fayetteville to be filed at Col. Dekeyser's for the inspection of the public, I beg leave to refer you to them generally for the News of Philadela. &c., and also my other friends who I hope will demand a perusal of them when ever they please; the information they contain will possibly be a little *stale* before they reach Fayetteville but when we get the new line of Posts established you shall hear from the Capitol in 8 days or 9 at farthest, after *the 8h of June*. I hope you will encourage the publishing of a paper at our Town We can certainly Support so desirable a thing—

There can be no excuse for want of News when the New Posts are fixed—

I am sincerely sorry to hear Mr Huskes^{rs} health still continues so unfavorable, and of the many deaths about Wilmington this Winter—

I would ask pardon for the length of my letter, but when I reflect that if We were only together for 15 Minutes I could communicate much more than it contains about Locks, Canals, Politics &c &c. I think the apology unnecessary— Be so good as to remember me to all friends— Believe me with respect and esteem

Dear Sir

your friend
& very Hum Sert.

W. B. Grove.

Philadela. March 17h-1792
James Hogg esq

NOTES.

¹ The General Assembly met at Newbern in 1791.

² By the Constitution of 1776 each county was entitled to one Senator and two members of the House of Commons. Many eastern counties were small and some western had ten times as many voters. The irregularity was partially remedied in 1835.

³ Of the University, chartered in 1789. The meeting was on the 4th of August, 1792, and it was then that the Board chose by ballot Cypritt's Bridge in Chatham county as the centre of a circle of thirty miles diameter within which the institution should be located. The Commissioners of Location, were, Frederick Hargett, Senator from Jones county, Alexander Mebane, of Orange, soon to be a Representative in Congress, James Hogg, merchant of Fayetteville, Wm. H. Hill, a Representative in Congress, David Stone, likewise a Representative in Congress, and Willie Jones, of Halifax, a very influential citizen, not then in office.

⁴ The Convention of 1788 enjoined upon the General Assembly to take steps for locating the state capital within a circle of twenty miles diameter of which Isaac Hunter's plantation in the county of Wake was the centre. This was very offensive to the people of the Cape Fear valley and of the regions west because they desired the capital to be at Fayetteville. The Act carrying out the ordinance was therefore displeasing to Grove.

⁵ Equal to \$10,000; for the purpose of finishing the "Old East" Building, the first erected. The loan was afterwards converted into a gift.

⁶ The Canal Company was organized to make the Cape Fear navigable to the junction of the Haw and Deep rivers in the county of Chatham. A town, called Haywood, was there laid out and was expected to be a considerable commercial city.

⁷ Contractors for the Canal Company. The locks being of timber soon went to pieces.

⁸ John Hay, eminent lawyer of Fayetteville.

⁹ Sir James MacIntosh's *Vindiciae Gallicae*, published in 1791, as an answer to Burke's eloquent assault on the French Revolution. It was very popular in America as long as the French fever lasted.

¹⁰ One of the strongest arguments against Hamilton's scheme of funding the debts of the United States and of the States was that original holders of the certificates, had sold them at a great sacrifice. James Jackson, of Georgia, afterwards United States Senator and Governor, said, "Three vessels have sailed within a fortnight from this port, freighted for speculation; they are intended to purchase up the State and other securities in the hands of the uninformed, though honest citizens of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia." Hamilton's plan prevailed after much opposition.

¹¹ James Terry, Senator from Richmond county, did not stand by Fayetteville in the desperate efforts of her friends to secure the location of the seat of Government at that town. He was probably influenced by General Henry W. Harrington, of his county, one of the Commissioners who selected the Raleigh site and after whom Harrington Street in Raleigh was named.

¹² By the treaty of Holston, large areas were given up to the Cherokees. It was ratified in 1786. By a new treaty, that of Hopewell, in 1791, much land was yielded to the whites but the rest remained with the Indians. These Indian lands were mainly in Tennessee and in Georgia.

¹³ Hugh Williamson, then member of Congress from the Edenton District. He was Professor of Mathematics, University of Pennsylvania, 1760-'4; Surgeon General of North Carolina during the latter part of the Revolutionary war; member of the Continental Congress, 1784-'86; delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1787; Representative in Congress, 1790-'93; removed to New York; died May 22, 1819. He published "Observations on the Climate of America;" History of North Carolina, 1812; and many papers on scientific and political subjects.

¹⁴ In 1783, North Carolina opened a land office to receive entries of land in the limits of what is now Tennessee, for the redemption of military and other certificates. Many surveys were made and grants issued. By the treaty of Holston, most of the territory was yielded to the Indians, North Carolina protesting through her agent and General Assembly. Thomas Person and many other claimants of these lands petitioned Congress for proper compensation, which was refused. Subsequently they were granted right of preemption whenever the Indian title should be removed.

¹⁵ On the subject of seizure of our ships. An order in Council of Great Britain had been interpreted to authorize the seizure of all neutral vessels carrying provisions to France. This interpretation was afterwards disavowed, but not until much damage had been done.

¹⁶ George Hammond was the first British minister to the United States, and Thomas Pinckney was the first from the United States to Great Britain. Hammond arrived in 1791 and left 1796.

¹⁷ General Anthony Wayne, after the Revolutionary War, settled in Georgia on a plantation given him by that state. James Jackson was a prominent officer of the Revolution. He was a Representative in Congress, 1789-'91; Senator, 1793-'95 and 1801-'06; and Governor of Georgia, 1798-1801. General Wayne was unseated in 1792 on account of irregularities in the election. In the same year he was appointed to be Commander-in-Chief of the army and conquered the Northwestern Indians. After being unseated he declined to run again and was succeeded by John Milledge.

¹⁸ Mr. John Huske, a merchant. He was son of the Private Secretary to Governor Burke, who was captured by Colonel David Fanning, with the Governor, and carried off to Wilmington. He left numerous descendants.

Grove to Hogg.

Dear Sir

For want of a Senate there could be no business

done untill the 20th Nov. when a quorum of that Body were present and enabled the Machine to proceed; the day following the President laid before both Houses his communications & details of the state of the Union during the recess of Congress—I have no doubt but you have seen a copy of his speech or address, and the answers of both Houses thereto as they have been inserted in all the newspapers, these papers contain all of the news worth relating here, and to them I refer you, as the object of the present is only to inform you that I presented your letter & memorial¹ to all the Gentlemen from No C. agreeable to desire, who I doubt not will do all in their power to obtain redress for the Petitioners.

The memorial it is thought should not be presented untill the Deeds &c. are here. as tis on their authority the claims are founded. I mention this to induce you to hasten them along: dont let any *one* Letter exceed 2 oz weight when you forward the deeds, if by post.—was there no existing Law of the State, Proclamation of the Crown or other Lawfull Mandate, forbidding Individuals or Companies of Subjects from purchasing these Lands at the time of the Indians? information on this, or any other subject that may occur relative to the business may be necessary.

Remember me to all my acquaintences about your place, and believe me to be with respect

Sir

Your Hum Servt.

W. B. Grove

Phila. 4th Decr. 1794.

Mr. John Hogg² left this on the 1st for Carolina, he will inform you, the taxes of your Land in Kentucky must be paid before April, or they will be sold—

James Hogg Esq.

NOTES.

¹ Memorial on the subject of the Transylvania land heretofore mentioned. The grants of North Carolina and Virginia

were available after the extinction of the Indian title. See next letter.

²John Hogg was a cousin and a partner of James Hogg.

Grove to Hogg.

3d Apl. 1794.

Dear Sir

I had began to form conjectures what had become of you, and whether our late misfortunes in Fayetteville might not incline you to forget that *Town & those belonging to it*. Your obliging letter however of the 6th March relieved me, and gave me consolation to find you had not lost sight of the interest of that unfortunate Spot, and that of its inhabitants—The Assembly leaving us so soon was to me an unexpected, and mortifying circumstance, and the late Fire seem'd to add misfortune, on misfortune—but still I hope we shall not be among the last— I hope yet to see our Town rise above *its misfortunes* and its enemies— As I presumed before now you have seen all that has been said by Mr. Jefferson on the one part, and Mr. Hammond on the other Relative to inexecution of the Treaty, I need say nothing on that subject as the Correspondence & Reasoning will wince [convince] any Man on which side the Reason & justice of the investigation Rests; In answer to what you ask respecting Mr. Jeffersons disapprobation of the measures of the Executive, I am informed they did not extend to the steps taken against Mr. Genet &c the letters on that subject were quite consonant to his own feelings as an American, but tis said he differed on some subjects with the other heads of Departments while the President was in Virginia—the Circumstance of his moderation adds to his honor and worth on that occasion, as I have heard the Case; the 'French Privateer Little Democrat, would have been Fired on on &c had he not refused his assent, the Consequences might have been attended with much evil at that time—

It is a Melancholy thing that such virtue as that man^s possesses should ever be lost to this country while We stand in need of such Characters—his success-

or is a Compared to him either as to Virtue, knowledge—Republicanism, or Rational (Liberty &) Equality— Dont mistake me he is no anarchy man—no Demagogue of the mob—But he is for a plain Government and Adminisn. agreeably to the Principles and form of our Political association and Republican form of Government— He is for no Heterogenius introductions of Monarchy &c— Not even in our forms, or amusements— Let reason and equal rights and equal Laws obtain— The Committee on the Western Lands³ have Reported Very favorably, but I will not flatter you on the adoption of the Report by the Legislature, for I know the thing will be powerfully opposed, principally on the ground that the State had never extinguished the Indian claims & had no right to sell those Lands— We will do what we can— You will before this reaches you have heard that Congress have been making serious preparation for the National defence &c. Such objects are particular requisite in a Country so unguarded as America is at present, but that aspect which some Conduct of Great Britian Wears, towards this country of late seems to justify & Call loudly for an immediate preparation of Defence. As I expect this letter will meet you at Fayetteville I refer you to my Correspondence on this subject to my friends & Constituents there, through Doctr. Ingram, Mr. Hay, & Mr. Taylor⁴—but I cannot forbear saying to you that the Court of St James has most unprovokedly acted towards America an unbecoming, unjust, and perfidious part—and that We have good reason to believe (if the events in France have not Checked it) that measures were taking to destroy the Peace harmony, & Government of United America—

These things you will naturally suppose have alarmed us all here, and turned the attention of Congress to the objects of Self Defence and preservation. We are taking the necessary steps to bar our Doors, & Repel invasions—if they should be attempted— In short We mean to act just as you would do yourself, if your House was beset by a band of Robbers, fly to your arms and defend your property— An Embargo has been laid for 30 Days, it was principally intended to prevent any more of our vessels falling into

these Pirates hands of the We. Indies, until We could hear more of matters in that quarter & from England— We have information the orders issued by the British Court the 6th Nov. to seize and take all Neutral (that is American) Vessels &c for “Legal adjudication” has been revoked by New orders issued 8 Jany. and relaxing considerably of former restrictions on our Commerce— The principal Traders and Merchants in London as soon as they knew of the orders of the 6th Nov. (which by the way were issued privately) were very properly alarmed perceiving the consequences & effects it would produce in America, they waited immediately on Mr. Dundas as We are informed, Who assured them the words “Legal adjudication” meant nothing which could affect American property, the Judges however Who it seems had the intention construed to them, had actually Condemned great part of 250 American Vessels & Cargoes under the orders—and We are left to believe from that business and some other matters, these words would have meant all the Judges annexed to them, had not the face of Politics wore a different appearance in France on the 8th Jany, than on the 6th Nov.—

I hope, and feel confident that all the World who are impartial, must admit that the people and Government of America, are not to blame if this Country should be engaged in war with Britain—and even now we shall hold in one hand the Olive branch and sue for Peace and justice in the Name of “We the People of America”—Should it be refused—War I suppose must be the event, and the other hand which grasps the strength of the Nation will be used, & I can not help thinking that the energy, force & Vengeance of Free America will be next to the Wrath of God— I send you some papers preserve them, & make them public—

I am

Dear Sir

Your friend

& Very Hum Sev

W. B. Grove.

Mr. James Hogg.

NOTES.

¹ "The Little Sarah" belonging to the British had been captured by a French privateer and brought into Philadelphia. With the connivance and aid of Genet, the French minister, she was fitted out as a privateer. This was against our neutrality laws and measures were taken by the administration to stop her. On the assurance of Genet that the vessel would not be ready to sail for some time, forcible measures were not resorted to, as Hamilton and Knox advised. Genet broke his word and the vessel, newly named "The Little Democrat," sailed to prey upon English commerce. It was manned by American seamen. Washington was on a visit to Mt. Vernon.

² Jefferson resigned in 1794. He had gained the good will of all parties by his spirited action against the insolence of Genet. He retired to his farm at Monticello and there continued for three years keeping himself in touch with public men by his pen and hospitality,

³ Heretofore explained.

⁴ Doctor Ingram was not a public man. Mr. Taylor was John Louis Taylor then a member of the House of Commons, afterwards the first Chief Justice of the State of North Carolina. He afterwards resided in Newbern and then in Raleigh where he is buried.

Grove to James Hogg.

Philaa. Jany 23d—1794

Dear Sir

On arrival here I found that Congress had just got through reading the numerous communications laid before them by the Executive, most of my leisure time since has been devoted in perusing those papers which I have accomplished and have now time to think of my friends, and altho the information contained in some of those papers produce gloomy reflections and nothing very pleasant to communicate, yet my mind tells me I should write you *things might have*

been worse—as I take it for granted you have seen all the correspondence which passed between the Secretary of State, & the French Minister I need not enter into any detail on the imprudence and conduct of Mousier Genet—I shall only remark that very late despatches from the Executive Counsel of France express regret in this misunderstanding &c and assures the President that nothing of that nature shall or can effect the friendly regards the French people have for the American nation—What has passed between the Secrey of State, & the British Minister respecting the inexecution of the Treaty of Peace &c, I suspect you have not seen, as it has not yet got into the papers; the subject as handled by them, is indeed *interesting & important* and brings to mind past scenes & transactions of a tender & melancholy nature—Mr Hammond states at large the Complaints of his Court, of the Non-compliance & infractions of the Treaty on the part of America, urging the denial of Restoring the Loyalists, the continuation of confiscations, and above all the non payment of the British debts & *interest* &c &c—to these things Mr Jefferson has replied very fully, and in a masterly manner on the part of this Country proved that these charges are in a great degree not founded in exactness The documents to prove his assertion are annexed; he asserts that the two first subjects, the Restoration &c, & the further confiscation, were not by the Treaty *absolute articles* nor intended to be so, by the Commissioner for Negotiating Peace as appears by their correspondence &c on these subjects at the time, he argues that the recommendatory articles considering *all things* had been more fully complied with than was generally expected—and that as to the Debts No Lawful impediment exists to prevent their recovery; as to *interest*, he argues and proves by the laws of England under the present circumstances *none should be demanded*, & that the Commisrs for Treating of peace understood the thing so, & left the subject open to the power to whom it belonged, the Judiciaries in the respective States & Jurors— I am of opinion his reason on this subject will be thought sound by those who are disinterested; he then proceeds to complain of the Violations of the Treaty

on the part of Gr Britain, he states that as soon as the Treaty was known & hostilities ceased, palpable infractions were committed under the authority of that government to *possilive* articles of the treaty, that 3000 Negroes had been taken out of the Country altho remonstrances on that subject were made, that No orders ever have issued for withdrawing his Majesties Troops out of our Country &c &c &c these explanations took place in June 1792 since which nothing further has passed on the subject, except that Mr. J.s representation was transmitted to St James shortly after its date and no answer yet made, only that Mr. Pinckney¹ mentions that Lord Granville² should have said to him he approved of Mr. J.s answer to Mr. H.s letter respecting the inexecution of the Treaty, from this tis to be hoped & expected all *controversies* on that score will soon be *forever* removed by a full compliance of all things therein stipulated— Some late³ Treaties & regulations entered into by Great Britain with Russia, Sardinia, & Spain afford cause of fear and complaint on the part of America, particularly as regards our commerce our Trade has already been much cramped & injured by these Regulations which added to the Negocation of Gt Britain & Spain with the Algerians has inflamed the minds of many to a considerable degree; in Sept. our minister was directed immediately to *Remonstrate* against these regulations which amount to flagrant Violation of the Laws of Nations as respects the rights of a Neutral power; he was also requested to make known on the 8th Decr. the success of this business, that it should be known before Congress adjourns—the Algerian business is of a latter date and would have been the ruin of many in this Country only for the Convoy granted to 40 American Vessels by the Queen of Portugal, who it seems is displeased with the unasked friendship or interposition of England and Spain in bringing about the Truce between her Majesty & Spain & these sad Pirates, the effect of which would be to prevent that trade to her Dominions from America which is beneficial to both Nations— These things among others have been the cause of a set of Resolutions being Moved in the House of Repres. proposing to lay additional Duties on the Manufactures and Vessels of

Nations not having Commercial Treaties with America, particularly to effect great Gt. Britain so long as she may refuse to come into commercial Regulations with us upon terms of just and reasonable Reciprocity; many and Various are the advantages expected from such a system of Politics; tis said it would undoubtedly *oblige* that Government to come upon terms with us, & admit us into her We. Indies &c &c- that she cannot nor will not live comfortably without our *Custom* as consumers, nor without our Produce most of which to them is an actual Necessary of Life, and that now is the time to insist in this way for as free a trade, as we grant them, by which means the Value of our produce would be considerably & immediately enhanced, & that it would free us from those indignities and shackles in future which have been litterly thrown on the growing Commerce of our Country—these are some of the reasons advanced by those who's Purity of sentiments I have no right to doubt but who's Politics as respects this subject does not work conviction in my Mind I am strongly impressed with an idea that Politics, & Commerce should *if possible* be kept separte & distinct, and I can not help thinking it wants nothing but a little more Refinement among Nations who are Commercial to Make it so—If from Political Motives two powers were to engage in War, I am fully of opinion it would be to the real interest of both parties to suffer an uninterrupted Trade—I am of opinion in this commercial subject before Congress, Political feelings are to much alluded to—I confess myself chagrined at the appearance of the unfriendly dispositions Manifested by Spain & Britain towards my country, yet I can not think of doing by way of experiment to injure them, what I feel conscious might injure the Commercial and agricultural interests of America, *at least for a time*; the increase of imports & Value of Exports evinces the good state of our Trade to a Moderate degree, and the rapid addition of American Tonnage is a strong proof of the advantages already given to American Shipping by our Laws. and the improvements and progression of Manufactures among ourselves is a further proof of the good effects of the protecting duties on Certain Articles—Let us not be too anxious

for the Golden eggs, they will all come in due time tis to be hoped; and Let us not suffer the *Constitution*, of the Eagle that produces them, to be *impaired*, by too many stimulating applications.—Congress has several matters of moment before them but have done nothing of consequence finally—I understood the Assembly have actually adjourned to Wake⁵, not one of my friends have acquainted me how or when this was done, I really did not expect this event would have taken place so soon, pray inform me how it was effected, circumstanced as things are at the City.

I am informed the Landholders⁶ are to apply to this Session of Congress for redress, you remember I told you all documents to prove the extinguishment of Indian rights would be Necessary—

I shall now conclude this Long Letter with requesting to offer my respects to Mrs Hogg & family, and to my other friends in Hillsboro.—

I am

Dear Sir

with respect and Esteem
your friend
& Huml sert.
W. B. Grove

N. B.

To forget saying anything of French Politics would be heinous—they as usual present to the World a new scene, Their want of moderation is still to be lamented, but their Valour & Courage surmount every thing, their determination to be Free will baffle all attempts to the contrary—they have been in a singular Manner Victorious every Where—Duke of York⁷ has fled to England, Coburg & Claircraft are defeated—Ostend is taken &c &c &c &c.

I have opened this letter to contradict part of the French News, tis now said the Duke has not fled & that Ostend is not taken—

I will write Mr. Alves next post, be so good as to tell him the Transfers of Inler⁸ has not come on from Genl. Skinners office yet—tho it should have been here before now

[James Hogg Esquire
Hillsborough]

NOTES.

¹ Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina; Major in Revolutionary War; Governor of South Carolina, 1789-'92; Minister to Great Britain, 1792-'94; Minister to Spain, 1794-'96; Representative in Congress, 1797-1801; Major General in the War of 1812. He was the brother of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and cousin of Charles Pinckney.

² Wm. Lord Grenville (not Granville), the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, afterwards Prime Minister.

³ The Algerines held some American sailors as slaves. Portugal had quarrelled with Algiers and for some time kept its piratical vessels confined in the Mediterranean. The British Consul at Algiers procured a truce by which the vessels were allowed to pass the Straits of Gibraltar, thus leaving them at liberty to prey on American Commerce. Eventually in 1805 a treaty was made under which one million dollars was paid for the release of American captives and an annual tribute in addition. After the War of 1812 Commodore Decatur with twelve ships forced a new treaty, granting an indemnity, release from tribute and a promise not to make slaves of prisoners of war. Decatur then brought Tunis and Tripoli to terms.

The treaties mentioned by Mr. Grove between Great Britain and Russia, Sardinia and Spain were thought to put those nations on a better footing in regard to neutral rights than the United States.

⁴ The Retaliatory Resolutions of 1790 failed. They were brought forward again in 1794 but, it appearing that Great Britain had modified its offensive order of June of the preceding year, its advocates acquiesced in sending a special Minister, John Jay, to negotiate a treaty.

⁵ The General Assembly held its first meeting at Raleigh, the Seat of Government, in November, 1794.

⁶ This refers to the application of Thomas Person and others heretofore explained.

⁷ Frederick Augustus, Duke of York and Albany, second

son of George III. In 1793 he was sent to the Netherlands in command of an expedition to act with the Prince of Saxe-Coburg against France. He gained no honor. The army would have been ruined but for the able management of Abercromby. He soon threw up his command and returned to England. The Duke of Coburg, and General Clairfait, commanders of the Allied forces, were beaten and Belgium overrun.

⁸Judge Richard Henderson, James Hogg and others bought an immense tract in what is now Kentucky and Tennessee from the Indians but the purchase was disallowed by North Carolina and Virginia. Each State however gave the company 200,000 acres. This allusion is probably to deeds for portions of this land.

Grove to General Steele.

Phila. April 2d—94

Dear Steele

I believe you have heard from me twice since I recd your favor of 18th Feby, in those Letters I just acknowledged the rect. of yours and gave you a few lines on the spur of the occasion without replying to the several matters contained in it; I have now set down to fulfill your request & my own inclination in giving you a full account of *all things*, so far as is consistant with the length of a letter, & a regard to your Patience in perusing it— You afforded me consolation by your observation on the Resolut. respecting Commerce &c I was the only Member from the State that did not from a Principle of Policy think favorably of the system, Colo Gillespie¹ had doubts but they ended in a fixed opposition, & had any final Votes been taken him & myself would have been alone from No. C— I really join you in the opinion that you entertain of the Views and Policy of some of the Dom—n Gentry, and if we Wrong them in attributing those motives to them, tis only paying them part of the inters. of the *Wrongs in that way*, they have urged on others— But the Resolutions at present are in a trance, and if the Motives of the mover

and some of the Advocates were to bring about a misunderstanding between this Country & Gt. Britain, *they are likely to see their Views accomplished*, and perhaps like Deamons, *so evil is produced*, they are gratified no matter from what Cause— In answer to your observation, relative to the Pamphleteer & his aid, I would not advise any man to ride a mile to *Correct* them, or their dastardly squibs—tho I would put a black mark on them to know them again.

Shortly after my arrival here from the Assembly you & your Public Conduct was matter of conversation at our Lodging one evening, present our friend Macon, *The Honol. John Brown² of the Senate*, Colo Blount, Colo Parker, and Colo McDowall, with some New England Gentln. who live at Francis's with us, and a certain *High Priest³* of the Jews I believe, tho a mighty Dominion *Man*— Some of the Company by insinuations &c &c, "*were induced to fear* your Conduct was disaproved of generally in our State," & in your own Country in particular—that you were *not fond* enough of the Virg-s, or as I replied you were not *subservient* to them— You were too intimate with Mr Hamilton, as proof he had Breakfasted with you—"in short, time would show that the People of our State would desert you"— I need not tell you to all these things I did not *hesitate* to reply in *pretty warm* terms and to lug out the monster *envy* which I considered had Created these sentiments— I ended by saying what I *veryly* believed without any flummery, that for every Vote you had ever given, you had an honorable & honest motive, & that you were the most *Popular Man* in the State, and that before the then Sessn. of Assembly rose, if an oppory. offered, my declaration would be Verified—so that independent of my pleasure at your appointment of Major General I felt my judgment at stake. The Honol- J-e,⁴ "*Cauvaunted*"⁵ dont laugh at the expression, it suits the idea I meant to convey, and you know tis orthodox from the *Derivation*; he felt for the honor of his Honol. friend, & all the Honol. Military Gentl. of his District &c— I laughed, I soothed, I reasoned, I did better, I told him as *he* was inelligenceble from the present Honol. station he was in, I did not know a man in the Division so proper in my opinion as yourself—

this in a degree lulled his active soul to rest— If he had less Vanity & a little more understanding he would be passable—all these things as you say are a sort of Confidential scribble—

To give you a tolerable idea of the Worthies of Congress is no easy job—of the New Hands however I shall try to give you some impression of the abilities &c of the Speakers so far as I am Capable of judging—lets begin at the foundation, & at North Point—from N. H. Mr Sherebourne⁶ is a man of talents and speaks handsome, tho seldom— Massts. Mr Dexter⁷ a calm reasoner, rather refined for Common ears, a man of good sense— Colo Lyman⁸ often on the floor, not very flowery nor tedious, but a little of Roger Sherman⁹ in Cun-g— Genl. DearBorne¹⁰ an old Continental officer, Strong natural sense, and in all a pretty clever man—better fitted for the Military than a Legislator however— C-t- Mr Swift¹¹—speaks sometimes—a good natured man, tho no Orator— Mr Tracey¹² a man of humour and a strong mind, he is of considerable Weight—tho not very refined in his pronunciation or Language, he is like most of his Country Men clear headed, knows what he would be at, and has a tolerable manner of expressing himself, that others may see his object— Mr Coit¹⁴—speaks very seldom, tho in my opinion with perspicuity, & handsomely— R. I.¹⁵—you know the old Member, & the new one does not Speak in the House— N. Y. Mr Watts¹⁶ from the City is no Orator, but I believe he is a man of pretty good understanding, Mr Gilbert¹⁷—Speaks correctly, tho has an impediment— N— Jersey— no new Speaker— P-a- Mr. Smiley¹⁸ a man who was very Popular in the State Assembly, he is a great Demo- and taulks tolerable Well—you know Mr Scott¹⁹—he is a right sensible old Man— D²⁰—,all the Oratory of that State in the Senate— M Mr-Smith²¹ of Baltimore—a Red hot flaming Speaker, a good Mercet.—a Warm Patriot—rather too much fire for a Politician and a Calm Legislator— V-a- Mr Nicholas²²—A good Voice & tolerable orator, he is too warm & fond of annexing wrong *motives* to those who differ from him— Mr. Harrison,²³ a pleasant Man and speaks pretty well— N. C.— Oh, ah—yes, true—you are *acquaint* then with the Gentleman *I allege*—

S. C.— Mr Hunter ²⁴ is a man of sound judgment, and a tolerable Speaker— G ²⁵—Mr Carnes ²⁶ has Handsome talents for Speaking, but from Diffidence or other causes, he seldom says anything— So, I have gone through the Continent in the lower House, perhaps I have not done Gentlemen justice, but really I meant not by what I have said to *injure one of them*— Now Mr G— be so good as Step up Stairs, and take a peep into the Senate Chamber—That Mighty Conclave, where it has been Surmized Majestic Majick dwealt, where the illumined minds of mortals shone so bright as to exclude the rays of light from Heaven—where it has been suggested that Dangerous *Vice* sets as a Mirror on a throne, to make that hateful Monster *aristocracy* lose all its proud & surly Features by dressing it in the garb of Drusilla— The Deception however is discovered, and the Lords, the Mighty Lords, are to be beheld as soon as accomodations can be prepared for the People, who in their Compassion must behold some of them with *Pity* because they *may* expose their Weakness in an unguarded hour—to be short with you the Doors of the Senate are to be open next Sessn.—when some of the Within will shew their *Nakedness*— I was prent at times during the Discussion of Galatines Election, he has lost his seat, not having been an Actual Citizen 9 years—tho an Inhabitant 11 years or near it, he only wanted a few months— The Genl. ²⁸ is still that warm and Vociferous Orator you knew him—When below, he spoke so that those above, might hear, Now he wants those below to participate— Govr. Martin ²⁹ was a *stiff* Advocate for opening the Doors, and gained no small Credit for his perseverance, & success in *his Motion*—

It is indeed a very unpleasant thing to be confined in a Close room, or indeed in a ho-l-l-w L-g ³⁰ in a Warm day— By the Lord you'll bring me into a scrape—

You ask what influence brt. Randolph in—I answer it, by saying tis the question every one asks, and No one can tell— I think from the genl. opinion let what ever influence put him in, he will carry not much out I suspect—even the Virginians are displeased at the appointment—but tis said Madison

would not accept it— It is said Knox³¹ & Hamilton will resign—I dont believe it—tho if We should have a War, I think tis probable Hamilton will be Commd in Chief— He is Certainly a Man of fine talents, and altho I dislike his Politics on many subjects—I do admire his Genius— I go very seldom to Court³² and less to Madams than usual the Theatre takes off many Ladies—& you may often make your Bow to her & Miss Custis and perhaps not see five Ladies the whole eveng.— I suspect your remark that a Man should make his *Nod* on Tuesdays to be remembered is true enough—you know however the *Man*, whatever he may think he says little on any subject—altho I think he is more relaxed in his conversation than formerly—

I assure you I felt concerned on hearing of the Death of the old Genl.³³— I sincerely wish all his family Well and am Sorry for the Girls if he had failed in making proper Provision for them—for in my opinion they are Deserving of every thing that should make them Happy there not having Fortunes would not lessen their Worth in my Mind—and if I remember Well I thought Pol-y- a remarkable fine Woman—I wish then both well Married & very Happy—

“Hey ho-so, she has *got it* at last has she— Does Anderson become a Member of your ‘Town? I told Genl. Lock³⁴ the Widow was renewing her age, & that I expected she would *Captivate* him when he got home— Your apology for what you call trifles in your letter was not necessary, every thing relative to a Mans Country & acquaintences is interesting to him, more especially when he is from home—and such little anecdotes are to the mind, what Syllabubs, Custards and ice Cream are to the Stomack after a hearty meal, they tend to assist digestion and qualify the Cruder substances, as I mean to begin a new Sheet with a New Subject I must end this space with this subject—then such trifles assist, and *tend, tend*; to fill up a Sheet as I have done this, & as Boys eat bread to fill up chinks

I believe Mr Macon & myself have Warned you of the threatening Storm, I assure it has a dark appearance— Orders were privately issued from the Court of St James on the 6th Novr. to all the armed Ves-

sels &c of his *Majesty*, to seize all Neutral Vessels bound to or from the French Islands and take them as Lawful prize &c—our trade to France has been knocked up by a similar order in Augt—but it being made public our Merchants & Vessels conducted accordingly and no very great injury was done further than preventing us pursuing a fair & profitable trade—remonstrance was made—and a promise in part to restore property &c however this further order of 6th Nov. was issued and put in force before our Minister at London knew any thing of the business—he wrote on 25th Nov.—when he informs us Lord Grenville expressed great respect for the Americans & their Neutral rights—that his Majesty was pleased at their prosperity and a D—n deal more such stuff—when at that very time or a few days before they had issued orders to Seize & Condemn all our Vessels which were on a fair Commerce, for the Americans were allowed to trade to the French Islands before the Death of the King nearly 2 years— We have received within a few days a taulk Delivered by Lord Dochester to the Indians, full of hints and insidious language, pointed at the Und States—he tells them tis not unlikely his Master may be at War with us—&c &c. and that they shall find a Friend in the British People either in Peace or war—that We have forfeited these Lands & Ports or words to that amount— Our Consul at St Eustatia has given us a few days ago an account officially of the Depredations & Spoilation Committed by the British Creuzers under the order of the 6th Nov. upward of 250 sail American Vessels are taken, 150 Were Condemned—and the same fate awaits them all—you must at once see the effect these things added to all other injuries produces in the public mind against that faithless Government of Gr. Britain— In Novr. last that Perfidious Court full of hope & Conscious of success, from her uncommon exertions & that of the allies against France—had beyond any Manner of Doubt formed a plan of *Ruining* the Commerce of America, and our growing Marine, of prostrating us once more at her feet where No Mercy is to be expected—and perhaps all powerful by her allies she meditated a Serious design of Subjugating Freedom, Liberty & Republicanism, in Amer-

ica, that Spot where the Sacred flame first appeared in modern times, and I hope it may never be extinguished but by a total annihilation of the Very Earth itself— That such a plan and System has been Contemplated by Britain & her Combined Despots begins to appear as clear as day — They thought Conquering France & Dividing it would be Nothing, While Freedom and the rights of Man in a rational sense remained triumphant in America, that spot where French Men Caught the Never dying flame, the effects of which has Shaken Europe to its Center, and made every Tyrant Shudder on his Throne— I say they thought reducing France to her former Misery, would be but half the Work, they premeditated the putting the ax to the root, and that must be done in the United States— What a Scene of horror does the very idea present—and what feelings do they produce in an American breast— America the assylum for the oppressed and Virtuous of all the World, where even Vice itself loses its powers in a measure, because there exists little inducement to be Vicious —Where all Men enjoy under a System of Laws equal rights, & equal advantages, Where the rights and interests of Strangers are guarded & protected in a peculiar Manner—Where the Citizens & the Govern. in their intercourse, with *other Nations*, treat them with Friendship, Justice, & open Candour, Where the Subjects of all Nations can dwell in peace & safety, pursue their several occupations, and retire with all their Effects to their Native Country, loaded with the Wealth they acquired among us—under such circumstances is it not wonderful, is it not Melancholy, that there should exist a Set of Men, Combined by fell ambition—to Destroy the Peace & harmony of such a Country— Yet such has been the Case I do believe—and had not the French been so graciously successful the last Winter, I suspect American Blood, would have mingled With the Cut throats of Europe in our own Country before Next Jany—

But the Republican French have been uncommonly Fortunate in repelling their Enemies, so much so as to give a strong hope Peace may be expected, or at least the fangs of the Lyon are so blunted as to apprehend less danger from him—and John Bull begins to

be tired of the business tis believed— Tho we have yet got Nothing from Mr Pinckney since Novr.— An Embargo is laid for 30 days, it may be the means of making Sir Chs Jervis and his troops in the We Indies keep tent; until we know more of matters—tho we have by way of We Indies a New Set of instructions of the 8h Jany—annulling the orders of the 6th Novr. and giving Americans some little more freedom of trade, but We will shew them before We are Done, Americans dont intend to obey the King & Counsil—as our fore Fathers did; they order Matters better in America Now—a Resolution has been under Discussion for two days proposing to Sequester all British debts to be pd. into the Treasury as a fund to pay the Amern. Citizens in case Justice is not done them by the British Govert— I confess I do not like to meddle with private Contracts, but really I see no other mode of Securing such a faithless Governt. to Keep the Peace & Do Justice—

We have a plan before us for organizing 80 Militia—I send you the plan as Reported. to raise 800 More Men to guard the Several Ports and Provisionally 15000 Regulars in Case of War these things will astonish you I am sure, tho they are only propositions—I am for No other force than the Young Men of the Militia from 18 to 25—or so and particularly while tis Not Certain we shall Want no other force— The increase of Expenses, Fortifications, purchasing arms &c &c &c will make the current expenses upwards of five & one half Million Dollars for 94—the probable Deficiencies of Revinue is 2,340,000 Dollrs. deducting the probable Deficiencies of impost— I am one of 15—a Committee on this subject to report ways & means— We have done Nothing final yet, we had a Meeting yesterday, & had Secry H— before us, he appeared cursedly Mortified— Those on the Committee who had been always opposed to References to him on this Subject made no great Show— I expected Mr Madison would have come forward with some System but he did not— I suspect We Shall Employ the Secry yet— Stamps on Law papers & assignments was proposed be taxed as one fund, Carriages of Pleasure, and finally Land— I really fear We shall be obliged to lay a small tax on Land, or

Polls What do you think— Will the People run the risque of leaving our Country in a defenceless State rather than pay a Land tax—

I signed a paper a few days ago drawn up by Hawkins, addressed to the People of the State, tis to be in Hodges paper— I dont know that it Can do any harm, but on reflection I wish I had not put my Name to it— Macon was the only one that did not sign it—all our acquaintences are Well— Farewell my Dear Sir and let me hear from you—Adieu

W. B. Grove

Genl. Steele

NOTES.

¹ James Gillespie, of Duplin County, North Carolina; Representative in Congress 1793-'99, and 1803-'05. He supported the Resolution, for retaliation on England.

² John Brown; delegate to the Continental Congress from the Kentucky District 1787-'88; Representative in Congress 1789-'92; one of the first Senators from Kentucky 1793-1804. He was the last survivor of the Congress of the Confederation. He died in 1804.

Thomas Blount of North Carolina. Representative 1793-'99 and 1805-'7; again 1811-'12. He died in 1812 and is buried at Washington. He was Lieutenant in the Revolution and afterwards Major-General of Militia.

Josiah Parker, of Virginia; Representative 1789-1801.

Joseph McDowell, of North Carolina; known as of Quaker Meadows; fought at King's Mountain; opposed the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1788; Representative in Congress, 1793-'95, and again 1797-'99. Some say that Dr. Joseph McDowell, of Pleasant Gardens was the Representative of the latter date.

³ I suggest that Albert Gallatin is here meant. He had been refused a seat in the Senate because he had not been naturalized nine years. He was not a Jew but being a foreigner and especially odious to the Federalists by his having been concerned in the Whiskey Insurrection and by his ag-

gressive ability as a leader of the opposite party, Grove may have suspected that he was of that religion, which was then more unpopular than in recent years. Gallatin was a Representative from Pennsylvania, 1795-1801; Secretary of the Treasury, 1802-'14; Minister, with Clay, Adams, Bayard and Russell to negotiate the treaty of Ghent in 1814; Minister to France 1815-'23; Minister to Great Britain 1826-'27. Removed to New York City, where he was President of a Bank, of the New York Historical Society and the United States Ethnological Society. Died 1849.

⁴I am doubtful as to the identity of this gentleman. Spruce McCoy, of Salisbury was a State Judge at that time and "Hon J-e"(Judge) may mean him. There is no evidence that he was in Philadelphia. Matthew Locke of Salisbury was a member of Congress but was never a Judge. Perhaps he had been Chairman of the County Court and Grove may have given him the title sneeringly.

⁵This word is an Americanism, corrupted from curvetting, i.e. prancing around.

⁶John Samuel Shenburne; lost a leg in the Revolutionary War; Representative 1793-'97; U. S. District Judge from New Hampshire, 1804-'30.

⁷Samuel Dexter; a Federalist; Representative 1793-'95; United States Senator 1795-'99; Secretary of War, May 13, 1800; of the Treasury, December 31, 1800; a leading practitioner before the Supreme Court of the United States. Published a poem, "Progress of Science," and a volume of Speeches and Pamphlets.

⁸William Lyman, Brigadier General of Militia; Representative, 1793-'97; Consul at London 1805-'11.

⁹Roger Sherman; a Judge in Massachusetts and then in Connecticut; delegate to the Continental Congress, 1774-'84; delegate to Constitutional Convention of 1787; Representative in Congress, 1789-'91; Senator, 1791-'93. His high reputation will hardly be diminished by Grove's charge of "cunning."

¹⁰Henry Dearborn; resident of Maine, when a part of Massa-

chusetts; Major General of Militia, 1789; Representative, 1793-'97; Secretary of War, 1801-'09; Senior Major General in the war of 1812; Minister to Portugal, 1822-'24.

¹¹ Zephaniah Swift; Representative, 1793-'97; Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Connecticut, 1806-'19; Member of the Hartford Convention; Published some law books on legal subjects.

¹² Uriah Tracy; Representative, 1793-'96; United States Senator, 1796-'1807. Died at Washington, 1807.

¹⁴ Joshua Coit; Representative, 1793-'98; died 1798 at New London of Yellow Fever.

¹⁵ The old member was Benjamin Bourne; the new, George Leonard.

¹⁶ John Watts; Representative from New York City, 1793-'95.

¹⁷ Ezekiel Gilbert; Representative, 1793-'97; was a lawyer at Hudson, New York; Paralyzed, 1812, and was a sufferer for thirty years afterwards.

¹⁸ John Smilie; Born in Ireland; Representative, 1793-'95 and 1799-1813. Died 1813 at Washington.

¹⁹ Thomas Scott; Representative, 1789-'91, and 1793-'95.

²⁰ Delaware. The Senators from this State were then Henry Latimer and John Vining. Vining was a frequent speaker, Latimer not at all. Probably Grove had in mind the distinguished George Read, who resigned in the latter part of 1793.

²¹ Samuel Smith; a Revolutionary Colonel; Representative 1793-1803, and 1816-'22; Senator, 1803-'15, and 1822-'33; Commanded Maryland troops in repulse of British at Baltimore, 1814; Mayor of Baltimore.

²² John Nicholas; Representative, 1793-1801; Removed to Geneva, New York; Member of State Senate and County Court Judge. To be distinguished from Wilson Cary Nicholas, delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1787; U. S. Senator, 1800-'04; Representative, 1807-'09, and Governor of Virginia, 1814-'17.

²³ Carter B. Harrison, Representative, 1793-'99.

²⁴ John Hunter; Representative, 1793-'95; U. S. Senator, 1797-'98; a farmer.

²⁶ Thomas P. Carnes; Born in Maryland; settled at Milledgeville, Ga.; Attorney General; Judge of Supreme Court of Georgia; Representative, 1793-'95.

²⁷ The Senate sat with closed doors until 1795. This was very unpopular, especially in North Carolina where the custom had been for the members of Congress to appear before the General Assemblies and report their actions.

²⁸ James Jackson; Senator from Georgia, 1793-'95. He was a Representative, 1789-'91.

²⁹ Alexander Martin. Born in New Jersey; Graduated at Princeton, 1756; began practice of the law in North Carolina, 1772; Colonel of the Continental Line at Brandywine and Germantown; State Senator, 1782-'85, and 1789-'92; Acting Governor of North Carolina, 1781-'82; Governor, 1782-'85, and 1789-'92; U. S. Senator, 1793-'99.

³⁰ This humorous sally alludes to the charge against Governor Martin that he hid in a hollow log at Germanton. The matter was investigated by a court martial, which acquitted him.

³¹ Edmund Jennings Randolph; Aid-de-camp to Washington; Attorney General of Virginia; delegate to the Continental Congress, 1779-'82; Governor of Virginia, 1786-'88; Attorney General of the U. S., 1789-'94; Secretary of State in place of Jefferson, resigned, 1794-'95; Invited to resign in consequence of an apparent intrigue with the French Minister, Fauchet. He published a "Vindication" of his conduct, which many think is unsatisfactory.

³² Henry Knox of Massachusetts; Major General in the Revolutionary war; Secretary of War, 1789; Resigned in 1795. Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, resigned the same year.

³³ Washington's levees were held every Tuesday afternoon from three to four o'clock precisely. The guests stood and he walked to them, saying a few words to each, bowing but not shaking hands. The levees of "Madam," or as she was usually called "Lady Washington," were on Friday evenings

from eight to ten, and usually were attended by the fashionable of the city. She was a charming hostess. The President often attended and seemed to enjoy the beauty and sparkle. Miss Eleanor (Nelly) Custis was the daughter of John Parke Custis, son of Mrs. Washington, after her father's death adopted by the General. She was very vivacious and attractive. She married Washington's nephew, Lawrence Lewis.

³³ Probably General John Smith, of Rowan, who married the widow of Moses Alexander of Cabarrus, the mother of Gov. Nathaniel Alexander, and William, Mark and Wallace Alexander, all in the Continental Line of the Revolutionary army. Wallace was a Senator from Lincoln County. One of his daughters married Archibald Henderson, and another, Wm. Locke, nephew of Judge Locke.

³⁴ Matthew Locke; Representative, 1793-97, from North Carolina. Mr. Grove's sarcastic allusion to a new North Carolina Representative was pointed at Joseph McDowell and not at Locke, I think.

Grove to Hogg.

6th Feby 1795

Dear Sir.

The enclosed sheet of our Journal will inform you what was the result of the Vote in Congress on the application by Thos Person & others for Compensation for Lands in the So. We. Territory—

The subject took up great part of two days and I believe nothing was omitted that could be said on either side. Mr Smith S C was an able advocate, but the House seemed assured the Indian claims had never been fairly extinguished since the Treaty at Long Island of Holston in 1777—which gave the Indians that part of Hendersons purchase lying on the head waters of the Cumberland River—

A proposition is now made which seems to be generally approved of, that a Treaty should be held with the Indians & their right purchased when the Proprietors of Land in that Country Would have their titles perfected and might occupy their Property—

We have had no determination on the Companies Claim, but from what was Said on the other subject I have no expectation any thing can be done for them exclusively— We therefore Wait under a hope the Indian claims may be purchased, or at least that an attempt may be made— I shall write you again on this subject—

Mr Jay has entered into a Treaty with the British Govert., which We hope & believe will be favorable to this country, altho the several articles are not known—as soon as it arrives & is confirmed by the President & Senate it will be published— The last accts. from the Seat of War in Europe, they were as usual Fighting away like Mad men on all sides— The French are still Victorious in Holland and Spain— We were induced to believe from some late accts. that a Peace was desired & concluded between the French and some of her Enemies, but this rather doubtfull—

I am

In haste

Your friend

O H Ser

W B Grove

[James Hogg Esq
Hillsboro. No. Carolina]

Grove to Hogg.

Philaa. Jany 4th, 1797

Dear Sir

You have no doubt seen the Charges ¹ of the French against the Government of the United States as exhibited by their Minister *Mr Adet* through the medium of the public prints; this unexpected event, & strange conduct of our old allies has naturally created considerable alarm & anxiety, the more as we understand they are in the West Indies executing the *Decree* in the most extensive latitude by seizing & condemning all American Vessels & Cargoes without paying much regard to forms, or to the Ports from which, or *to which*, they are bound—*these Charges* are the mere pretexts thrown out to Colour their *Decree*, which is in open Violation of Treaty & the Laws of Nations, neither of which is regarded by

them, when they stand in the Way of their present *grand design* of cutting up all commerce to British ports, disregarding the Consequences it may have on the Neutral commerce, & particularly *on the U.S.* as they know our Trade is mostly with Gt Britain— Thus these two powerful rival Nations are inattentive to Justice or principle, towards others; if they can do *each other an injury*, they are regardless of the Means; and alas, the unprotected American commerce is at their mercy and they have treated it as if they knew Not What *Justice or Mercy Was*—

² The enclosed Paper contains a lengthy reply & refutation on the part of our Government, of the French charges of "*insidious Neutrality*" &c &c— I I hope there is not a real American who does not feel as he ought on such an occasion, a contempt for such a declaration. against the *Will* of a Free People, who desired to be at Peace with the Wourld, & have dealt fairly with all.

That the Government of the Ud States eluded & defeated all the plans and intrigues that has been on foot to Yoke America into the European War has probably given *offence* to the French and if using every rational & honourable Means to Maintain Peace in this Country, & keep free of the Desolating War of the old Wourld has been an offence to the good People of America, *their Government has been guilty of it*— It is to be hoped the Negotiations going on at Paris may speedily terminate the War, otherwise our Commerce to Foreign Countries will be in a great measure ruined, & the Government will of course be driven to the necessity of a *Direct Tax*, which subject is now before us to be in readiness for Deficiencies of import & Tonnage—

Mr Adams is Elected President,³ & Mr Jefferson Vice,—this is as we both wished, if I remember—the latter Gentleman will serve, & expresses satisfaction at the Election of Mr A—whos Character & Patriotism it seems he, does, &, ever respected—that Mr Adams got only one Vote in our State, & *Mr Burr* 6, reflects no great judgment or respect of a Proper Character to fill so important an office as President, in our Electors— Mr B— could not get one Vote in the State he belonged to, & where he was

bred & born, nor in either of the adjoining states—& yet he got 6 in No. Carolina— Mr Adams did not lose one Vote in 8 States—and got some votes in 4 others— I hope his Conduct in the Execution of the high trust reposed in him may prove Satisfactory to his Country, & may be the means of shewing to the World that he is a real *friend in action* and Principles, to the Republic of America, as established by our Constitution.

The Winter is the most Severe one, that has been known for many Years, and the Westerly Wind prevents us getting late information from the other side of the Water— The articles¹ for the University were shipped from London in Novr., & the Vessel is not yet heard of—this may prove a further disappointment to the University; & a loss to Mr Richardson by whom they were to be imported— — I shall be gratified on hearing from you, the News and Politics of the State—remember me to all acquaintances in and about Hillsboro—

Believe me to be

Dear Sir

with esteem and regard
your Huml Sert.

W B Grove

James Hogg esq,

NOTES.

¹These charges were in substance, as summarized by Tucker:

a In abandonment by the United States of their neutral rights. It was contended that the United States would insist on the principle that neutral ships make their cargoes free, and resist the extension of the list of contraband articles.

b That the United States had violated the treaty of 1778, especially in not giving French vessels more privileges in our ports than English vessels.

c That the Jay Treaty with Great Britain discriminated against France.

d That the Cabinet in 1793 discussed the question whether

the treaties with France were binding, also whether they would receive the agents of the proscribed princes.

e That the United States made an insidious proclamation of neutrality.

f By chicaneries the courts of the United States were unjust to French privateers.

g The United States had eluded the offered mediation of France with Algiers for relieving American prisoners.

h It allowed French vessels of state to be arrested, contrary to treaty.

i It suffered England to interrupt its commerce with France.

j It suffered English vessels, which had insulted the United States, to take refuge in her ports and thence cruise against the French.

k It in effect applauded English audacity; allowed French colonies to be blockaded.

l It eluded French advances for more favorable treaties, while it sought a treaty with England which prostituted its neutrality, and forgot the services France had rendered in the war of the Revolution.

m That from the New York Coffee House the entwined flags of the two nations had been removed by the proprietors.

n That an American almanac had failed to give precedence to French diplomacy.

o That the consular convention between the two nations had been rendered illusory in two particulars.

p That Minister Fauchet, on leaving the United States, had been subjected to annoying treatment by a British ship.

q The answer of the United States as given by Tucker was, in substance:

That the United States did not violate our treaty or weaken our engagements with France; that no resistance was made to the measures of Genet and others of her agents, except what was required by our laws and neutral obligations; that it never acquiesced in violation of our rights or stipulations

with France, but has opposed them always; that it has furnished France all succor allowable to neutrals; that the United States as a sovereign, as well as by provisions of the commercial treaties with France, had the right to enter into commercial treaties with Great Britain or any other nation; that no facts showing partiality to Great Britain could be produced.

If there has been greater promptitude to act against unlawful acts of French cruisers, it was because they were more frequently committed on account of the greater sympathy of our people with them. And when British ships of war entered our waters with their prizes, the government had no means of punishing such infractions without calling out the militia.

³ In the election of 1796 Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Rhode Island, Vermont, voted solidly for Adams. Maryland gave him 7 out of 10 votes, North Carolina 1 of 12, Pennsylvania 1 of 15, while Georgia, Kentucky, South Carolina and Tennessee voted solidly against him. Kentucky gave Burr 4 votes, Maryland 3, North Carolina 6, Pennsylvania 13, Tennessee 3, Virginia 1. Jefferson received 4 each from Georgia, Kentucky and Maryland, 11 from North Carolina, 14 from Pennsylvania, 8 from South Carolina, 3 from Tennessee, and 20 from Virginia. Thomas Pinckney had from Connecticut 4, Delaware 3, Maryland 4, Massachusetts 13, New Jersey 7, New York 12, North Carolina 1, Pennsylvania 2, South Carolina 8, Vermont 4, Virginia 1. There were 15 votes for Samuel Adams from Virginia, 11 for Oliver Ellsworth from Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, 7 for George Clinton from Georgia and Virginia, 5 for John Jay from Connecticut, 3 for James Iredell from North Carolina, 2 for George Washington from North Carolina and Virginia, 2 for John Henry from Maryland, 2 for Samuel Johnston of North Carolina from Massachusetts, and 1 for C. C. Pinckney from North Carolina. Thus Adams had 71 votes, Jefferson 68, Thomas Pinck-

ney 59 and Burr 30, and under the constitution as it was then Adams was President and Jefferson Vice-President. Pinckney was a Federalist and Hamilton vainly endeavored to have him receive more votes than Adams. The total number of votes was 138, but it was not required that the Vice-President should be chosen by a majority.

⁴The articles, electrical and other apparatus, for the University of North Carolina, arrived safely.

Grove to Steele.

Fayette Ville Octor. 1st —1802

My Dear Sir

I returned yesterday from Hillsbror, where I went on the 9th Sepr. with Mrs. G— on a Visit to her friends; on my return I found in the Post office your favor of the 16th ult. which gave me the first information of your return home, altho' I made enquirey after you while in Orange—I hope your Family have recovered since you wrote, & that you continue to enjoy good health in the Native climate; tho' Salisbury is looseing its reputation of being healthy.

From your letter, & the Copy of the one to the head of your Department, which you have done me the favor to enclose for my perusal, I perceive with regret, that you have new cause to be dissatisfied with your position in the Govemt.

As soon as I read the report of the *Investigating* discriminating & criminating Committee, I could not help seeing the *deep cut* made at the Former Treasury Departt.¹ From the temper & Views of the majority of that Committee, It was to be apprehended they would sieze on every possible case to injure the feelings & reputation of the former Adminisn. but from the Examination & report of the Committee of the session before last, on the Treasury Departnt, I did suppose the *new investigators* would find little to add, as to that branch of the Government; but in the spirit of the times, they have wisely and economically discovered, that for want of *their legal and saving construction* of the acts of Congress, monies have

been disbursed without an act of appropriation, of course these monies should be refunded, & they the Committee appointed as a standing Board of expounders!—The contempt mixed with indignation which the late Report excited in me caused me to think, that the Men of sense and decency of their party would condemn it; as a crude, partial, & ignorant production—& that tho' they might for political reasons, *wink* at its censure; I did not presume the head of any Department, would sanction & adopt the report as the rule of their office—I am really sorry to find there is reason to believe it otherwise, & that the present Head of the Treasury in the case of *Woodside* is disposed to give a new construction to the Law, so as to produce a clashing of opinion Between your Judgment & former decisions, and his own—If this difference of opinion on the meaning of a Law, arises alone from the honest & impartial Judgment of the Secretary, or is unconnected with any other cause or motive than a desire to construe Laws fairly, I can not think it should add to your inducements to leave the Department—of this you alone can best judge—But while you are permitted to think and act independently on your own Judgment and sentiments, & are treated with that delicacy and attention due to your services, your Character & your situation, I m[ost] earnestly wish you to continue in office—If this is not the case I know you too Well, to suppose you would act with any set of Men.—

We have no news here, and were it not for the railings & abuse of Duane,² Callander, &c. against each other, we should consider the papers dull, but these fellows unfold some things worth knowing respecting the falsehood & knavery which has been going on among them, & are fulfilling two things, that Dog will eat Dog; and that when rogues fall out honest men come to their right—

I am Very certain you join me in regretting—sincerely regretting the fate of poor Spaight³. He has fallen a sacrifice to his own Violence of temper, for he might have adjusted his dispute with honor, without going to extremities—

Flour will probably continue about 5 to \$7—Cotton from \$12 to \$15 pr. Cwt. picked—3 to 3 1-2 for

Seed—and indeed I fear all [classes] of produce will be low compared to late years—Shells are generally to be had here at 1-6 to 1-8 d pr. Bushl.—lime is dearer & scarce—

Mrs. Grove desires to be united with me in a tender of our best respects to yourself, & Family, and particularly to Miss Ann—⁴

Believe me my Dear Sir

With real esteem & regard

Yrs Sincerely—

W. B. Grove

John Steele Esqr.

NOTES.

¹ These fault-findings with the administration of the money department under President Adams came to nothing.

² Wm. Duane from 1795 to 1822 edited at Philadelphia the leading Democratic-Republican newspaper. A prosecution was started against him for libelling President Adams but was abandoned

Callender was also indicted under the Sedition Act for expressions used in a pamphlet called "The Prospect Before Us," and sentenced to nine months imprisonment and a fine of \$200. A number of others were indicted, the prosecution of most of whom were abandoned.

³ Richard Dobbs Spaight, son of a nephew of Governor Dobbs; Delegate to the Congress of the Confederation, 1782-'84; Delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1787; Governor of North Carolina, 1792-'95; Representative in Congress 1798-1801; was killed in a duel by John Stanly 1802. He was then a Republican and Stanly a Federalist. The Federalists generally thought Spaight the aggressor and his adversary, in his petition for pardon, which was granted by Governor Williams, earnestly so contends.

⁴ Steele's daughter, afterwards Mrs. Jesse A. Pearson.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Is due, for the preparation of the sketches and notes, to

The James Sprunt Monograph, No. 2; The Congressional Career and Letters of Nathaniel Macon.

Hon. John Steele Henderson, of Salisbury.

Messrs. Edward R. McKethan and Allan A. McCaskill, of Fayetteville.

Col. Robert Bingham, of Asheville.

Miss Margaret Norwood, of Hillsboro.

Hon. Armistead Gordon, of Staunton, Va.

The Histories of Henry Adams, Tucker, Schouler, and Allison, have been consulted, and also the Congressional Directory, by Poore, the Annals of Congress, the North Carolina Acts of Assembly, and Jamieson's Dictionary of American History.

The University of North Carolina

JAMES SPRUNT
Historical Monograph No. 4



Letters and Documents, Relating to the Early History of
the Lower Cape Fear, with Introduction and .

Notes by Kemp P. Battle, LL.D.

CHAPEL HILL
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY

1903

2

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CONTENTS OF THIS PUBLICATION.

1. Extracts from the papers of the DeRosset family, of Wilmington, furnished at our request by Mrs. Catharine DeRosset Meares, widow of the gallant Colonel Gaston Meares, who fell at Malvern Hill, and by Col. Wm. Lord DeRosset.

2. Extracts from the Journal of the Board of Commissioners of Wilmington, with an introduction by Captain Samuel A. Ashe, who is lineally descended from Governor and Judge Samuel Ashe, brother of General John Ashe, and an officer of the Revolution.

3. Journal of Joshua Potts in regard to the location of Smithville (Southport).

4. Letter of Captain Samuel Ashe, son of Governor Samuel Ashe, and who fought for America at Eutaw, giving valuable information about the men and events in the Revolution.

5. Journal of General Joseph G. Swift, a United States officer stationed on our coast about 1807, who married a North Carolina lady. This was published for private distribution but is out of print.

6. Extracts from an oration by Colonel James G. Burr, giving some important information.

x

INTRODUCTION.

The James Sprunt Monograph, No. 4, published by the University of North Carolina, is a contribution to the history of the lower Cape Fear. This section of the State has been conspicuous from its first settlement for the wealth, the intelligence, the hospitality, the elegant manners and public spirit of its citizens. One of its earliest settlers, Colonel Maurice Moore, was a chief factor in crushing the Indian rising of 1711. Another, Col. Hugh Waddell, did important service in the French and Indian War. Its Ashes, its Moores, its Harnett, its Hooper, its Howe, its Lillington, and other strong men, were among the foremost in resisting oppression and securing independence. Its civilians have in large degree aided in moulding our institutions. Valuable efforts to perpetuate their memories by biographical notices have been made by Hon. George Davis, Captain Samuel A. Ashe, Col. A. M. Waddell, Mr. James Sprunt, Mr. A. M. Hooper, Mr. J. G. Burr and others. It is hoped that the material herein published will be appreciated by those who are interested in our past.

It may be useful to give a summary of the leading events connected with the beginnings of the peopling of the lower Cape Fear. The first attempt, by a company from Massachusetts, settling on the east side of the river, was soon abandoned. In 1665 Sir John Yeamans, of Barbadoes, under a grant from the Lords Proprietors of thirty-two miles square, induced a number of emigrants to fix their habitations at the mouth of Town Creek eight miles below Wilmington, and begin the building of a village, still known as "Old Town." After remaining six years they were all transferred to Charleston, between the rivers named in compliment to Earl Shaftesbury, the Ashley and the Cooper.

Colonel Maurice Moore, the grandson of Sir John Yeamans, and the son of Governor James Moore, who assisted in sup-

pressing the Indian insurrection, first fixed his residence in the Albemarle section. In 1723 he induced a number of his kinsfolks and connections to make their homes with him on the Cape Fear. Among them were his brothers Nathaniel, and another, on account of his wealth and style and imperious dealing with the Indians, known as King Roger Moore.

In prospecting for a site for a town Colonel Moore concluded to locate it sixteen miles below what is now Wilmington, giving 320 acres for the purpose. "King Roger" added to it. A charter was granted by the General Assembly in 1745. It had the advantage of a good depth of water in front, inviting however the occasional visits of pirates. In one of these piratical raids in 1748 the citizens made stout resistance, blowing up a vessel and capturing some property, afterwards given by the General Assembly to the churches of St. Philip at Brunswick and St. James at Wilmington. A painting of Christ shown to the multitude by Pilate is still in the vestry room of St. James.

In addition to its depth of water Brunswick had the advantage of being on the only road to South Carolina. As early as 1727 a public ferry across the river was authorized to be established by Cornelius Harnett, the father of a distinguished son of the Revolution. The fees, five shillings for a man and horse and half a crown for a person, seem reasonable. About one third should be deducted in order to reduce these amounts to sterling.

Although never having a large population the town had very eminent citizens, not excelled in intelligence, public spirit and hospitality by any in America, north or south. Living within the town or on neighboring plantations were, besides the Moores I have mentioned, and including George, the son of King Roger Moore, with his twenty-eight children, Cornelius Harnett, the Revolutionary patriot, Col. William Dry, Attorney Generals Archibald McLaine and Thomas McGuire, General Robert Howe, General James Moore, Judge Maurice Moore and the Judge's son, Alfred, afterwards

Attorney General and Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, Governor Benjamin Smith, John Baptista Ashe, and his distinguished sons, John and Samuel, and many others. Governor Dobbs had a residence adjoining it, which was sold by his son to Governor William Tryon. It was here that Governor Gabriel Johnston took the oath of office. It was here that George III. was proclaimed in 1761 in the presence of Governor Dobbs and his council and a number of the men of the neighborhood. It was here that by Colonel John Ashe and others Tryon was forced to surrender the stamp master, William Houston, who in his turn was forced to abandon his office. It was here that the British sloop of war, Diligence, was prevented from landing stamps, and the Collector of the Port, Pennington, then in the Governor's Mansion, compelled to resign his office. Brunswick too had the privilege of sending a member to the lower House of the General Assembly and was sometimes the place of meeting of that body in colonial days.

In Brunswick too are the remains of perhaps the most handsome church in colonial days, St. Philip, belonging to the Church of England. The walls still stand, nearly three feet thick, built about 1740 of English brick. It was nearly as large as modern North Carolina churches, $76\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and $53\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide, with eleven windows and three large doors. During the recent war Fort Anderson enclosed the site of the old town, and although it suffered a terrific bombardment, the walls of the church remained intact, while havoc was made of some of the headstones in the old cemetery.

Several reasons for removal of Brunswick may be conjectured. Captain S. A. Ashe, in the introduction to the City Records of Wilmington, hereinafter found, gives a clear account of the beginnings of that city. I only state here that its site is higher and more healthy. It is more favorably situated for trade with the up-country. It was in the beginning of the Revolution less liable to attacks by British vessels. It was more convenient to the settlers above the

junction of the two branches of the Cape Fear, who were rapidly increasing in numbers and wealth.

I am particularly indebted for aid in the preparation of this Monograph to Mr. James Sprunt and Captain Samuel A'Court Ashe. Captain Ashe furnished many items of information concerning the section where his ancestors lived, in addition to the introduction and annotations to the Records of the Town of Wilmington.

KEMP P. BATTLE.

THE DeROSSET PAPERS

will be better understood by keeping clearly in mind its several members connected with North Carolina history.

1. Louis DeRosset, (1665-1775); Captain under Schomberg; married Gabrielle de Gondin. Their son

2. Armand DeRosset, (1695-1760); M. D. of Basle University; married a lady of Uzes in France; emigrated with wife and three children prior to 1735, and settled in Wilmington, North Carolina. Had two sons, the elder being

3. Louis Henry DeRosset, (1724-1786); Councillor of the Province; Lieutenant General (at that time a lower rank than Major General); merchant and planter; Tory; left the State 1778; married Margaret Walker; no issue.

4. Moses John DeRosset, (1726-1767); M. D.; mayor of Wilmington; married Mary Ivy, who after his death married Rev. Adam Boyd.

5. Armand John DeRosset, son of the preceding, (1767-1859); M. D.; married first Mary Fullerton, and secondly Catharine Fullerton, sister of Mary.

6. Moses John DeRosset, (1796-1826), son of preceding by his first wife; M. D.; married Sarah E. Waddell; no issue.

7. Armand John DeRosset, (1807-1897); son of Dr. A. J. DeRosset by his second wife; M. D., and then commission merchant; married first Eliza Jean Lord, and secondly Catharine M. Kennedy.

It thus appears that there has been a continuous residence in Wilmington from 1735 to 1903, one hundred and sixty eight years.

The following Medical Diploma to the first settler in the State is given in full as it will doubtless be interesting to scholars, especially college men.

DR. ARMAND DEROSSET.

Copy of the Diploma of the University of Basle, granted to Dr. Armand De Rosset.

SACROSANCTAE
ET INDIVIDUAE TRINITATIS
INVOCATO NUMINE

QUI PHILOSOPHUM DEI IMITATOREM ESSE PRONUN-
ciant, duobus finibus humanae mentis cogitationes et actiones
in universum circumscribunt, vero, bonoque, horum alterum
Theoreticae, alterum Practicae vitae proprium est. Quibus
tanquam alis ad arcem Beatitudinis alioqui inaccessam mortales
evadere posse, summi Philosophi censuerunt. Ex hoc fonte
duplex sapientiae genus promanavit, contemplationis et acti-
onis; ea quidem temperie mutua, ut omnis veri cognitio ad
boni possessionem derivetur, et omnis vicissim boni possessio
ad cognitionem veri dirigatur. Quod si quae tales sunt vel
Artes vel Scientiae in quibus utraque vis luculenter sese ex-
erit, illae demum et per se quia verae sunt, bonaeque, hoc est
honestae, et propter aliud, quia jucundae sunt et utiles expeti
consueverunt et commendari. Ejus autem generis inter cae-
teras optimarum Artium propagines Medicinam vel imprimis
esse, nemo sanae mentis negarit; Quae cum Theoriae suae prae-
stantia Philosophis, praxeos utilitate heroibus digna videatur,
ut ortu suo Deorum inventum, sic cultu olim Asclepiadarum
propria fuit habita, qui Artem pulcerrimam a Majoribus vel-
uti per manus traditam et acroamatam Doctrina propagarunt,
operumque assiduitate confirmarunt. Posteaquam vero in
quasdam veluti colonias Asclepiadae sunt deducti; Artis quoque
Mysteria peregrinis et Exotericis hominibus, ut non genere
virtute saltem et eruditione Aesculapii posteritatem referen-
tibus communicari cepere: atque adeo ne abusus Divinae Arti
calumniam, mortalium generi perniciem afferet, Ornamenta et
Privilegia publica, iis, qui eam vel docere vel exercere cona-
rentur, censura et autoritate eorum, qui de profectu cujusque
judicare possunt, solennibus conferenda ceremoniis decreta
fuere: non tanquam praemia virtutis, sed tanquam Testimonia
eruditionis et invitamenta. Hinc seculorum omnium mirificum
consensum Basilienses quoque Medici imitaturi, literas hasce
publicas privatae virtutis Testes et judices legitime exarandas
curavere. Nam cum Nobilissimus et Doctissimus Dominus
ARMANDUS DE ROSSET honesto loco sed et thoro legitimo

Uzetiae in Gallia Narbonensi natus in celeberrimis Angliae et Belgii Academiis tantos in sacra Medicina fecerit progressus, ut ad ejusdem praxin cum salute mortalium admitti posse videretur; Dignus fuit judicatus, ut ad summum in Arte Medica gradum admitteretur et Doctoris Titulo ornaretur. Itaque ad Diem III. Decembris MDCCXX. postquam fidem suam Collegio Medico per Mandatarium Dn. Joh. Jacobum Sontag Notarium speciali Mandato ad hoc ab ipso instructo sicuti veros decet Asclepiadas jurisjurandi religione interposita obstrinxisset: Reverentissimi Principis ac Domini Dni. Joannis Conradi Basiliensis Episcopi, Academiae Cancellarii, sub Rectore Magnifici viri Dni. Joannis Buxtorffii Ling. Hebr. Professoris meritissimi, Decano vero viro Spectatissimo atque Excellentissimo Dn. Ioh. Henrico Stehelio Med. Doctor^o. Anat. et Botan. Prof^{re}. in Medicam Civitatem receptus; atque Doctor Medicinae fuit creatus, tenoreque harum Literarum heic et ubique pro tali haberi et salutari jubetur; simulque exercendae Medicinae, aegros visitandi, deque Morbis consultandi potestatem amplissimam, cum Privilegiis insuper et Immunitatibus omnibus quibus Doctores Medici heic et ubivis terrarum frui et gaudere solent, ab Ordine nostro Medico decenter consecutus est.

Id ipsum Decanus et Assessores Collegii Medici publicis hisce Literis Medico Sigillo approbatis et vice Cancellarii, Scribaeque Academici manu confirmatis sicuti viros inter bonos bene agier testatum fecere. Actum Basileae Rauracorum ad Diem III. mensis Decembris Anno redempti orbis Millesimo Septingentesimo vigesimo.

Joh. Georgius Schatzmannus,
Imperiali auctoritate et Academiae
Basil. Notarius Juratus.

Ioh. Henricus Stehelius, M. D.

Anat. & Botan. Prof. Publ. p. t. Decanus.

Note.—Basle, now Basel, is on the Rhine between Strasbourg and Berne. Its university, founded in 1460, was once one of the greatest institutions in Europe, Erasmus and Euler being professors.

Doctor Armand De Rosset was the child of Captain Lewis De Rosset, born in London. He married in Switzerland a lady of Uzes, (once Ucetia) lived for awhile in Montpelier, where two of his children, Gabrielle and Louis Henry were born, then removed to London, where his son, Moses John, was born

and thence emigrated to the Cape Fear about 1735. He settled in Wilmington, then New Liverpool, and became a leader at once, the trusted physician of the community, serving also as Justice of the Peace and Commissioner of the town. He became a considerable holder of real estate. His home was on Second Street, since the residence of Dr. James F. McRee, the elder, said to have been once occupied by William Hooper, "the Signer." Dr. DeRosset's wife died in 1746 and five years afterward he married Elizabeth Catherine Bridgen, a native of Bristol, England, a friend of the Burgwyn family. She was of a masculine character; survived him many years. He died in 1760.

By his Huguenot wife he had a daughter, Gabrielle, who married John DuBois and left many descendants. The elder son was Louis Henry DeRosset, described in Dr. A. J. DeRosset's autobiography. His second son was Moses John DeRosset, who became a physician of extensive practice. He was also a public spirited citizen, serving as an officer in the regiment of Colonel James Innes, which was sent to Virginia to fight the French and Indians. He was also mayor of Wilmington and as such joined in the resistance to the stamp tax. A sentence in one of his letters to a British officer has been much admired: "Moderation ceases to be a virtue when the liberty of the British subject is in danger." He did not live to participate in the Revolution, dying on Christmas day, 1767, within two days of his 41st birthday.

Although Dr. Armand DeRosset's father did not come to America, the following papers, the originals of which belong to the DeRosset family, showing that Captain Louis DeRosset, under the great Schomberg, aided in the consummation of the Revolution of 1688, must be interesting to the reader.

CAPTAIN LOUIS DEROSSET.

Copy of Furlough to Louis DeRosset, signed by the Duke of Schomberg.

"FREDERIC,

¹ Duke of Schonberg, Marquess of Harwich, Earl of Brentford, and Baron Teyes, Captain General of all His Majestie's

Armies and Land Forces, Garrisons, Forts and Castles in the Kingdom of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c. Master General of Their Majesties Ordnance, One of His Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, Count of the Holy Empire and Mertoela, Grandee of Portugall, General of the Elector of Brandenbours Forces, Stadtholder of Prussia, &c.

To all Admirals, Vice Admirals, Captains and Commanders of Ships, Governors of Forts and Castles, Sheriffs, Mayors, Justices of the Peace, Constables, Customers, Comptrollers, Searchers, and other His Majesties Officers, whom it may concern, Greeting: These are in his Majesties Name, to Pray and require you to Permit and Suffer the Bearer here of De Rossett Captn. in the Regiment of Foot commanded by Colonel la Calimotte, wth. one servant, Freely and Quietly to Pass from Lisburne to England for the recovery of his health, and to return without any Lett, Hindrance, or Molestation whatsoever. Given at our Head Quarters at Lisburne the sixth day of January 1789 in the first year of Their Majesties Reign.

SCHONBERG."

"By the Genls. Command

Js. de Cardonnet."

Extracts from Commissions issued by the British Government to ² Louis DeRosset:

"William R."

"William and Mary by the grace of God &c. ——— to our well beloved and trusted Louis de Rossett, Esqr. greeting. We &c. ——— constitute and appoint you to be captain of the company whereof Captain at Grenadier Roue de la Foncille was Captain in the Regiment of Foot commanded by ——— Colonel de la Caillemotte &c."

By His Majesty's Command

³ Shrewsbury."

"Dated Apr. 1st, 1689, in the first year of our reign."

A commission similar to the foregoing, appointing the same Louis DeRosset, "gentleman," Captain of the Company in the Regiment of Foot, commanded by Major General la Meloniere, whereof Captain Dupuy was Captain, dated October 18th, 1697, "in the 9th year of our reign,

By His Majesty's Command,

William Blathwait."

¹ Frederic Armand, Duke of Schomberg, after winning celebrity in the Armies of France, became Minister of State, under the Elector of Brandenburg. He then took service under William III. of England, was created a peer, made Knight of the Garter, and obtained a grant of £100,000—was killed at the Battle of the Boyne, July 1, 1790. Lisburne is in Ireland about ten miles southwest of Belfast. The name of Dr. Armand DeRosset suggests a possible relationship between his family and that of the Duke.

² Louis de Rosset, born about 1645, son of Louis DeRosset, docteur en droits, and Lady Catherine de Moyeur of Uzes in South France. He married the Lady Gabrielle de Goudin, the marriage contract being still in possession of the DeRosset family. The marriage was said to be "for the glory of God and for the increase of the human race." He left France on the Revocation and took service with his compatriot, the Duke of Schomberg, under King William. The passport of Schomberg brings to mind the historical fact of the loss of one half his army by sickness contracted in the marshes of Dundalk. Captain DeRosset was naturalized in England in 1708 and died in 1725. A friendly letter to him from Marshall Saxe shows that he was highly regarded by the great men of the period.

³ Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Chamberlain, Viceroy of Ireland, and High Treasurer—died 1717. He was descended from the celebrated John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, in times of Henry V. and Henry VI.

COUNCILLOR DEROSSETT.

Copy of commission to Lewis Henry DeRosset, appointing him a member of the council under Governor Dobbs.

By their Excellencies the Lord Justices.

Tho: Cantuar:

Granville P. Gower C P S

Marlborough.

Anson.

We being well satisfied of the loyalty, integrity and ability of Lewis de Rosset junior Esqr. do hereby in His Majesty's name direct & require you forthwith upon the receipt of here-

of to swear and admit him the said de Rossett junior to be one of his Majesty's Council in His Majesty's Province of North Carolina, in the room of William Forbes Esq. deceased, and for so doing this shall be your Warrant.

Given at Whitehall the tenth day of June 1759 in the twenty-fifth year of His Majesty's Reign.

By their Excellencies Command
Claudius Amgard.

Seal with two roses.

Three Excise Stamps, 11 Shilling
and VI. pence each.

To Gabriel Johnson Esqr. His Majesty's Governor of the Province of North Carolina in America. And in his absence, to the Commander in chief or to the President of his Majesty's Council of the said Province for the time being.

Lewis de Rosset Junior, Esqr. to be of the Council in No. Carolina.

*Petition of Lewis Henry DeRosset for Indemnity for Property
Lost in the Revolution.*

To The Honble. the Commissioners for the examining into the case of the American Sufferers--

The Memorial of Lewis Henry de Rosset late of North Carolina Humbly Sheweth That your Memorialist was sworn in a member of his Majesties Honble. Council for said Province in the year 1752, and continued in that station until the late Rebellion there put an end to his Majesty's Government in North Carolina, and he begs leave to refer to the Certificate of their Excellcs. Genl. Tryon and Govr. Martin, the last two Governors of that Province, for the manner in which he behaved himself in that station, and in general for his conduct as a faithful & loyal subject.

That your Memorialist from the first took an open and Decided part in favour of the King's Government--

That in 1779 your memorialist was called upon in consequence of an act passed by the usurped Government to renounce his allegiance, and take the Oaths to them, and on refusal of which all persons so refusing were banished from the Province, on the pain of death if they returned; But your memorialist cheerfully preferring his Duty to God and his Sovereign refused to take the Oaths--

In consequence of a clause in the said act permitting persons so banished to sell or carry off their Estates or Effects, or leave them subject to confiscation, your memorialist under these disastrous circumstances was compelled to dispose of his Estate, in such manner as he imagined might best tend to His and His Family's support, and accordingly sold a great part of His Estate at whatsoever he could get (Which in his distressed situation must have been much under the real value) and with the money arising therefrom, he purchased a vessel, that he fitted out at a great expense, and loaded with Tobacco, Indigo and Staves and sailed from Cape Fear River the last day of April 1779 with an intent to proceed to England where, from every information, the said Vessel and Cargo must have produced above eight thousand pounds Sterling—The remainder of his Estate consisting of some lands, Slaves, Money, Debts, and other effects, to the amount of above two thousand Pounds Sterling more he left in the hands, of persons he could confide in for the support of his wife, whom he was obliged to leave behind him—

That your memorialist on his Voyage was on the American coast three times captured, the last time by an American Privateer, and carried into New London, where he was deprived of his vessel and every thing he had on board, and sent thus plundered and stripped to New York, so that a total loss of that part of his Estate was the consequence of his refusing to renounce his Rights and Allegiance as a British subject—

That after your memorialist arrived in New York, he there waited till Genl. Clinton sailed to South Carolina, when he went in the same fleet, and soon after the taking of Charleston was, through the recommendation of Genl. Tryon and Govr. Martin appointed in May 1780 by Genl. Clinton the principal Commissary of prisoners at that place, in which situation he remained until the evacuation of Charleston took place, when he had no other resource but to come with the Fleet to England.

That your memorialist begs leave to inform you, that great part of the interest he left for the support of his wife in the hands of Confidential Friends in North Carolina, has been greatly pillaged and plundered, and that a person in whose hands he left a considerable sum of money has so much suffered by persecution, that it is hardly possible he can get repayment thereof—Thus that part of his Estate he left in North Carolina he can get but little of—

Thus situated after a loss altogether of at least ten thous-

and Pounds Sterling, your memorialist finds himself destitute of all means of support and provision.—

Your memorialist therefore humbly begs leave to submit himself and his case to your Honors Consideration in full confidence that you will be pleased to recommend him for such relief and support as he may appear entitled to.

And your memorialist as ever in duty bound shall ever pray.—

J A

Lewis De Rosset.

No. 1.

(Attached to the above document are the following papers.)

I have read the annexed memorial of Mr. De Rosset, who was well known to me during the six or seven years I was Governor of the Province of North Carolina, and whom I have since seen in New York as mentioned in his memorial, and I have the pleasure of certifying that from the intimate knowledge I have of him, the integrity of his principles both in public and private life, and in the full trial I have had of his loyalty and attachment to his Majesty's Government, I have no doubt but that the several matters and Facts set forth in the memorial are strictly just and true. I must further add in justice to the opinion I entertain of the singular worth & merit of Mr. De Rosset, that I believe no man has a more equitable & honorable claim than himself to the favor and consideration of Government as a Loyal American Sufferer, and as such, he has my fullest and warmest Recommendation.

Given under my hand in Upper Grosvenor Street
the 28th day of February 1783.

J A

Wm. Tryon.

No. 2.

Having perused the memorial annexed of Mr. Lewis Henry DeRosset, I have no scruple to declare that I consider it a very modest representation of his case although I cannot take it upon myself to judge of his loss of property as I can of his loyalty and sufferings. I have the fullest persuasion from the general integrity of his character, that his estimate is strictly just and honorable; as was all his conduct in public and private life, as far as my knowledge goes, and in all report of the country in which he passed the greater part of his life.

Borne down by misfortune brought upon him by a virtuous

attachment to his majesty and the British Constitution at an advanced age, he seems to me a Gentleman most highly deserving of the favor and consideration of government; and as such has my sincerest and warmest recommendation.

Jo. Martin.

New Norfolk Street,
March 1st, 1783.

The following letter, though not signed, is doubtless from Honorable Louis Henry DeRosset.

“London August 17th, 1785.

Mr. James Walker, at Wilmington on Cape Fear North Carolina.

Dear Sir:—I want words to express to you my feelings on the receipt of your letter of the 24th January informing me of the unexpected death of my dearly beloved wife. You can better conceive than words can convey the bitter anguish of my soul on the mournful information. The more unexpected the more poignant I felt the force of the fatal stroke that deprived me of the best of Wives whose tender affection I had experienced in every circumstance of life. To say she was the faithful friend, the chaste Wife, the cheerful companion and that her honest heart was an enemy to deceit would not deal justice to her great merit; but possessed of these and all the other virtues which from long experience I knew she possessed in an eminent degree had so endeared her to me that I fully enjoyed every conjugal felicity for thirty years that I had the happiness to be with her, and when I was forced to leave her separation was cruel and the unhappy days that I have spent since that time, a continued scene of trouble and confusion. Nor could I have a prospect of happiness until we could have met together in Peace and Quietness, and for this purpose it was that I applied to obtain half pay in order to have been able to support her with some degree of decency though not with affluence I could have wished for, but I knew that through her prudent management we could have gone through life here in Peace and content, and I had just obtained the grant of half pay and only waited for an opportunity to advise her to take advantage of the summer season (when she might naturally expect a speedy and pleasant passage) to embark for England, when your letter per the Castor came to hand the 10th of April which at once put an end to all my pleasing expectations of returning happiness, and nothing but a horrid

gloomy prospect now succeeds to my flattering delusive hopes. Thus are we wretched mortals in this life ever subject to disappointments. It is my duty, as a Christian to submit to the Divine Dispensations, the draught is bitter but I must swallow it but I cannot say that I do so with resignation I ought. No my dear best friend, my faithful companion is gone and I shall ever whilst I have being lament my irreparable loss, neither time nor place can remove her dear image from my mind, there she is perpetually present and the only pleasure I enjoy is to think perpetually on her. I make no doubt but through the Merits and Mediation of our blessed Saviour she is received into the Mansions of eternal felicity and I pray God when he thinks proper to remove me from this transitory life I may there with her enjoy eternal happiness for ever and ever, Amen. I lament the affliction your mother must feel in the loss of her valuable Daughter and would gladly contribute everything in my power toward alleviating her grief. Pray remember to inform her that I bear with her the most cordial respect, and shall always remember her as the Mother of my Dearest Wife, be assured yourself and be pleased to assure Mrs. Quince that I shall ever retain the affection I had for my wife's nearest relations, and I sincerely thank you both for the attention paid to your deceased sister, and I am much obliged to you for your care in having her buried with proper Decency for no cost ought to have been spared to show the Esteem and Just regard due to her merit. I should be glad if possible to have my bones lain with hers when I die. On the 19th of last month I received your favor per Mr. McGuire. I should desire that what effects my Dear Wife left may be disposed of in the following manner: (There seems from the context that one sheet of the letter is missing for the other side of the single sheet of foolscap begins thus:) The general matters you mention; I saw Mr Kensington at his own house. He informed me that the proceeds of the cargo of the Castor did not neat but between three and four hundred pounds & a loss of course must ensue that no profits that can be made on goods from hence can compensate. He told me that a great deal of the indigo was very bad, Naval stores low and no bounty given it was not an article that would bear freight, the only that answered were the reeds for that I imagine the best would be to purchase goods of (illegible) the country to be paid there. And indeed credit to America is very low here, the Merchants not choosing to trust their property where they are not sure of recovering their debts. If there

was a Commercial treaty agreed upon between the Kingdom and the American States perhaps Credit might in some measure be restored, but I am apt to believe it would be with much caution for many traders from here have been by their American connections ruined. Mr Kington (Kensington) told me that the Susannah which had lately arrived was unloading and that he was directed by both Mr. John Quince and Mr. Gray to put her up to sale so that you will see her no more. He also informed me that the Guinea Scheme was at an end a vessel intended for that trade and to have been sent to your house was ordered to be sold and nothing further would be done in that matter. As Mr. Eyves is dead I have not had an opportunity of knowing what agreement he had made with Mr. Quince, all that I could find was that he was to have been concerned. I think you can have no expectation of any Guinea men. And as I suppose you will receive letters from Messrs. Kensington and Cinningham you will have fuller information in all the matters.

I should be glad to have a copy of Mrs. DeRosset's will. Mr. Pridgen cannot find the one you sent him. I cannot tell where to fix a residence in my distressed situation. Had it pleased the Almighty to have prolonged the life of my Dear and Faithful friend the darling of my soul I could have been happy with her in a Cottage but without her a palace would have no charms. God knows what will become of me all I can say at present is I shall stay about this City until I have a hearing from the Commissioner of Compensation for my Losses. In the meantime therefore till I say direct your letters to me to the care of Messrs. Pridgen & Walker in Lovell Court Pater Noster Row, and pray let me hear from you as often and as fully as you can. Remember me with the sincerest affection to your Marie, your good sister Quince, your Wife your Son and all connections. I congratulate you on the birth of your daughter, and hope she will be worthy imitator of the virtues of her Dear Dear Aunt. Adieu at present and be assured that I shall always retain the warmest regard for all my wife's relations and that I am with sincere esteem, Dr. Sir Yrs.: c.

Gov. Martin some days ago desired me to forward a meml. for Mr. Willett who lives about Lockwoods Folly relative to an Orphan a niece of his whose Father died at New York & the Gov. took charge of her. Inclosed I send the meml. & pray oblige me so far as to have it safely delivered to Mr. Willett that he may give directions about the matter.

Note.—The following facts show that Louis Henry DeRosset was an useful and prominent citizen. He was watchful for the interests of Wilmington and St. James' Church as well as the Colony. He was a member of the lower House of the General Assembly in 1751; was chairman of public accounts for years and a Justice of the Peace. He was member of the Council from 1752 to the Revolution. In 1754 he was commissioner for preparing and emitting £40,000 proclamation money. He was also Receiver General of the King's quit rents, but resigned the office in 1761. As showing the variety of his activity for the public good I state some of the measures he introduced. For leave to build St. James' Church, also one at Brunswick; regulating exports of the Cape Fear; appointing inspectors; a petition for the establishment of a post office in the Province; to establish quarantine. He was Adjutant General on General Waddell's staff in 1771 and Lieutenant General under Tryon in 1768.

Councillor DeRosset was a merchant and accumulated a handsome fortune. Part of it he invested in a plantation on the north east bank of the Cape Fear, about eight miles above Wilmington, called Red Banks, now Rose Hill.

It is not certainly known whether his application to the British government for relief was successful, but as his administrator, with will annexed, Thomas Younger, attorney for James Walker, Armand John DeRosset and Armand John DuBois, was required to give a bond for nearly \$50,000 it seems probable. However very little was realized by their nephews. Either his property was overestimated or there was fraud somewhere.

There is a probable tradition in the family that the French government under Louis XVI. offered him the restoration of his titles and estates if he would return and enter the Roman Church, which offer was promptly refused.

He died without issue in 1786, his wife having preceded him one year. They never met after his enforced emigration in 1779.

¹ LETTER FROM MRS. ELIZABETH CATHERINE DEROSSET
(WIFE—2ND—OF DR. ARMAND DE ROSSET)
TO MR. JOHN BURGWIN.

Chinese Temple, Aug. 25th, 1775.

———— I wrote you the other day by one Capt. Arthur. He intended sailing for London; but ² Mr. Hogg sent him to Plymouth. I gave him a packet to my brother. I enclosed your letter (open) to Mr. B. and begged him to direct it to you, wherever you were—in London, Bristol or Bath. Whither the man has gone I cannot say, as I think he had not fair mind. I wrote to no one else, but you and my brother; but by this conveyance I shall write to everybody, as the Lord only knows when an opportunity will be given again; and it seems to me as if I were taking my last leave of you all.

³ Mr. Grayham has got the fever and ague; but is now taking bark like ⁴ Mr. Burgwyn himself. How does the lame leg do? Is it easy—is it strong—is it so civil as to let you bear your weight on it? is it glad it is in the Great Beehive? We have very little sickness as yet amongst us, and no deaths —Mr. John Quince, 'tis generally thought, has a church-yard cough; and soon will go the way of all flesh. I think he has been going the last fifteen years. The Court of Admiralty, I mentioned last week was held in Brunswick (not at the fort). The man gave £300, for his condemned vessel the thing was too plain to make a dispute. The Governor is still on the man-of-war, and Mr. Hassel, his Lieutenant, sticks by him. They have intercepted many of his letters and memorials, and set about to induce the Back-Country people to take up arms. But his conduct, has been, 'tis said, so extraordinary, that it has united the people, and has had quite a different effect from what he intended; and all the Companies, that were at variance with one another, now muster together, and are very friendly (or very deceitful). The Artillery Company join the Independents, and they perform their exercises together—this is what the gentlemen tell me, and I must always depend on some of them for intelligence. ⁵ Capt. McLaine (who by the by is an Ensign) is going to carry himself and his wife up the N. West. He speaks such things as are disagreeable to the people, and his friends, I believe, wish him gone. Mr. Hogg tells me that the people of Bogue did not use him ill, only some fellows upon the road were impertinent to him. I don't know if you will thank me for these *scraps* of *intelligence*; but, I would if I were in your place.

It is thought Mr. Nelson's suit at Point Pleasant will end in matrimony—by his frequent stay there. For as Bevill (In Conscious Lover) says—'A denial is a favor every man may pretend to, and if a Lady would do honor to herself, she should never keep a gentlemen in suspense, if she knows she can't like him.'

As Miss ——— appears to be sweet, innocent young creature, I think she won't seem to encourage what she disapproves, and she is too sensible to trifle away his time without approbation. In general people in love look mighty silly; but I do assure you Mr. Nelson is more chatty and agreeable than ever—even before his mistress. I should not wonder if Fanny loved him. Do you remember how you looked when you were in love? Nay, do not give such a sigh, or I will never speak to you again of the Ladies of ⁶ Cedar Grove: They are all well—as much yours as ever, even little Fanny. Tho' they are still in town, and, I believe, have no great news, I do not like just now to be so far from the seat of intelligence: there everything is talked of, there everything is first known, and they could neither hear nor see what's doing. 'Tis thought that Capt. Collett is gone on his ——— to bring in soldiers, and that Brunswick will be their destination; and that, on his arrival, the Governor will set up his standard there. That will be the first fruits of the *burning of the fort*. The second chapter, I presume, will be something of the same kind; but as yet it is in embryo. This is publicly talked of, and some things about it have transpired. Then we shall see who and who's together—whether it rains or is fair weather. We have prodigious crops of wheat this year, better never known in the memory of men. The corn will, also, be very fine, if these deluges of rain do not spoil it. Give my love to the two little ⁷ boys if you are near them. — Mr. John Boyd, Adam Boyd's brother, talks of becoming a resident of this place, if these American affairs be settled: he goes to Plymouth, but talks of going to London, himself: he is a sensible man. — They have made an addition of twenty men to the town watch and guard, not of men that are paid, but gentlemen and tradesmen. The weather has been very bad and some of them grumble a little, but still they do it. You can't conceive of how quiet everything is in the night—no robbing of the stores—every negro at home in his bed, and not half the drunkenness there used to be. So far, so good. Mrs. Thos. Hooper bro't to bed, and her child dead. Mrs. Jackson Walker has been carried to Mr Harnett's house by Dr. Ceikie. Mr. Lord

of Brunswick talks of taking that just left by Mrs. Walker. Indeed most of the Brunswick people, they say, talk of coming up here soon, if the soldiers come in with ⁸ Collet. Lord knows what will become of us. Mrs. Humphreys has her health extremely well. Mr. H. says but little, but I believe makes it up with thinking. People can't be hanged for that you know. Old Father Time, however, will discover everybody's thoughts. I beg of you to eat some fine English peaches for me, this summer, if it be not too late; and then tell me if they are not as good as the American. 'Tis a point I can't give up. If you should see a remarkably old lady by the name of Willoughby, in Bristol, a widow, pray present her my best respects. She is truly worth everybody's esteem. My own sister will be quite out of the way. She lives in Worchestershire. I dare say you, with a lame leg, will not think of going there. — May Almighty God hold you in his true keeping, prays

Yr. truly aff. friend & Sir yr. obdt. servt,
Eliz. Cath. De Rosset.

¹ This lady was a native of Bristol, England, and daughter of Samuel Bridgen, of Ludlow Castle, New Hanover, North Carolina. She was the second wife of D. Armand de Rosset, the M. D. of Basle, they having been married in 1751. She was doubtless much younger than he; was of a masculine character and dominated all around her. She was an ardent Tory. She lived on her plantation called Chinese Temple, adjoining the Hermitage, which belonged to the Burgwyns, with whom she had been friends in Bristol. Her death occurred at the summer home at Masonboro, of fever, 1778.

² Robert and John Hogg were merchants of Wilmington. James Hogg was a cousin, a citizen of Fayetteville and then of Hillsboro. He was an active patriot. Mr. de Rosset evidently thought that the "Mr. Hogg" about whom she wrote was trying to "hold with the hare and run with the hounds."

³ Mr. Grayham seems to have been a manager for Mr. Burgwyn.

⁴ Mr. John Burgwyn emigrated from Bristol, England. He was a merchant and planter, had branch mercantile establish-

ments in Bristol and London. His plantation near Wilmington was called the Hermitage. He was for awhile Treasurer of the Province. His integrity and accuracy were so well known that he was chosen to report on its financial condition, even the Regulators, who thought the people cheated by the Sheriff, avowing their willingness to accept his statement. His first wife, Mary Haynes of "Castle Haynes," near Wilmington, died childless, and he then married Miss Bush, of Bristol. From them is a numerous posterity. He was naturally a Tory and lost much in consequence. His town residence, opposite St. James Church, was Cornwallis' headquarters. He died in 1803 and is buried in Wilmington. His son of the same name died in Raliegh in 1864, 82 years old. He married Eunice, daughter of the celebrated Jonathan Edwards. Among their grandsons are Col. H. P. Burgwyn, killed at Gettysburg and Col. W. H. S. Burgwyn, President of the Bank of Weldon, a Captain in the Confederate army. It is said that Burgwyn is another form of Burgoyne.

⁵ Archibald McLaine, of Brunswick, was an able lawyer and member of the State Congress of 1775 and 1776, and of the Senate and of the Convention of 1778. He was noted for his sharp tongue. George Hooper married his daughter, and one of his descendants was the learned and estimable, John de Berniere Hooper, Professor in this University.

⁶ The country-seat of the DeRossets, about eight miles north of Wilmington.

⁷ Children of Gen. Hugh Waddell, and words of Mr. Burgwyn.

⁸ Collett was commander of Fort Johnston when it was burned. Fort Johnston was near the mouth of the Cape Fear.

Mrs. Elizabeth Catherine DeRosset to Mr. John Burgwyn.
Mr. John Burgwynn,
London.

Chinese Temple, Sept. 10th, 1775.

This I fear will be my *very last* for a long time.———
I ventured some days ago to give Mr. Grayham some advice

about your corn-field. You must know that a violent storm ushered in the month of September: it lasted a whole night and a part of next day: it began at East and came around to N. East with great violence. The fine promising crops of corn are all down within a half a foot of the ground. Now that my experience has taught me that the weight of the tops helps greatly to bend it down, I advised Mr. Grayham to cut them off, and told him that the corn would soon right itself. He said, what fodder he got was ruined and the Hermitage half under water, all the bridges carried off, and he was obliged to go to Castle Hayne by water—the roads everywhere almost impassible. This storm was a great hindrance to vessels loading, and they are not to (be) brought up again perigers* sinking and running on shore—three poor sailors drowned—no negroes lost, tho' many were in danger.—The committee talked of permitting the shipping, Monday and Tuesday, to finish their loading, because they shan't work Sunday, it being the 10th. Who more religious than our Wilmington folk? Mr. Hays goes to the West Indies; he will remain their till he is permitted to return.—Perhaps you will be surprised to hear Mr. Hogg is in England. He was one of your *non-conformed to the times*, and so made off. He first attempted it at Bogue; but they would not let him go. He then came home; mustered with the rest upon the hill; but took his opportunity, when Capt. Arthur was ready, to go. 'Tis said that he carries the Governor's dispatches. I begin to think your broken leg WAS NOT ALTOGETHER SO UNLUCKY JUST NOW. Had you been here, you must have *declared* yourself of one party or the other: you must have taken your turn on the watch: and, you must have mustered. Your property would have been insecure. As it is the case is otherwise. You are one of your [illegible] now. You cannot conform to anything because you are. incapable. No one will be so cruel as to have the property of an infirm man, who was drove home by a dreadful accident to get cured. I think I could plead very well in such a case as yours. My gouty foot is better, and presents its compliments to your lame one. Would you change complaints with me? Col. Howe says he would not. All the world is at Hillsboro, and nothing they have done, has as yet transpired. I can give you no information. 'Tis thought they intend to raise two thousand men upon pay; and you will come in for your quota of the expense, though in

*A large undecked boat or lighter with mast and sail.

England; and so must poor I, though their laws have already taken from me £96 per annum in the one article of cooerage; besides the loss they will occasion in the hire of my other servants, which will lessen with the distress of the place—and I shall have no resource of any kind. Still I have my resolution to bring my mind to my *interest*, if they will but leave the little house over my head, and not frighten me out of my senses.—Things must go a great length before I fly my own house, as the moment I do so, I presume, it might be pillaged. I forgot to tell you in its place, as I designed, that Mr. Hogg has been up again to Town, and has wrote a very genteel letter to Mr. Hooper: he has left a hundred pounds sterling for the use of the public. Mr. Hogg is a very clever gentleman, and may now carry as many dispatches as he pleases. And now let me whisper in your ear: it is a matter of wonder that Mr. Burgwynn had not done some such thing before he left, or left orders to have it done. I assure you this was no bad policy in Mr Hogg: It will most effectually secure his property; and retrieve what he had lost with the public.

Mr. Tom Hooper has lost his wife: he has come to live in my neighborhood at Mr. John Moor's. Mrs. George—of that name—(Enceinte) again. Your friends at the lodge are well; but so distant I never see them—now and then the Dr. calls and drinks small beer with me. Poor London looks mightily down upon the times but don't speak.

Yrs. &c.,

E. C. De Rosset.

Mr. J. Burgwyn, London.

(Fragment of a letter, without date.)

Such great events have certainly had the hand of God in them, to bring about His own wise determination. I firmly believe, that, happen what will, all is designed by God's good providence for the benefit of the *whole*, in some future age of the world, tho' at present an injury to individuals. And what am I? or what my father's house that I should be exempt from suffering? I stand or fall with the hermitage, so help me God: (as far as I can judge of myself), but, indeed I am no coward. I never knew how much before this trial. I never wished to be a man, before last month. Dr. Cobham wishes me to be a woman. Had it not been for my *cowardice*, I would have gone straight to Castle Haynes to live; but a thousand fears arose from being quite alone in the country. *The other*

day 200 Regulators (as they call them) came down as far as Beauford's Bridge, in order to make the merchants (and especially Jack Moore) sell their goods cheaper. Mr. Moore went to meet them and conferred with them, and, I suppose, pacified them.

They returned home again. I assure you these are the folks I stand most in dread of. I hear that the county has come to a resolution, that if the Governor, men of war, or King's troops, destroy Town, houses or private property, and spare the effects of the King's Officers and Servants, not a house (of the Royalists) shall be left standing. So perhaps I will have the fate of the fish that jump out of the fryingpan into the fire.—Mr. Tom Hooper went to Scotland, in the vessel with Miss Shaw and Miss Rutherford, on his way to England. What a strange medley of a letter is mine: 'Tis such a hotch-potch of stuff, that it resembles either an olio or a haggis. Call it what you please. I have a perfect apothecary's shop in your closet. Mr. Grayham says I shall be Doctor, and he my mate; so if your negroes are not killed it will not be our fault. He wished to give Mrs. Grayham an *honorable* post under us; but I could not think of degrading a lady who had been so extremely civil to me—besides she is much too tall for such an office. Mr. G. is so good as to let me use my own linen; and 'tis washed by my own servants. Tho' I don't break your family rules, I drink a dish of tea in my own chamber every morning. Tea! say you! I do have tea! Yes truly, I do! You must know Sir—whether from the sympathies of the times or not? I can't say—but, certainly, on the 10th of Sept. I was taken very sick; indeed, not only looked so but, was very ill. I thought if I could drink tea, I should recover much sooner; but, as I did not choose to do this in private, I asked leave of the Committee, and they gave me a very gracious permission in the consideration of my age and infirmities. —If I keep house, it will hurt me excessively to live in such a hospitable neighborhood as this, and not be able to ask them to take dinner with me.

Yrs. &c.,

E. C. De Rosset.

Mr. John Burgwynn, London."

¹This letter was written from the Hermitage, the seat of Mr. Burgwyn. Castle Haynes, the seat of General Hugh Waddell, is in sight.

Although much of the following letters is of a private nature, they are printed because of the prominence of the writer in stormy days. Rev. Adam Boyd came to Wilmington from Pennsylvania prior to the Revolution and was editor of the *Cape Fear Mercury*. During the war he was a chaplain of the patriot army, a member of the Committee of Safety of Wilmington, and of the Committee of Correspondence with Harnett and others. He acted as Rector of St. James' Church. His letters throw light on the distressful condition of ministers of the Gospel after the war, especially of those of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who suffered from the intense hostility to the Church of England.

Augusta, Ga., April 1798.

My dear John,

—And now I am on the subject of self, wonderful appears to me, the events that have occurred in this place. Last year I was determined on leaving, and this year the same. Now I am not able to travel; but if I were, it appears improper. The regard with which I am treated, and the provision made for my support appear, with many other circumstances, as if Providence had designed this for my charge. The provision is not what it should be; but, it is nearly twice as much as it has yet been, except part of last year. These, and such things attach me to the place (in a moral view). And yet, after all, my heart breathes many a sigh for Wilmington. * * In Wilmington I could not breathe. Had I continued there, I have no doubt, but, that the grave would have closed over me long ago. Here, I have escaped gout, asthma, and much of a cough, which, there, used to harass me alternately. Besides in my professional character, I think I have been more useful here, than I could have been there. With respect to money, much the same I suppose, except in this. The non-payment of the Parish would not have distressed me as it does here. I have been in real want of clothing and, as to board, I live chiefly at others' tables. In this distress I attempted to relieve myself by selling certificates at about one fourth of their value. I was cheated out of the whole. I got lots, then in demand; but it soon appeared that the whole was mortgaged to the public. My certificates funded about £1000 and I lost all. The man went away and died, a bankrupt. A friend of mine was on his return to Ireland, so he

called to see me. Talking of my situation, he observed —“you need not wish to be in better esteem than you are.” All this increases my attachment. But still I wish to be with Maggy and you. * * Recollection fails me very often. I was always an absent man. * *

Yrs. affecty.

A. Boyd.

Feby. 8th, 1799.

My dear friend,

My strength returns so slowly, that I am not yet able to write you as I wish. Yet the mercies, which I enjoy, demand infinitely more thanks than I can give. I hope this little attempt at justice will please. If it be approved and engraved it will give me pleasure. Should it be thought to publish it, I submit. If published, below is a proper introduction. Hoping that heaven will regard us with an eye of mercy, I have much pleasure in thinking we shall meet again. I am extremely anxious to be amongst you. But I fear I shall not be able to breathe that air; and to be a burden to you would distress my mind. It is astonishing, weak tho' I be, almost a child, I am enabled to preach more to the satisfaction of the audience than I could four years ago, and with more satisfaction to myself. Adieu! The Almighty God in His great goodness preserve us all!

Affectionately yours,

A. Boyd.

This stone is consecrated
to the noble purpose of recording
Female Merit

which

for many years was known to the world
by the names

MARY DE ROSSET and MARY BOYD.

She was singularly attentive and useful
to the children of affliction.

In early life she was taught,
by an excellent mother,

the principles of the Christian religion.

By these principles
she governed her conversation and manners:
but in the latter part of her life,
her *patience* and her *faith*
had a severe exercise appointed them.

She was entirely deprived of that great blessing,
the power of seeing,
 and was crippled by a stroke of the
Dead-Palsy.

In this afflicted and helpless condition,
 she experienced the most faithful attentions
 of her children and friends.

But the dutiful and affectionate assiduity
 of an only daughter,

MRS. M. TOOMER,
 was such that it admits
 neither Eulogy nor Parallel.
 Heaven pitying her affliction
 sent His messenger

and
 called her home.

(Perhaps it would look better this way)

x x x x x x x x x x x x

x Sent His Messenger x

x and called her x I like the first better than

x Home. x I did before I wrote the last.

x x x x x x x x x x x x

Blindness and pain no longer bring distress:
 To light eternal raised in realms of Joy,
 His praise, who purchased such ecstatic bliss,
 Her tongue in transports ever shall employ.

Midst pleasures ever new, which ever flow,
 Thro' endless ages that ne'er cease to roll,
 Burning with Heavenly love, she'll ever glow,
 And bliss unceasing still transport her soul.

In 1779 Mr. Boyd repulsed from the Communion Tables one
 whom he regarded as an adulteress. This act soon involved
 him in serious difficulties; and he withdrew from Augusta.
 Having first accepted an invitation to preach at a place not
 far below Augusta, he seized the opportunity to visit Ten-
 nessee, that he might look after the land granted him by
 Congress for his Revolutionary services.

Nashville, Tennessee, 18th April 1800

Dear Doctor,

Nothing can be said in opposition to your reason, and yet I
 feel the disappointment. My situation is singularly unfortun-

ate. I believe it the worse by the neglect of some cross-posts. I know four letters have been lost, that is, they have been six months and no account of them yet. This has made me ignorant of the things I should have known about my own affairs. I also believe, it is owing to some accident in that way that I have not had a little relief from Charleston.

I had hoped, from the benevolent exertion of a few, a sum to be refunded, but without interest. These disappointments will, I fear, compel me to accept terms, which will do little more than give present relief. A deception in the survey, will oblige me to begin a suit, or to petition your assembly. Both of these I dislike. Yet, it is too hard to lose so much, especially as my journey hither has been so unfortunate and expensive. However, I shall not repine, and hope to preserve such a sense of the goodness of God, as shall secure my mind that calmness, which is natural to a trust in *that Power*. Yet with grief and shame I confess I am not as tranquil as I was. Continual disappointments and losses, I now fear, have an influence I did not expect. If you knew all, or one-half, you would say, to be serene under such a mountain requires more strength of mind than is commonly the lot of man. Indeed, I do not think it attainable without *superior aid*. Perhaps I failed in this, in being too secure, or too confident in myself; the first I think the cause: as to the last I know I have no strength. I am too thoughtless in everything; hence, all, or nearly all, the evils of my chequered life. * * You know Fielding's Parson Adams. My sermon on Feby. 22nd was so well received, that a subscription was directly opened for its publication. But such triflers are our Printers, that I know not when I shall be able to publish it. The name of Washington may recommend it; but, such has been their negligence, that the time for selling is lost. The story is grown old and two courts have passed. I am afraid my dear Magdalen will suspect my affection for her. I did write her once; but I felt so much, I did not like to write her again. Her happiness is very dear to me. I have sent some little pieces of mine to Mrs. Wilkings, with design that Mrs. Toomer should have a copy if she desired it. Perhaps they may assist her meditations. My capacity for travel is not to be boasted of. A stiff inflexible knee, that deprives me of the use of one leg—a dislocated hip and a leg at least four inches shorter than Nature made it. So helpless too that I cannot put on my own clothes. I must go in a carriage; but into that I must be lifted. On my way hither, often did I descend

from my car to avoid jolts. But on crutches I cannot contend with the rocks, nor walk over them. So I shall get jolting enough for a life of one hundred years. The worst is rocky bottoms of rivers and steep banks. Terrible are many things in the perspective; yet, if life be spared, I mean to make the attempt as soon as possible. I hope to be with you in October. Is it possible to get anything for preaching in your town? But I fear the asthma will find me out, there. However I purpose to try it. I wish very much you could get fifty dollars on the loan, and even on interest, to be transmitted to Dr. Say, of Philadelphia. It is for a very particular purpose, and can be replaced within a year. I had sent some money there; but, my last summer's misfortune obliged me to recall it. I have no doubt but that Maj. McRee would lend it. Please tell the Major, that I am glad to find he is so well settled, and, that I wish him to write me. I have heard, our cousin Jas. Moore made a sale of land to Gov. Blount, who is dead. I fear James made a bad bargain. However, I think he should write, without loss of time, to Willie Blount Esqr. I take him to be a man of candor, and he will probably secure the property. The heir of Col. Wm. Davie should likewise appear, or employ some attorney. Lands are not saleable; but, so many tricks are played, that great attention is required to prevent chicane. Two of my horses have died and another has run away, tho' I hope he may be recovered. So according to the old saying, one single misfortune rarely happens to a man. If I think of Wilmington, I must be often at the sound; and, I must endeavor to be concerned in some little business. I can eat your meat but I must wear my clothes. I must also have a servant, and, should keep a horse for exercise, as I cannot walk much through the sand.

In your letters you rarely mention any of my old friends. What is come of Lillington's family; Shaw; John Moore; Maj. Sam. Ashe; the General's son; and my old friend Gov. Ashe; Mr. Heron &c &c. If it please God, I shall have not a little pleasure in seeing my old friends once more. Yet I know not why, I feel as if I should never reach the place.—I lament very much than I can so seldom declare the Word of God, in public. A Clergyman, who reasons admirably, preaches here every other Sunday. The house he preaches in has an earthen floor—so I am afraid to go in it, either to speak or to hear. I did preach in a tavern the other Sunday, but the Methodists have taken the alarm, and, as the house is theirs, they preach every other Sunday; so that I am cut off,

This silence grieves me. Yet, I am not idle. I weekly publish some moral essay or advice in the papers. More serious pieces I attempted, but they have been laid aside as too solemn for their readers, that is their publishers. So, I try always, that I can, to do some good. My carriage is shattered by the fall, and worn out, like myself, by time, that, to buy another, I suppose, will be cheapest. Heavy, heavy, are my losses, but, they do not depress my spirits. I still have a hope that I shall be supported so as not to suffer want. Yet, it is not long since a Clergyman was suffered to languish out of the world in an—Pray beg Mr. Wilkings to enquire if Mr. John Caldwell, lately from Ireland, Merchant, be in New York or not. He had 10 guineas for me, sent by a cousin in Ireland. I drew for the money to pay my surgeon, and I have written him three times, but no answer can I yet obtain.—God in His infinite mercy grant us all His protection and blessing, that we may all meet around His throne, in the fullness of eternal joy. Amen.

Affecty. yours

Adam Boyd.

'The orator of Congress makes a vacancy of happiness in Heaven!! Is it possible that such a body could pass unnoticed such a denial of everything sacred?

The last of this series of letters is dated Natchez, Decr. 30th, 1802: It requests Dr. De Rosset to send him (Boyd) his certificates of membership with the Masonic Lodge; states he was initiated in Jany. 1764; that Peter Mallett and Col. DeKeyser were in the Lodge with him; and that on St. John's Day, 1770, at the dinner at Emmet's house, "a little back from the street" he and Mr. London acted as stewards.

The letter further states that Boyd "for the purpose of extending a knowledge of divine truth," had prepared some little books for children; and, that his principal friends at Natchez were Jas. Moore, — Steele, the late Secretary, and Forbes from Newberne.

*Autobiographical Sketch by Dr. Armand John DeRosset, in
1847, Twelve Years Before His Death, of the
DeRosset Family.*

My beloved children have asked me to commit to paper such recollections of our Ancestry & Family as may have come to my knowledge, or been received by tradition; I will attempt, tho' perhaps in a very desultory way.

Our paternal ancestors were from Narbonne, one of the old French provinces, perhaps from neighborhood of Montpellier; and were of (so called) noble blood; this fact appears from old papers now in my possession, as well as from traditionary testimony. In some of these papers, the individuals, to whom they relate, are styled "Noble"; in others "Most Noble". I mention this not as entitling us to any consideration or respect, other than such as our conduct and characters, as men & Christians, endeavoring conscientiously to perform our duty to God & our fellow-men, may justly claim.

I know but little of my ¹ grandfather, except by tradition through my venerated mother, and from several military commissions, now held by me, under the monarchy of Great Britain, in whose service he was. His being in the service of that country may be accounted for by his professing the protestant religion, & by the claim of that nation to the sovereignty of sundry provinces of France.

I find amongst the old family papers, one entitled "Extracts from a Contract of Marriage between a Louis de Rousset, & Madame Gabrielle de Gondin" dated 1671: as I suppose being my Great-Grand-Father & his wife: for in some of the old family papers the named is so spelled; tho' in most of them, as we now spell it. It has been told me by my mother, that during the military life of my Great-Grand-Father he was long (perhaps nearly 20 years) separated from his family: during that time his wife had become quite blind, and on his return did not recognize him & refused to believe him to be her husband, till she felt a certain mole on his neck which having done she fainted in his arms.

My grandfather, as far as I have heard, was the only son of his parents—his name—Armand—is said to have married a Swiss lady. My mother knew her well, handsome, amiable, & indeed lovely in her character. He probably got acquainted with her during the period of his medical studies in that country; for he graduated in year 1720 at Basle. I have now

his diploma, reciting his family, his residence &c. At what time he emigrated from France I cannot certainly tell; but but have heard that it was during some of the numerous persecutions of the Protestants in that country.

They reached England where my father was born, soon after their arrival in London, as I have heard. They had three children, Louis Henry, Gabrielle Ann, and my father Moses John. The bodies of my Grand-Father & his wife were buried in a lot now owned and used as a residence* of Doctor Jas. F. McRee, where they lived, & which they owned. When a child I remember being shown an apple tree said to be over their graves.

My Uncle Louis Henry, married here, Miss Margaret Walker, the sister of the late Mrs. Ann Quince & Jas. Walker who was afterwards the husband of the niece of my uncle, Miss Margt. Magdn. Dubois. My uncle died in London, leaving no children; his wife died here; her tomb is in St. James' Church yard, in this town. My uncle in our Revolutionary struggle had attached himself to the Royal Party, believing himself bound by sundry oaths of allegiance to the King of Great Britain; for he had filled several important places under the Government, and amongst them that of the Councillor of this Province. He was a most conscientious man, of strict integrity, as illustrative of which I will relate an authentic anecdote. He had received the appointment of Commissary of Prisoners, in Charleston, S. C., when that was a British garrison. A gentleman called and offered to relieve the old gentleman from the arduous duties of the office, and guaranteed to him the amt. of his receipts therefrom, reserving only such perquisites as he could derive from it. My uncle turned on him with indignation for supposing him scoundrel enough to assent to such a proposal, telling him, that however laborious they might be, he would continue to perform the duties, rather than put it in the power of so unprincipled a fellow to cheat the King, or the poor prisoners, which was obviously his intention. My uncle had been at one time a merchant, but when the Revolution broke out, he was a planter, and living on his plantation, 7 or 8 miles from town, called Red Banks, but now known as Rose Hill. My father's sister married a Mr. John Dubois, & had two children, John, who married and moved to New York, and Magn. Margt. who married

* 2nd St. between Market & Princess, owned by Col. Roger Moore.

as before mentioned Jas. Walker. John left no children; Magdn. Margt. had two sons and two daughters. Her eldest son, James W., married and moved to Arkansas, with a large family. The younger son, Julius, as we know, was the father of our beloved relatives, Revd. C. Bruce Walker, & Mary Ann Wright. One of the daughters, Harriet, married a lawyer, Edwin J. Osborne, whose descendants are in the interior of the State. The younger daughter, Louisa, married Genl. Jos. G. Swift, & lives in Geneva, New York, with several descendants. The late Capt. Alexn. Swift, of a military Corps in the U. S. was their eldest son. He died universally esteemed, respected & regretted. McRee Swift, our beloved friend, late an engineer on our R. Road (Wil. & Wel.), now in New York, is another one of her sons. They have several sisters with whom we are not acquainted.

My Grand-Father's youngest son, Moses John, was my father. He married Miss Mary Ivie, whose sister, Ann, married the late Genl. Moore, of our Revolutionary army.

The Miss Ivies were the daughters of a Scotch gentleman, their mother a lady of Jamaica, W. Indies. After the death of their father Ivie, their mother married Mr. Marmaduke Jones, an English gentleman of the old school. A highly respected and eminent Counsellor at law, whom I well recollect, for his neatness of person & his preciseness of character & conduct & conversation. My honored mother left but two children, a daughter & myself. My father died on Christmas Day 1767, shortly after my birth & was buried on his birthday, being St. John's Day, aged 41 years, having been born 27, Decr. 1726.

In 6 or 7 years after my father's death, my mother married Revd. Adam Boyd, from Virginia, or perhaps Pennsylvania. I knew several of his connections in Philada. He was an Episcopalian; was a martyr to asthma; had conducted a periodical newspaper here, called Cape Fear Mercury; was chaplain in the Revolutionary Army. His asthmatic complaint compelled his removal to the West, where he died in Natchez. My mother had declined accompanying him, being unwilling to leave her children. By Mr. Boyd she left no offspring, & died in summer of 1798. My sister had married Mr. Henry Toomer & left two sons and two daughters. My mother's sister died about two years after the death of Genl. Moore, her

* Edwin J. Osborne was one of the first graduates of the University, in 1798. This is probably the same.

husband, early in the Revolution & left two sons and two daughters. I married twice, as you know, in Charleston, S. C., my two wives were sisters & were nieces of Mr. Toomer, my sister's husband. Their father, a Scotchman, Jno. Fullerton, nephew of the celebrated David Hume, the Historian. I had in my possession a letter from Mr. Hume to his nephew, your grandfather Fullerton, and loaned it for the use of a Society in Charleston, who were desirous of getting a fac-simile of his hand-writing. I have not been able to recover it.

My first wife, my beloved Mary, lived about six years after our marriage, which was on Octr. 6th. 1791, & died Novr. 97, and here let me record a tribute to her worth. As a wife she was all I could wish, & assured me a few days before her death that never a regret at having married me had disturbed her happiness. She bro't me a son and three daughters. The daughters died in infancy. My beloved son Moses John was all that a father could wish. He lived to 30 & half years of age, an accomplished & indefatigable Physician & Surgeon. He had been married between three and four months to Miss Sarah E. Waddell, of Brunswick Cy., when he died, last of June 1826.

Nearly two years after the decease of my wife, being still a young man, I resolved upon a second marriage, but could not reconcile it to my feeling to place a stranger over my beloved child, then an infant, less than a year old. I therefore determined to offer myself to your lamented mother, whose excellencies of character I had long known, and whom I loved with unfeigned affection. I proposed to her to become my wife & take charge of my little boy which after many scruples on account of our relative situation, she consented to do, with the full approbation of her mother (Your respected grandmother Fullerton) & her sister, your Aunt Reighton; nor had I any just occasion to regret my union with Catherine Fullerton. She was in all respects a helpmeet for me; & ever endeavored to promote my interest & happiness. By her I had seven children, three sons and four daughters, two of the sons died in childhood. My beloved Armand John, and you my very dear daughters, Catherine G., Elizabeth Ann, Magdalen Mary, & Mary Jane, are left to comfort me now in my greatly advanced years, being this the 17, November, 1847, my birthday, eighty years of age. And what I wait for now, but the daily expected call to depart hence. Oh that I may be prepared to come into the presence of my GOD & SAVIOR, &

join all my beloved and departed ones in the realm of happiness & peace. My daughter Catherine is now a widow, the relict of a Methodist Clergyman, Mr. M. Kennedy: my daughter Mary Jane, the wife of an Episcopal minister, Revd. M. A. Curtis, she is the mother of five children now alive, 4 sons & a daughter. Mrs. Kennedy, my oldest daughter, has no children. My daughters Elizabeth & Magdalen are unmarried, and in charge of my household, together with Mrs. Kennedy. My children are truly a comfort and the joy of my life.

My son Armand John, married Miss Lord, by whom he has nine children (all living) three daughters and six sons.

My grand father, my father and myself & both of my sons have been practitioners of medicine in this place. I am still so, having been engaged in professional pursuits here nearly fifty-eight years; and have prescribed for six generations in one family. Such an instance can scarcely be found in our country. Give God all the praise for whatever I may have been able to do, in any way agreeable to His most holy will. Oh praise the Lord!

Thus my dear children I have thrown together in a desultory way, for your gratification such family reminiscences as have presented themselves to my recollection, should any others occur to my mind they shall be added.

Your affeete. Father

Wilmington, N. C.,

A. J. De Rosset

Novr. 17th, 1847.

P. S.—I lived with your dear mother, from 1st, August 1799, our wedding day to 9th March 1837, when she was taken from me by a most painful and protracted disease. My first wife died of consumption.

The foregoing memoranda might have been much extended, but for the disastrous fire of 1840, in which my old French Family Bible, containing numerous family records, was destroyed, together with several other valuable memorials of the family.

It was reported & I believe on good authority, that the restitution of the family Titles and Estates, forfeited by their emigration, has been tendered to my uncle, not long before the Revolution in France, upon the condition of his return to the bosom of the Romish Ch., the offer, if made, was of course rejected by him.

A Col. Armand, came to this place during the Revolution, I believe with French Troops, was said & believed to be a near relative of our family. My uncle, much prejudiced

against the whole nation, would make no inquiry, nor any advance toward him.

It was also said that a branch of the De Rosset family existed in Narbonne, not Protestants, but if so, how connected with us could not be known.

I believe the above report preceeded from Mr. Jas. Walker who having married my uncle's niece, enjoyed his entire confidence, even to the period of his death.

I had neglected to state some circumstances in my father's life, related to me by my mother. On his attaing his majority, before commencing his professional life, he became enamored of a Miss B., who was not deemed on a footing (with) him; being a dutiful & affectionate son he yielded to his father and other friends, and went to sea, a supercargo; the vessel was taken by a privateer. I believe Spanish, was carried to some of their ports, & thrown into prison, stripped of everything. How long he continued there I forget; though I think one or two years. When released he got on board some vessel, & arrived in Boston, & after being supplied with clothing and necessaries in abundance by a Mr. Campbell, I think his name was Thomas, he returned home. Mr. C. was the brother of the late Mr. Campbell of this place, in compliment to whom, our late friend Mr. W. C. Lord was called.

After my father's return he entered upon the practice of physic & continued it till his death. Miss B. had married. A very close friendship and correspondence was carried on between Mr. Campbell & my father to the last day of his life.

You will remark that family rank and standing in those days were not lost sight of; hence the disapprobation of my father's friends to his union with Miss B. No objection was raised to his connection with your grand mother; indeed I believe his attentions to her were directed by his friends.

NOTE—Mrs. Catherine DeRosset Meares enables me to give further items in regard to the author of this letter. He was trained for college by his mother and her sister, and by his step-father, Rev. Adam Boyd, supplemented by a school in Hillsboro, N. C. He entered Princeton University, then College of New Jersey, at the age of seventeen. Having slender means he pursued his studies in vacations, at the same time teaching other students. He thus graduated in three years,

in 1785. On his return home he was shipwrecked, losing his spare clothing and books. The next year he entered the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, and there gained the friendship of Benjamin Rush and other eminent men. Graduating in 1790, he at once settled in Wilmington and entered on an extensive practise, gaining the reputation of being one of the best physicians and surgeons in the South. He was in active service for sixty-nine years, visiting all who called on him for his services, whether or not able to pay. His last case was that of a woman 91 years old, who became the mother of a child. (See Proceedings of the N. C. Medical Society, May, 1859.)

Dr. DeRosset was an ardent patriot as a boy of fourteen in the Revolution, engaging at that age in a fight at the Oaks, near Wilmington. In person he was short, not over 5 feet 4 inches, with light blue eyes and ruddy complexion, with a benign expression. In dress always neat, keeping white linen stock, knee breeches and buckles. silk stockings and queue until his fiftieth birthday. His habits were regular and perfectly temperate. He gave up about forty years before his death the old fashioned habit of regular toddies because he learned that his example was quoted by younger men. He was always courteous and boundlessly hospitable. He was idolized by his family and was a kind, judicious master of his slaves, several of whom after being freed becoming useful ministers of the Gospel. For many years he was Port Physician of Wilmington. He was a promoter of the Bible Society of Wilmington and for a long time its President, succeeding the first President, George Hooper. He was an active member and Lay Reader of St. James church, and a generous supporter. He was for many years a Justice of the Peace. He was for thirty years a Director of the Bank of Cape Fear, and a \$10,000 subscriber to the stock of the Wilmington and Raleigh, now Wilmington and Weldon Railroad Company. By subscribing an equal amount to the Rockfish Cotton Factory he assisted in the promotion of these useful enterprises.

This most excellent man lived to his 92nd year, passing above on April 11st, 1859.

*Contemporary Account of Conferring the Degree of M.D. on
Dr. Armand John DeRosset by the University
of Pennsylvania.*

The Pennsylvania Packet, AND DAILY ADVERTISER of June 19, 1790, contains the following article:

“Philadelphia, Jun 19,

On Tuesday, June 8, the Commencement was held by adjournment, for the purpose of conferring the degree of Doctor of Medicine, in the College hall of this city. The business was opened with a prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Smith, Provost of the College. A pertinent address was afterwards delivered to the audience, by Dr. Shippen, in which several judicious reasons were given for conferring the degree of Doctor, instead of Bachelor of Medicine in the College. The following candidates were then examined upon the subjects of their theses by the different Professors of Medicine: viz.

Armand John De Rosset, of North Carolina,

De Febribus Intermittentibus.

James Proudfit, of the State of New York,

De pleuritide vera.

John Pennington, of Philadelphia,

On Fermentation.

The Latin theses were examined and defended, in the Latin language. The thesis on Fermentation, which, for the modern terms employed in it, was necessarily written in English, was examined and defended in the same language.

The Degree of Doctor of Medicine was then conferred by the Provost, upon Samuel Powell Griffith, M. B. Professor of Materia Medica in the College, and upon each of the candidates, to whom the right hand of fellowship was afterwards publicly given by each of the Medical Professors. The business of the day was concluded with a sensible and pathetic address to the Graduates, by the Provost of the College.”

A copy of the Latin thesis of Dr. A. J. DeRosset, delivered upon his graduation at the Medical College of Philadelphia, having been sent to Hon. Benj. Hawkins, then U. S. Senator from North Carolina, the following acknowledgement was received:

New York, June 25th, 1790.

Sir:

I acknowledge with great pleasure the receipt of your Medical thesis, on intermitting fevers, which you did the honor to present to me. I do not presume to take on myself to judge of the performance, being incompetent, but some of my medical friends who are really learned, say it has considerable merit.

Although I am a citizen of the World and admire merit and genius wherever it may be found, yet, I confess myself some what more interested in your little work as being the production of a fellow-citizen of the particular country that gave me being. I had heard you spoken of as possessing considerable talents and application, and, without the pleasure of knowing you, was desirous of your success, that you might be an example to your countrymen, who, unfortunately, spend too much of their time in idleness and dissipation.

Accept my best wishes for your success in your profession and future studies, and believe me, with much esteem, Sir,

Your most obt. & humble Servt.

¹ Benjamin Hawkins.

Dr. De Rosset.

Letters of ²Dr. Benjamin Rush, to Dr. DeRosset.

Phil^a. Novr. 24th, 1790.

Dear Sir:

Both your letters came safe to hand, and gave me much pleasure. I am much obliged to you for your attention to the orders committed to you. I shall inquire into Mr. Standley's circumstances & act accordingly.

Our City swarms with students of Medicine. But they are nearly equally divided between the College and the University. ³ Dr. Shippen's attachment to the latter has been open and impudent this year; in consequence of which, ⁴ Dr. Hutchinson has a larger class than ⁵ Dr. Wistar, and ⁶ Dr. Kuhn only ten in his class, less than I have in mine. I have made

many additions to my lectures, especially to my proximate cause of fever.

I consider the action in the arterial system to be a convulsion, resembling in many particulars, a convulsion in the nervous system. I think I have fully established by many facts, my new theories of Dropsies. I have lately bled in anasarca, and hydrocephalus with success. In both cases there was great excess of irregular action, or convulsions in the arterial system.

I have lately used injections of cold water in four cases of colic, attended with a *full* and *tense* pulse, and in all with the most desirable success.

Your fellow students are all well. Mrs. Rush joins in the best wishes for your health and happiness, with Dr. Sir

Yours Sincerely

Benjamin Rush.

Dr. De Rosset, Physician
at Wilmington, N. C.

Philida. May 6th, 1793.

Dear Sir:

You will perceive by the enclosed thesis the present state of opinions and practice in the University of Pennsylvania. My 2nd volume of Medical inquires will be published in the course of the ensuing summer which will contain a full explanation of my principles on dropsy and Pulmonary Consumption.

My dear Mrs. Rush joins in my compliments to Mrs. De Rosset and best wishes for your happiness. with Dr. Sir

Your sincere friend

² Benjn. Rush.

¹ Benjamin Hawkins, of North Carolina—Aide-de-camp to Washington; member of the Congress of the Confederacy; one of the first Senators from North Carolina; Indian Agent; with residence in Georgia; author of Topography, and Indian character, &c.

² Benjamin Rush, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence; member of the Continental Congress; member of the Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution; Professor of Medicine and Clinical Practice in the University of Pennsylvania; distinguished himself in the yellow fever epidemic

in Philadelphia in 1703, and wrote a valuable history of it; author of other Medical works.

³ William Shippen, who delivered the first course of lectures on anatomy in America, it is said.

⁴ Dr. James Hutchinson, Surgeon of the Continental Line, 1776-'83; Professor of Materia Medica, University of Pennsylvania.

⁵ Caspar Wistar, adjunct and then Professor of Anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania. Author of "System of Anatomy."

⁶ Adam Kuhn, the President of the College of Physicians and Surgeons. He was also a Botanist.

Commission to Dr. Armand John DeRosset, the Elder, to be a Surgeon of Militia.

(COPY)

THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,

To Armand John De Rosset, Esqr. Greeting:

GREAT
SEAL OF
THE
STATE.

We reposing special trust and confidence in your Medical Knowledge, do hereby appoint you a Surgeon in the 3d Regiment of the MILITIA of our State: and you are hereby invested with the authority and Command belonging to said office, that you may promptly and Diligently perform the duties thereof, as prescribed

by Law and Military Discipline, (after taking such oath or oaths as are necessary for your qualification) in the discharge of which, all officers and Soldiers under your command are required to yield to you their ready obedience.

In testimony of which, His excellency WILLIAM HAWKINS, Esquire, our Governor, Captain-General and Commander in Chief, hath caused the Great Seal of the State to be hereunto affixed, and signed the same at our City of Raleigh, on the 10th day of October in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fourteen and of the Independence of the U. States the XXXIXth.

By the Governor,

¹ William Hawkins.

Tho. Marcy, Private Secretary.

¹ William Hawkins, nephew of Senator Benjamin Hawkins.

He was speaker of the House of Commons—Governor from 1811 to 1814.

Extract from the Records of the New Hanover Medical Society.

“Present: Dr. Jas. H. Dickson, President; and Drs. Anderson, Thomas, McRee, Wright, Cutlar, Beery, Potter, and Medway.

Committee, appointed to prepare resolutions relative to the death of Dr. A. J. De Rosset, reported through Dr. J. H. Dickson, the following, which are adopted unanimously.

Whereas: It has pleased the all-wise disposer of events, to call from this transitory life, at the very advanced age of Ninety-one years, our venerable and highly esteemed professional friend and “confrere”—Dr. Armand J. De Rosset, Senior, we esteem it a duty, as well as a melancholy privilege, to place upon record, an united testimonial of our exalted appreciation of his character, both as a man and as a physician.

Though by many years, the senior of those engaged in the active duties of the Medical profession; there are some among us, who have had the advantage of profiting in consultation, by the skill and large experience of this Nestor of our profession, now no more among the living; and, who have had the opportunity of observing the calm wisdom of his intellect, and the uniform kindness and courtesy of his manner, which, indeed, seemed to ripen with advancing years.

After finishing his collegiate course at Princeton, A. J. De Rosset became a pupil of the celebrated Dr. Rush of Philadelphia, and was one of the earliest graduates of the Medical College of the City.

He had thus availed himself of the best means, which the time and the Country afforded, to prepare himself for the arduous and important duties of his professional life.

Commencing his profession in the last decade of the last century, he continued in the active performance of its duties, until a few years past, when the growing pressure of years rendered him physically incompetent for its labors, while his intellect preserved its integrity to the close of his life.

For several months past, it became painfully apparent to his friends that his strength was failing, and that the close of his earthly career was near at hand.

Of this no one was better assured than himself, and it was

consolatory to observe the calmness and resignation with which he contemplated the approach of dissolution—not the calmness of the Stoic, but the peaceful, serene resignation of the Christian; for our venerable friend was of the highest type of man—the Christian Gentleman.

During his life he was an honor to the medical profession of the State, and after having served several generations faithfully and acted his part worthily upon earth, he has at length been gathered to his fathers, full of years and full of honors.

‘having now
The bound of man’s appointed years, at last
Lifes blessings all enjoyed, lifes labor done,
Serenely to his final rest, has past;
While the soft memory of his virtues, yet
Lingers like twilight hues when the bright
Sun is set.’

He has both in his life and in his death, left us an example worthy of our imitation.

His professional attainments were of a high order, and no doubt contributed to the elevation of the professional character in our State; while his sterling qualities as a man and a Christian reflect their additional lustre upon it.

Let it be our aim, by the practice of like virtues, to elevate ourselves, our profession and our State.

Resolved: That, While we condole with his surviving relations in the bereavement which they have sustained, we rejoice with them at the bright legacy which has been left them of a noble character erected on a basis of spotless integrity and a well spent life.

The Secretary was directed to send the family of the deceased a copy of the above; and, also to furnish copies to the local Press, and, to the N. C. Medical Journal.

F. W. Potter,
Secty.

Jas. H. Dickson,
Prest.

¹ James Henderson Dickson, A.M.; M.D., was a graduate of this University in 1823. His M.D. was from Columbia College, N. Y. He was President of the Medical Society in North Carolina, in 1854 and member of the Board of Medical Examiners, 1858-1862. He delivered an address before the Alumni Association at Chapel Hill in 18 on the Progress of

Science, which was printed and much enhanced his reputation.

DR. MOSES JOHN DEROSSET, THE YOUNGER.

As has been said Dr. Armand John DeRosset, the elder, had two sons, one by his first wife, Moses John, and the other by his second, Armand John DeRosset.

Moses John DeRosset was born February 11, 1796, entered the University of North Carolina in 1813 and graduated in 1816. He then obtained his diploma at the New York Medical College in 1820, and practiced medicine with great success in copartnership with his father. In the yellow fever epidemic in 1821 he was particularly active and skilful. He died July 1, 1826, leaving an exceedingly high reputation. The following correspondence with Dr. Valentine Mot, the elder, one of the ablest surgeons this country has had, shows the high regard in which young Dr. DeRosset was held by the profession.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DR. MOSES JOHN DEROSSET TO DR. VALENTINE MOTT.

Wilmington, N. C., July 4th, 1825.

Dear Sir:

I have a friend and a patient in whom I feel much interest, whose case has completely baffled my skill, and resisted every plan of treatment I could devise for three months past. You will oblige me much if you will state your opinion of its nature, remark freely upon its treatment and suggest any course that will probably afford relief, with as little delay as the nature of your engagements will permit.

Mr. J. W. aged 55, a rice planter of corpulent and plethoric habit, who lives a rather sedentary life, and, until the present attack, has enjoyed much uninterrupted health, was taken, about three months since, with pains, at times acute, about the eosiform cartilage, extending down into the right hypochondriac and iliac regions, attended with a sense of stricture, stretching around to the point of the scapula, and with some degree of unctation and rumbling of the bowels; the pain has been equally confined to the parts above mentioned, though

at times it is at the umbilicum, and has been felt even as low as the region of the bladder. Mr. W. seems to be under the impression, notwithstanding my opinion to the contrary, that his present malady is in some way connected and dependent on a disease under which he has labored at intervals for many years, which from the description appears to have been a violent spasmodic affection of the stomach, and on one occasion (as long ago perhaps as 1811) was so severe as to require several hundred drops of laudanum to allay it, and to produce ecchymosis, or effusion of purple spots over the entire body the day after. He complained occasionally in the commencement of his disease of a distressing pulsation in epigastric, which was never sufficiently evident for me to ascertain whether it was synchronous with the pulse or not; it appears to me to arise from nervous irritation; he has not complained recently of the symptom. His pulse has been almost uniformly full, and intermittent, but never more than eighty strokes in the minute, his appetite has been little or not impaired; his spirits much depressed; his body considerably much amaicated; his complexion and eyes clear; his stools natural both as to color and consistency, his tongue generally clean, and there has been no difficulty of lying on either side.

The disease has been unattended throughout with any cough, dyspnoea, nausea or pain in the shoulders; no perceptible enlargement of the hepatic region, and until latterly, the pain not increased by pressure. The disease at first presented itself to my mind as a disordered state of the digestive function, in which every symptom of hepatic derangement was absent, except pain in that region, accompanied with a nervous irritability and depression of spirits bordering on Hypochondriasis.

The treatment consisted of active depletion the Lancet, by cathartics repeated twice a week for some time, with a succession of blisters, with a mercurial course carried to the extent of a pretty full ptyalism, and with tartar emetic ointment, with little or no evident benefit; at one time I supposed that the pain might proceed from tape-worm, and prescribed an active dose of *ol. terebinth*, with more relief of the urgent symptoms perhaps than from any article which he has taken. It was repeated without my direction, but was not attended with the same relief, though with some affection of the urinary organs, which was removed without difficulty. At another time I prescribed the *tr. colch. vinous*, under the impression that it might proceed from a gouty diathesis, but

with the like unsuccessful result. He is now and has been for some time on the use of the nitric acid, and as the tart. emetic ointment has ceased to produce the pustulating effect, I have sent him camphorated mercurial ointment, to be applied to the hepatic region, intending to thus affect his mouth very slightly again. I find it still necessary to, occasionally, resort to the use of the lancet, and I think always with benefit, the blood when drawn looks thick and dark, and covered with buff when cooling. He has never been confined to his bed, his diet is strictly antiphlogistic, and *regular exercise on horseback* has been prescribed, the last part of the prescription however, owing to his great repugnance to motion, I fear he does not regard to its full letter. A visit to the North and especially to Saratoga has been recommended but not concurred in by the patient. He usually spends his summers in the interior of his State, about a hundred and fifty miles from the seaboard, in a fine salubrious climate, and probably will ride much among the mountains during the ensuing season.

Thus far I had written when I received a summons to visit him about 30 miles from this, but before I saw him the urgent symptoms which had occasioned my call had disappeared without remedy. As described by Mrs. W — one of the most intelligent ladies I ever saw, they were these: Acute pain at the scrobiculus cordis, subsultus of almost every muscle in the body, great redness of the face, and violent throbbing of the carotids and temporals, in her emphatic language,—he looked all over like one great pulse. When I saw him the next day, he was much as usual except the pulse was smaller, more regular and much quicker than I had ever felt it. In case of a recurrence of the paroxysm I directed the use of ether, and laudanum and synapisms to the pained part. I took eight or ten ounces of blood from his arm, and as depletion had now been carried as far as I deemed necessary or prudent, I advised tonics, and their journey to the back country to be commenced immediately. Could your great experience and extensive professional acquirements suggest any plan of treatment affording a probable prospect of success, I should feel greatly obliged.

Your obedt. servant

Dr. Valentine Mott,
New York.

(Signed) M. J. De Rosset.

Dear Doctor:

Your letter of 4th inst. I very much admire for the excellent history and description of a case which is presented for my

opinion. You have beyond doubt narrated the symptoms of the case with great fidelity; but I must confess I am fearful that it will not be in my power to improve the excellent treatment you have subjected him and suggested to him. I frankly confess I cannot name his disease. Some functional or organic derangement may exist, which has occasioned great nervous irritability. It may be in the stomach or liver or both. Your idea of travelling and residing at Saratoga I highly approve of, the best plan to be adopted by him. Perhaps you might give a pill of aloes, carb. ferri. and zinzib. to preserve the tone of the stomach, and keep up a gentle movement to some advantage, not however to omit exercise on horseback.

Dr. De Rosset

Truly your friend,
(Signed) Valentine Mott.

DR. ARMAND JOHN DEROSSET, THE YOUNGER,

son of Dr. Armand John DeRosset, the elder, by his second wife, was born October 9th, 1807. He was prepared for the University by James W. Mitchell, entered it in 1821 and graduated in 1824, with Governor and Senator William A. Graham, Judge Matthias E. Manly and other eminent men. He then attended lectures in Charleston and in Philadelphia, receiving his diploma from his father's university, State of Pennsylvania, in 1828. He practiced with much success and growing reputation for several years, when, finding the requirements too painful for his sympathetic temperament, he exchanged it first for a partnership in the Phoenix mill, and then in 1839 for that of a commission merchant with John Potts Brown. The business was lucrative until some time after the war with new partners, when the house got into financial trouble by reason of the extraordinary conditions then prevailing. Although the creditors offered a liberal compromise, Dr. DeRosset refused to accept it, surrendered for sale his beautiful home and other property and paid all his debts. To one who urged him to act otherwise he said, "*The mens sibi conscia recti* has been far more precious to me than the possession of any amount which the laws or the circumstances of the case would have enabled me to retain." After living

in affluence for over three score and ten years he accepted the position of clerk, and without loss of self-respect or honor with the community, worked for the support of himself and those dependent on him.

Dr. DeRosset was always a public spirited citizen. He was one of the first subscribers to the stock of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad Company and a Director from its inauguration for fifty-five years. In 1849 when the company was in straits he negotiated in England without compensation a loan in iron rails, which saved the road. After the Civil War, when ruin was again threatening, he, likewise, with no compensation, negotiated abroad in 1865 an extension of time of payment of the company bonds.

In the Protestant Episcopal Church, of which he was from boyhood an active member, he succeeded his father as Senior Warden of St. James church and held the office for nearly fifty years. He was much of that time a member of the Standing Committee and Treasurer of the Diocese of North Carolina, and, after its division, of East Carolina until near his death. He likewise as Deputy represented for many years these dioceses in the General Convention, the highest honor a layman can have in this church.

In 1829 Dr. DeRosset married Eliza Jane Lord. They lived a most happy life for forty-seven years. They had eleven children, of whom five survive. Some time after her death he married Catherine M. Kennedy. They had no children.

Dr. DeRosset, in all public and private relations, was approached in excellence by few and excelled by none.

The following paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer was written by Dr. Armand J. DeRosset in 1889, he being in his eighty-third year:

Father in Heaven, to Thee we pray
That Thy great Name may hallowed be,
Thy kingdom come—Oh! haste the day
When all the world shall bow to Thee,
When Thy blest will shall have full sway,
And Earth, like Heaven, from sin be free.

Sustain, Oh Lord! our bodies frail,
Preserve our soul with bread of life,
Forgive our sins, let us not fail
Our foes to bless, and keep from strife.

Whene'er the tempter's wiles assail
Do Thou be near, and keep us pure.
May Thy good Spirit never fail
To be our guide for evermore.

Glory—Power to Thee belong,
In Thy dread presence we appear,
Only in the Name of Christ Thy Son,
Who taught us to make our prayer.

September 18th, 1889.

THE EARLY YEARS OF WILMINGTON—EXTRACTS
FROM THE TOWN JOURNAL—LETTERS
OF JAMES MURRAY.

HISTORICAL NOTE, by Samuel A. Ashe.

As soon as the North Carolina Colony had gained repose after the subjugation of the Indians and the removal of the Tuscaroras to New York, there was a considerable influx of population and the lands along the Neuse and adjacent to the sounds were measurably occupied. Perhaps to keep the Colony compact, the Lords Proprietors directed that no settlement should be made within twenty miles of the Cape Fear river. But in 1725 Governor Burrington, disregarding these orders, explored the Cape Fear and opened lands there to entry; and shortly afterward, Maurice Moore laid out a town on the west side of that river about fifteen miles from its mouth, which he called "Brunswick," and invited settlers to locate there. Shortly afterwards, ¹Cornelius Harnett, who had disappeared from his Albemarle home in 1726, established a ferry at a haul-over opposite Brunswick, and this ferry was sanctioned and legalized by the General Court held in Edenton in March 1727, since there was no other authority having jurisdiction over the Cape Fear region. It was about that time that many other settlers hastened to take up the best lands on the Cape Fear River and its branches.

In November 1729, Brunswick was incorporated and made the County Seat of the new precinct called "New Hanover," and the election of vestrymen for St. James Parish was directed to be held there. During Burrington's second term, John Maulsby entered 640 acres opposite the confluence of the two branches of the Cape Fear; but at that time what is now called "Clarendon River" was considered to be the North-

¹ Father of Cornelius Harnet of the Revolution.—K. P. B.

west Branch. John Watson at the same time entered 640 acres adjoining Maultsby's and extending down the river, but it was not until some two years later, in 1735, after Governor Johnston had come over, that patents were issued for these entries. In the meantime, a few settlers had located on Maultsby's entry and called their settlement "New Liverpool." But in March or April 1733, Michael Higgines and Joshua Granger purchased from Watson 50 acres of land, being in the central portion of it and fronting about one fourth of a mile on the river, and James Wimble bought all the lower part; and immediately following, Watson and Wimble and Granger and Higgines agreed to establish a town on their lands; and they accordingly laid out Market St. and Front St., being the present streets bearing those names in Wilmington, and ran other streets parallel with them; and their town was called "Newton" or "New Town." Hardly had the new town been begun before the superior advantages of its situation became evident, and there arose conflicting interest between it and the older settlement at Brunswick.

Governor Johnston, who took the oaths of office in November 1734, being informed that Brunswick was unhealthy, and having no interest there, purchased lands adjacent to Newton and became an ardent advocate of making that village the commercial, business and political centre of the Cape Fear section. In this he was opposed by those gentlemen who had already established themselves at Brunswick and who hoped that their fortunes were to be increased by its future growth and prosperity. But the Governor was so assured of the superiority of the Newton site that he paid slight attention to their wishes, and within three months after his induction into office, he began actively to advance Newton at the expense of Brunswick. Doubtless it was with his concurrence that on March 6, 1735, there was presented to the Council a petition from the inhabitants and others about Newton, praying "that the said place may be made a town by the name of ———, provided that the inhabitants thereof do within two years from date hereof, build and erect six brick

houses in the principal streets, of forty feet long and 30 feet deep;" but the Council, not having the necessary powers, took no action and the subject of incorporating the town was brought before the next General Assembly, which met at Newbern in 1736. At that time, a bill to incorporate the town under the name of Wilmington was proposed in the upper house; but seems to have failed. It appears from it that the Governor had thus early designed to bestow on the town the name of "Wilmington," to compliment his patron, Sir Spencer Compton, then Earl of Wilmington, a nobleman of great worth, abilities and integrity, who for many years occupied a high position at Court, and was soon to be Prime Minister. One of the provisions of that bill directed the establishment of a court house at Newton and the holding of a court there. Indeed, in March 1735, the Governor had been pleased to appoint a court of Exchequer, which was, "to be opened and held at Newton on the northeast branch of the Cape Fear River on the 13th of May following," and at the same time, he issued a proclamation reciting that as no court of Oyer and Terminer had as yet been held on the Cape Fear River, he appointed a court to be held at Newton on the northeast branch of the Cape Fear, on the 13th of May, 1735; and he also appointed Newton, as the place for collecting and receiving quit-rents, and on the 13th day of May he held a Council at Newton, and after that other Councils met there. The Legislature, however, seems not to have incorporated the town until 1740, although in 1736 it enacted that the quit-rents for Onslow and New Hanover should be paid at Newton; and in the fall of that year, Governor Johnston appointed James Murray Naval Officer, and directed him to open his office at Newton, thus practically closing the port of Brunswick. At length in February 1740, the Governor was able to carry his point, and a bill was passed incorporating the town under the name of Wilmington. But in the Council only eight members being present, there were four votes for it and four votes against it, and the presiding Councillor, Chief-Jus-

tice Smith, having already once voted for it, making the tie, as presiding Officer gave a second vote to break the tie, thus passing the bill through the Council. The friends of Brunswick were not content to be overreached in that way, and quite a controversy arose as to the legality of an act passed by one Councillor giving two votes.

Section First of the act recites: "That, whereas several merchants, tradesmen, artificers and other persons of good substance have settled themselves at a village called Newton, lying on the east branch of the Cape Fear River, and whereas, the said village by reason of its convenient situation at the meeting of the two great branches of the Cape Fear River, and likewise by reason of the depth of water capable of receiving vessels of considerable burden, because of the safety of its roads beyond any other part of the river and the secure and easy access from all parts of the different branches of the said river, is upon all those and many other accounts, more proper for being erected into a town or township than any other part of the said river,"—therefore, the Legislature proceeded to "erect it into a town and township by the name of Wilmington," with the privilege of choosing one representative to sit in the General Assembly; and the persons entitled to vote for said representative were limited to "every tenant of any brick, stone or frame habitable house of the length of twenty feet and sixteen feet wide within said town, and other persons who were actually in possession or an inhabitant of a brick house of the length of thirty feet and sixteen feet wide within the bounds of said town upwards and Smith's Creek;" and it was further enacted "that no person should be deemed qualified to be a Representative of said town to sit in the General Assembly, unless he was seizin of a brick, stone or frame house with one or more brick chimneys, the house to be of the dimensions aforesaid;" and the following persons were appointed commissioners for the said town: James Murray, Robert Halton, Samuel Woodard, William Farris, Richard Eagles, John Porter and Robert Walker.

The Governor was very much elated at his success in having this bill passed, but the controversy about the manner of its passing through the Council became so great that at its next session, the Legislature found it expedient to pass a second act "because of the disputes which raised doubts and much perplexed the minds of several of the inhabitants of the said county of New Hanover." In this act it is provided that the election of the vestrymen for the Parish of St. James in New Hanover County and all other public elections for the said County of New Hanover and for the said Parish called "St. James Parish," shall be held and made in the town of Wilmington. Prior to that, under an act of 1729, these elections had been held at Brunswick, and these acts were death-blows to Brunswick, and resulted in the complete victory for the Governor and the New Town over those who had settled at Brunswick. Wilmington at once became the metropolis of the Cape Fear region.

EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORD.

We have before us the records of the Commissioners' meetings of the town of Wilmington, beginning in April 1743, the following being extracts:

"Wilmington, April 5, 1743.

The Freeholders met at the Court House in pursuance of an act of the Assembly to elect proper persons to be returned to His Excellency, the Governor, to serve as Commissioners for the ensuing year; when on closing the poll, the five following had a majority of votes, viz.: James Campbell, Rufus Marsden, James Smallwood, Richard Hellier and Armand De Rosset; and return whereof, was made to His Excellency, the Governor.

Wilmington, April 27, 1743.

A general meeting of the inhabitants and freeholders of Wilmington in order to concert measures for laying out the streets of the said town in a more exact manner, is desired by the subscribers to meet at the Court House on Monday, the 9th day of May next, at 10 o'clock in the morning.

Signed: William Harris, Richard Hellier, Samuel Green, James Campbell, Rufus Marsden and John Maultsby, Jr."

In pursuance to the above at the time and place there mentioned, the greatest part of the freeholders and inhabitants met and came to the following resolution, viz: "Whereas, we, the subscribers, freeholders and inhabitants of the town of Wilmington, have taken into consideration the many inconveniences and hardships inhabitants of the said town suffered by reason that the bounds of the lots and streets thereof are not duly ascertained, and in order to come to the knowledge of the original survey of the said town, have desired the favor of Michael Higgines, one of the original Proprietors, to declare, and he has declared before a Magistrate upon oath what he knows of the original survey and the said declaration or affidavit of Mr. Higgines, seems to locate to our satisfaction the place where the said survey was begun together with the courses and manner of carrying it on, we have resolved and do hereby resolve that Mr. William Faris, Mr. Rufus Marsden, and Mr. Thomas Clarke shall be empowered as Commissioners to agree with a proper Surveyor and necessary assistants, to re-survey the streets of the said town, and fix proper stakes or posts at convenient places and to defray the charges of the premises, we, the said subscribers, do hereby promise to pay Mr. Thomas Clarke, or produce him the Surveyor's Receipt for the sums opposite our respective names, within ten days after the said town shall be surveyed, pursuant to the agreement to be made by the Commissioners aforesaid; and that the said re-survey may be agreed for and made on the terms and in the manner that shall be most agreeable to the freeholders of the said town, it is the intention of us, the subscribers, and accordingly resolved, that the Commissioners aforesaid shall not make the agreement for the re-survey, but have three days notice fixed at the Court House of the time and place appointed for making such agreement, which shall not be made without the consent of the freeholders aforesaid, being subscribers hereto, or the majority of them then and there present.

Wilmington, N. C., May 9, 1743.

William Faris	25 pounds currency.
James Murray	10 " "
Thomas Clarke	10 " "
William Norton	16 " "
Rufus Marsden	12 " 10s "
Phillip David	5 " "
Richard Hellier	2 " "

Thomas James	5 pounds currency.
Joshua Granger	8 "
John Maultsby	10 "
Caleb Granger by Wm. Faris	20 "
Thomas Hedges	5 "
Francis Veale	10 "
*Robert Walker	10 " "
Daniel Dunbibin	5 "
James Smallwood	5 "
Morgan Morgan	5 "
Hugh Blanning	5 "
Samuel Cain	5 "
Nicholas Fox	5 "
John Wright	10 "
John Watson	5 "
John Squires	3 "
James Campbell	5 "
Magnus Cowan	3 " 10s
Daniel Love	5 "
William Birnie	5 "
——— McFarline	3 "
———	7 "
———	£5 "

* Robert Walker and his wife Ann Montgomery Walker are said to have come from Ireland in 1736. Their daughter Margaret married Dr. Armand De Rosset, who came to New Liverpool in 1775.

The deposition of Michael Higgines relating to the former survey of the town is as follows:

North Carolina, New Hanover County,

Michael Higgines, late of the town of Wilmington, Ordinary Keeper, at the request of many of the inhabitants and freeholders of the said town, maketh oath that in the year of our Lord 1733, John Watson, planter, was possessed of a tract of land containing 640 acres by virtue of a warrant from Governor Burrington, beginning at John Maultsby's line to Col. Halton's line, then along his line south to the corner thereof and thence several courses down the northeast branch of the Cape Fear River; that in March or April 1733, he, this deponent, and Joshua Granger, Sr. bought of the said John Watson fifty acres, part of the said tract of land, beginning at a tree which then grew in a hollow where William Faris' tar house now stands, fronting down the river

near a quarter of a mile, and running back for the complement; that on or about the said month of April, James Wimble, Mariner, bought of the said John Watson the remaining part of the said tract that was below the land purchased by this deponent and Mr. Granger; and this said tract was divided between John Watson, (who still continued to possess the other upper part of it,) this deponent, Joshua Granger and James Wimble. And the said John Watson, this deponent, Joshua Granger and James Wimble, in the month of April or thereabouts, entered into an agreement to lay out part of the said tract of land into lots and streets for a town, and to fix a centre in the Market St. where the town house now stands, and the same was accordingly laid out, on or about the said month of April, by William Gray, Surveyor, in the following manner, viz: "Beginning at a place where now lies the threshold of the north door next to the ——— house, now possessed by Hugh Blanning, thence running northwest three poles, which station was agreed and fixed upon by us, said place to be the middle of Market Street aforesaid, and as the course of the said street was a half point north and this deponent having now reviewed the front street of the said town, saith: 'That he verily believes that post standing in the northeast corner of the yard possessed by Hugh Blanning, is exactly in the western line of Front Street, which street was run at right angle with Market St. of the width of four poles and all the other streets in the bounds of the then intended town were laid out four poles wide, and were exactly parallel either to Front Street or Market Street before ascertained, and that all the lots aforesaid were of the length of 20 poles with a breadth of four poles except the water lots, which were likewise four poles wide down to a low water mark.' And this deponent further saith: 'That when the said Surveyor, running along Front Street, went down steep or declining places, he ordered the chief chain-bearer to hold up the chain and the other one to hold down the chain and to the contrary in going up; in order and with the intention that all the lots might be of equal breadth,' further saith not.

Sworn and subscribed by Michael Higgines on the 9th of May, 1743 before me.

Ja. Murray, J. P.' "

Wilmington, May 30, 1743.

Agreeable to an advertisement put up at the Court House

on the 24th of this instant, May, in pursuance of the agreement made by the inhabitants of Wilmington, bearing date the 9th of this instant, wherein, it was agreed and resolved that public notice should be given three days at least to treat with the proper Surveyor to run out the streets of the said town. Accordingly, we, the freeholders present, do resolve that Jeremiah Vail, do as soon as conveniently may be, re-survey the streets of the town agreeable to the oath of Michael Higgines, and that the said Surveyor be upon oath to do the same justly and truly without fraud, and in consideration of which, he shall receive out of the subscription money 150 pounds.

Ordered that the squares of the said town be staked out at every corner of each square at the charge of the said town and that the chain-bearers be upon oath to carry the chains justly and truly and that the commissioners do agree with proper persons to carry the chains and provide the stakes: Signed: Rufus Marsden, William Norton, Thomas Clarke, Francis Veale, David Lindsay, Phillip David, Richard Hellier, James Smallwood, Ja. Campbell, Daniel Dunbibin, Samuel Green, Thomas James, William White, John Squier, John Wright, William Birnie, Thomas Hedges, Magnus Cowan, Morgan Morgan.

The deposition of the Surveyor and chain-carriers appointed to re-survey the town of Wilmington, namely: "Whereas, freeholders of the town of Wilmington, have for the better ascertaining of the several lots and streets, resolved and agreed to cause the said town to be re-surveyed agreeable to the original survey, therefore, the beginning of which survey together with the courses and breadth and length of the streets and lots appears by the affidavit of Michael Higgines, taken before James Murray, Esq., the 9th of May 1743, as well as by a plan now extant of the said town, and whereas, William Faris, Thomas Clarke, Esq., and Rufus Marsden, the commissioners appointed by the said freeholders, have with their consent agreed with us, we the said Jeremiah Veal, Survey Richard Hellier, and William White maketh oath that we will faithfully do our duty respectively in the premises, in beginning and carrying on the said survey, observing the method directed by the affidavit of the said Michael Higgines the former plan of the town, and the instructions of the said commissioners not repugnant to the said affidavit and plan. Sworn 7th of June 1743 before me; James Murray. Signed: Jeremiah Veal, Richard Hellier and William White."

Wilmington, July 12, 1743.

Pursuant to an advertisement put up at the town house, bearing date the 8th day of this instance; signed, William Faris and Rufus Marsden, two of the commissioners appointed, desiring inhabitants of the said town to meet on the said 12th of this instance at 3 of the clock; accordingly, we, the freeholders of the said town have met and agreed that the Assembly of this province be petitioned to pass an act to establish the town of Wilmington according to a survey made at the request and with the consent of the freeholders, signed by the said freeholders May 30, 1743, and that a clause in the said act be, that all houses now built may stand the term of 21 years from the passing of the said act."

[Thereupon, the act of 1745, (being Chapter 10, Page 204, Swan's Collections of Laws of North Carolina) was passed, establishing the survey, as made by Jeremiah Veal under the direction of the freeholders of the town. Editor.]

Wilmington, November 30, 1745.

At a meeting of the commissioners, present, William Faris, Ja. Campbell, Rufus Marsden, Joshua Granger, who qualified themselves as commissioners for the town of Wilmington pursuant to the act of the Assembly and also took the State oaths appointed to be taken by all public officers and subscribed to the test. Thomas Turney came and qualified himself as commissioner of the aforesaid in like manner: "Resolved, that Richard Hellier be appointed Town Clerk. Agreed that the market for the said town be kept under the town house for the present, until proper shambles be built; and for the better regulating of the market, it is resolved that all beef, veal, mutton, venison or pork intended for sale be brought to the said market place and there exposed to sale from the first of October to the first of April for two hours, and from the first of April to the first of October yearly, one hour, before the owner be at liberty to sell the same at whole-sale, so as all forestallers of the market be discovered, and the inhabitants be supplied at first hand."

Ja. Smallwood, praying to have the liberty of building a piazza or shade at the front of his house not exceeding 6 feet in breadth and to remain only during the time being at the pleasure of the commissioners; the same is accordingly granted. Resolved, that the commissioners do meet at the Court House on Saturday next to hear any complaint and to settle the affairs of the town.

At a meeting of the commissioners June 23, 1747. Ordered: "That all male taxables in the town meet at the Court House on Monday 29th by 6 o'clock in the morning with proper tools to work on the streets and bridges six whole days, provided the work requires so long a time, and that a warrant be issued to the constable to summons all masters and mistresses of families to send their taxables at that time and place."

At a meeting of the commissioners April 25, 1748. Ordered: "That whereas, the inhabitants have no other signal for an alarm in case of invasion by our public enemies, to invert this course by beating a drum. That no person presume to beat the same after sunset unless commanded by lawful authority, and that public notice be fixed at the market-house."

At a meeting of the commissioners August 18, 1749. Ordered: "That an advertisement be put at the Court House, requiring the inhabitants to meet on Thursday morning at the Court House by 6 o' the clock, to work on the streets and to bring with them necessary tools for that purpose.

Whereas, James Smallwood, one of the commissioners elected, is dead, it is therefore desired that the freeholders meet at the Court House on the 19th inst. and choose another in his stead.

Whereas, Moses John De Rosset hath made complaint that Ja. Campbell refuses to move his house where the billard table is from off his land. Ordered: that the said Ja. Campbell have notice of such complaint and give in his answer at next meeting. Ordered: That the necessity of buckets and ladders for extinguishing all fire, be taken into consideration at the next public meeting. Ordered: That every person whose chimney is not built 3 feet above the ridge or highest part of their house, do raise the same to that height within four months, under the penalty of 10s. proclamation for every default to be applied towards buying their buckets and ladders by the commissioners for the time being."

August 19, 1749.

Ordered: "That the dock be made 26 feet wide in the exact middle of Dock Street, that is to say 20 feet from the side where Thomas Turney lives and 20 feet from the side of the street where William Veal's houses are, according to a new

plan annexed to the act of the Assembly, entitled: 'An act for better regulating the town of Wilmington.' "

At a meeting of the commissioners held February 28, 1749. Present: Ja. Murray, William Faris, Caleb Granger. Mr. Rutherford, going to Europe, desired to be excused from qualifying as a commissioner, and commended Magnus Cowan in his room. The commissioners accordingly elected Mr. Magnus Cowan in the room of Mr. Rutherford, and he came and took the oath of a commissioner. For summoning the inhabitants of the towns, several of which attended, agreed that a tax of 1s. 6d. proclamation on each taxable by the Sheriff the present year for purchasing five ladders and leather buckets. Agreed, that Mrs. Clay be paid 1 pound proclamation quarterly for her care in sweeping the Court House each Saturday in every week, keeping the windows shut and twice a week to sweep the floor.

August 14, 1750.

The freeholders met in order to choose two commissioners in room of Ja. Murray, Esq., and Mr. Caleb Granger, who have left the province, and first they chose William Faris, Esq., and Dr. Isaac Faris to hold a pole, then on closing it, there appeared a majority of votes for Cornelius Harnett and Lewis De Rosset, and on August 15th Cornelius Harnett and Lewis De Rosset appeared before William Faris and took the usual oaths as commissioners for the town of Wilmington, and on September 25, 1750, the freeholders met in order to choose a commissioner in the room of William Faris, Esq., who had left the province, and they chose John Lyon.

Wilmington, Jan. 1, 1750.

A majority of the inhabitants having agreed to a tax of 1s. and 6d. proclamation per head to be levied on every male taxable for buying water buckets, ladders and everything necessary towards extinguishing fire, it is hereby ordered that warrants be issued out to the constable for levying the same. The tax laid on the inhabitants were paid to John Du Bois amounted to 9 pounds, 15s., out of which he has paid, as by the receipts in his possession will show, as follows:

Caleb Mason for 4 ladders	2 pounds.
Magnus Cowan for 16	
leather buckets	7 " 9s, 4d.
Cornelius Harnett for ropes	
for buckets	5s, 8d.

*Poll is invariably spelt pole.

Magnus Cowan delivered for use of the town, four leather buckets more, for which he is to be paid by the commissioners out of the next year's tax at the rate of 9s. proclamation money each.

June 24, 1751.

The freeholders of Wilmington met to choose a commissioner in the room of Capt. John Du Bois and John Rutherford was duly elected.

July 1, 1751.

Moses John De Rosset heretofore applied to the commissioners for liberty to build a porch to his house on the street, which was granted, but omitted to be entered, therefore, it is now ordered to be entered.

Dec. 31, 1751.

Agreed with Mrs. Clay to sweep the Court House above and below, keeping the windows shut, ringing the bells on necessary occasions for one year to commence from to-morrow, for which, she is to be paid the sum of 5 pounds proclamation out of the ensuing year's tax. A majority of the inhabitants having agreed to a tax of 1s. and 6d. to be levied on the male taxables for paying Mrs. Clay for sweeping and having care of the Court House, and the remainder towards purchasing a water engine.

Mar. 17, 1752.

Whereas, several chimneys have taken fire lately to the great hazard of the inhabitants of said town; resolved: To levy a fine of 20s. proclamation on the inhabitant of every such house without admitting of any excuse whatever. One half to the informer and the other half to the use of the town. Resolved: That any person making use of the public ladders unless in case of fire or for the convenience of sweeping of chimneys and in this last case, not without the consent of the majority of the commissioners, that such persons so offending shall forfeit the sum of 10s. proclamation money for the aforesaid.

Apr. 14, 1752.

Whereas, we are informed that sundry dogs have been and are infected with madness within the bounds of this town to the great hazzard of the inhabitants, and it is therefore ordered that every owner of dog or dogs within said town, shall immediately order such to be chained or confined in a proper inclosure until the 5th of May next, to prevent any bad consequence that may ensue by running at large, under

the penalty of 40s. proclamation money, besides a penalty occurring from the Court of assize, and we hereby give full liberty to any person or persons whatsoever, to kill and destroy any dog or dogs going at large within said town after the 15th inst., until May aforesaid.

Issued warrants to the constable for summoning all the male taxables to work on the streets on Monday 27th inst. until the 3d of May inclusive.

Whereas, we have issued warrants to the constables to summon the male taxables of this town to work on the market. Therefore, on the 27th inst. it is ordered that any person concerned in the lumber, pitch, tar or turpentine now lying ready to be landed at said landing, shall have it cleared away by the 25th inst. It is ordered that one dozen of good substantial wheelbarrows be purchased for the use of the town out of the money now in the hands of Moses John DeRosset.

January 1, 1753.

The freeholders met to choose commissioners for the ensuing year. It was agreed that Mr. William Robinson should take the pole, when on closing it, there appeared a majority of votes for John Lyon, Esq., Moses John DeRosset, Joshua Toomer, John Maultsby and Sam Green, who thereupon were declared duly elected and are hereby returned as such. William Robinson and a majority of the inhabitants have agreed to a tax, 1s. proclamation money, to be levied on the male taxables for paying a person for sweeping and taking care of the Court House and the remainder towards purchasing a water engine. Signed: Sam Green, Joshua Toomer, Moses John DeRosset.

At a meeting of the commissioners December 6, 1753, at which time a warrant was issued to Ja. Arlow, Constable, to summons all the male taxables in Wilmington to be and appear under the Court House on Tuesday the 18th inst. at 6 o'clock in the morning with proper tools to work on the streets three successive days.

Jan. 1, 1754.

The freeholders met to choose commissioners for the ensuing year, and agreed that Mr. William Robinson should take the pole, when on closing it there appeared a majority of votes for Cornelius Harnett, Esq., John Du Bois, John Lyon, Esq., Mr. John Merritt and Mr. Moses John De Rossett.

May 1, 1754.

Frederick Gregg made application to the commissioners to settle ground of a house belonging to Ja. Murray Esq., part of which being upon the said Gregg's land, viz: 3 feet four inches at the east end, and three feet 10 inches west end. Ordered: That the said Ja. Murray do pay to the said F. R. Gregg a yearly ground rent 7s. 6d. proclamation money. Ordered: That all the male taxables be summoned to work on the streets from Monday the 17th of next month to Thursday 20th inclusive.

At a meeting of the commissioners the 21st of November 1754. Whereas, several chimneys in the town have lately taken fire from the want of being kept clean to the great hazard of the inhabitants. Ordered: That from and after the 23rd of this inst., every person inhabiting a house in said town, shall cause the chimney to be swept clean from top to bottom once every 14 days, and for failure thereof any person whose chimney should take fire after the day above mentioned, shall forfeit and pay the sum of 20s. proclamation money. Ordered: That any person who should hereafter have occasion for one of the town ladders to sweep their chimneys, shall first acquaint one of the commissioners therewith, and shall return the same to the Court House in three hours after giving such notice to said commissioner under a penalty of 5s. proclamation money for every such offense, and that no person shall presume to take any or either of the said town's ladders for any other purpose whatsoever under the penalty aforesaid.

Jan. 28, 1755.

It was unanimously agreed to lay a tax on all houses pursuant to a law passed the 19th of February 1754 to purchase a water engine or engines, buckets, etc., when the commissioners proceeded to value every house in the said town and laid a tax on the owners according to the following valuation after the rate of 1 per cent, and ordered that an advertisement be set up requiring the several persons therein taxed to pay the same to Mr. Arthur Mabson within two months from this date:

John Maultsby's houses valued at	150 pounds.
Thomas Nose	50 "
Joseph Mott	15 "
Gabriel Wayne	25 "

Magnus Cowan	50	pounds.	
Frederick Gregg	225	"	
John McKenzie	285	"	
David Lindsey	100	"	
Hugh Murray	5	"	
John Rutherford	225	"	
John Murray	250	"	
Dr. Samuel Green	275	"	
Arthur Mabson	512	"	
Ann Wright	225	"	
William Faris	150	"	
Alice Marsden	337	"	
Ja. Arlow	150	"	
George Moore	200	"	
John DuBois	375	"	
William Veal	60	"	
Thomas Finny	175	"	
Thomas Cunningham	37	"	
John Cook	50	"	
John Walker	75	"	
Annabella McVicar	29	"	
John Smith	25	"	
John Lyon	200	"	
Ann Cowan	50	"	
Caleb Mason	150	"	
Joshua Granger	210	"	
Charles Harrison	75	"	
Richard Hellier	50	"	
John Walker Tayt	5	"	
Hugh Purdie	125	"	
Benjamin Wheatley	75	"	
Alexander Mackey	75	"	
Alexander McKeithen	100	"	
David David	50	"	
Thomas James	100	"	
Joshua Toomer	25	"	
Mary Powington	37	"	10s.
Lewis De Rossett	150	"	
Ann Player	37	"	10s.
Rose Long	5	"	
John Campbell	50	"	
David Brown	100	"	
William Dry	150	"	
Armand De Rossett	25	"	

Thomas Newton	25 pounds.	
Margaret White	100	"
Daniel Dunbibin	100	"
John Simpson	150	"
Cornelius Harnet	225	"
Moses John De Rossett	150	"
Alexander Blythe	5	"
Ja. Campbell	187	" 10s.
Ann Walker	25	"
Ja. Murray	15	"

May 17, 1755.

Sir:

We have sent by Cornelius Harnet, Esq., to you 60 pounds proclamation money, which after paying you at the rate of 20 per cent. advance is equal to 37 pounds 10s. sterling money, which you will please lay out in the best manner for one water engine for the use of the town of Wilmington, the quality of which, we entirely leave to yourself and for your best information as well as your best care and speediest method of bringing it or sending for it.

We wish you a prosperous voyage, and are,

Your most obedient humble servants,

Signed: Fred Gregg,
John Walker,
John Maulsby, Jr.

To Capt. Benjamin Heron.

At a meeting of the commissioners the 30th of December 1755. A list of taxable for the year 1755:

Alexander Mackey	2 taxables.
John Rutherford	10 "
Cornelius Harnett	5 "
Ann Cowan	1 "
Marmaduke Jones	2 "
Joseph Mott	2 "
Robert Burleigh	2 "
David Brown	3 "
Walter Simpson	2 "
Hugh Murray	1 "
Louis De Rossett	1 "
Ja. Gregory	3 "
Dr. Cosmos Farquharson	1 "
Alexander Blythe	1 "

Frederick Gregg	3 taxables.
Alexander McCallister	1 "
John Maultsby	5 "
Judith Davis	1 "
Zachariah Weeks	1 "
David David	1 "
John Roe	1 "
John Du Bois	14 "
Richard Player	3 "
Sam Green	1 "
Thomas Newton	1 "
John Eide	1 "
Anthony Ward	1 "
William McKenzie	5 "
Caleb Mason	1 "
Magnus Cowan	3 "
Thomas Cunningham	2 "
John Lyon	7 "
Malcolm Smith	1 "
Joseph Geary	1 "
Alice Marsden	3 "
Anthony Du Bois	1 "
Isaac Faris	2 "
Joseph Toomer	2 "
Ja. Campbell	4 "
Benjamin Morrison	1 "
William Thompson	1 "
William Wilkins	2 "
Total	106 "

106 taxables at 1s. 6d. is 7 pounds 19s.

John Du Bois, Cornelius Harnet and David Brown having produced certificates, for work on the Point Road to Mt. Misery, as makes up their deficiencies, the same were allowed and approved of.

Received of Ja. Arlow 10s. by his own information that his chimney was on fire.

Ordered: That a warrant be issued against Benjamin Morrison and Ja. Gregory for their chimneys taking fire.

The town receipts for the year 1755, 93 pounds, 9s. 4d. Balance in the hands of John Maultsby and Arthur Mabson, 22 pounds, 17s. and 6d.

Jan. 24, 1756.

Inhabitants being summoned at a meeting at the Court House unanimously agreed to a tax of 1s. and 6d. proclamation money to be levied on all the male taxables to pay a person for sweeping and taking care of the market house, and the remainder to be applied to insuring the engine from England.

Capt. Benjamin Heron.

Wilmington, Feb. 11, 1756.

Sir—We must beg the favor of you to write to your brother for insurance of the town engine and that he will forward it by the first opportunity, for this place. Whatever the charge may be, you shall be reimbursed with a reasonable advance, and the same acknowledged as a favor done the public.

We are Sir,

Your humble servants,

Daniel Dunbibin.

Frederick Gregg.

Arthur Mabson.

P. S. If any opportunity besides offering, must beg you to write to get the insurance done on the engine sent out.

March 26, 1756.

Ordered: That the inhabitants of the town will meet the commissioners at the market house on Wednesday, 31st inst. to consult on such matters as may be necessary for the good of the town. Notice to be given by ringing the town bell.

Signed:

Frederick Gregg.

Daniel Dunbibin.

Cornelius Harnet.

Thomas Finney.

Whereas many accidents have lately happened by fire in the night, wherefore, we, the commissioners for the town, do hereby order and appoint that the following persons be summoned to watch this night in the said town to prevent further damage, and to secure what may be saved out of the ruins of the late fire under the directions of Mr. Thomas Finney, Commissioner, to be at the market house at 9 o'clock this evening under the penalty of 40s. each agreeable to law.

Friday, May 7, 1756.

Caleb Mason.

William Maultsby.

Joseph Mott.

Ja. Routlege.

Robert Wiltbank.

Nathaniel Sawier.

Nov. 15, 1756.

Ordered: That all the inhabitants that have not worked this present year on the Point Road to meet at the market house with axes, hoes, spades, etc., to work from Monday next to Saturday night on the public streets and wharves of said town.

Wilmington,

Freight bill to Capt. Benjamin Heron for			
a large fire engine, casing, &c.	57	pounds, 2s. Ster.	
Freight from London to ———	2	“	1s.
“ to South Carolina	2	“	15s.
“ from Charlestown	1	“	15s.
Insurance at 20 per cent.	12	“	7s. 6d.
20 per cent. advance on 76 pounds	15	“	4s.
33⅓ per cent. exchange	30	“	8s.
Reduced to proclamation	131	“	14s.

Daniel Dunbibin, Treasurer of the town in 1757 receives his 54 pounds, 10s.

May 24, 1758.

It was unanimously agreed to lay a tax on all houses pursuant to a law past the 13th of September, 1756 to purchasing fire hooks and paying the balance on engine due from the town, when the commissioners proceeded to value every house in the said town, and hold a tax on the owners according to the following valuation after the rate of 1 per cent. ———.

John Maultsby's houses valued at	40	pounds.
Thomas Nose	40	“
Gabriel Wayne	20	“
*Mason's Lodge	140	“
Magnus Cowan	50	“
Frederick Gregg	225	“
John McKenzie	300	“
David Lindsey	100	“
John Rutherford	200	“
John Murray	240	“
Samuel Green	250	“
Arthur Mabson	400	“
Ann Wright	150	“

* Whether this means that Caleb Mason had premises known as Mason's Lodge, or whether the Masonic Order had a lodge is uncertain. It is commonly said that the Masonic Lodge was organized at Finian, the home of William Hooper, at Masonboro, prior to the Revolution. Perhaps there was an earlier one at Wilmington.

Alice Marsden	500	pounds
James Arlow	50	"
George Moore	150	"
John Du Bois	450	"
William Veal	60	"
John Kennedy	25	"
John Nesfield	25	"
William Bartram	25	"
William Robinson	25	"
Jeremiah Keenan	25	"
Ja. Cunningham	200	"
John Walker	60	"
James Henderson	50	"
Marmaduke Jones	50	"
Annabella McVicar	15	"
John Lyon	225	"
Ann Cowan	40	"
Caleb Mason	160	"
Charles Harrison	50	"
Ja. Campbell	200	"
Hugh Purdie	100	"
Benjamin Wheatley	100	"
Alexander McCoy	60	"
John Garem	30	"
Alexander McKeithen	75	"
Thomas James	125	"
Mary Gallat	25	"
Lewis De Rossett	125	"
Ann Player	25	"
Rose Ross	5	"
John Campbell	40	"
David Brown	150	"
Armand De Rossett	5	"
Thomas Newton	150	"
Mary White	100	"
Daniel Dunbibin	100	"
John Simpson	100	"
Cornelius Harnet	200	"
Moses John De Rossett	150	"
Clayson Blythe	5	"
Ja. Campbell	150	"
Jacob Miller	80	"
Anthony Ward	200	"
Ja. Gregory	150	"

Walter Simpson	5 pounds
John Corbyn	100 "
Ralph Taylor	150 "
William Barnes	75 "

July 26, 1759.

Entered into an agreement with Mr. Alexander Duncan to keep the fire engine and hose in order and oyld, and to play it once a month, for which care, two of his family is exempt from working on the streets.

On the 15th day of January 1760 the Governor, Arthur Dobbs, issued his letters patent in the name of George Second by the grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the faith, etc., and constituting and erecting the town of Wilmington into a borough by the name of Wilmington, consisting of a Mayor, one person learned in law for bearing the office of Recorder*, and eleven Aldermen including the Mayor; with power for the freeholders of said Borough on the first Monday in January of every year, to elect and choose one of the Aldermen to be Mayor and with the ordinary powers of a Borough, when John Sampson was appointed the Mayor, Marmaduke Jones, Recorder, William Dry, Cornelius Harnet, John Lyon, Frederick Gregg, Caleb Granger, Daniel Dunbibin, Authur Mabson and Moses John De Rossett, Aldermen, who held their court on the 4th day of March, 1760, and ordered "that if any person would undertake to be a public chimney sweep for the town of Wilmington, that they would give in their proposals at the next Court and likewise, if any chimney caught afire before the said time, that the dweller in said house should pay 40s. proclamation."

Note—Several times each year all the taxables, with the able bodied men, black and white, of the town, were called out to work from 3 to 6 days at a time on the streets and wharfs and on the road from Pt. Peter to Mt. Misery.

There was usually a long list of defaulters. In the July working 1760, the list is unusually short: we copy it: Marmaduke Jones, John Jones, James Blythe, Alex. Ross, Jeremiah Keenan, William Purviance, William Brown, Robt. Walker,

* Marmaduke Jones is said to have come to Wilmington from Jamaica; was the attorney-general of the province in the stamp act troubles and held that that law should be enforced.

Robert Shaw, Malatiah Hamilton, Thos. Bevers, Henry Erly, Thos. Davis, Joshua Toomer, Wm. McDowell, John Quinie, Obediah Holt, *Thomas Godfrey, Charles Appleby, Isaac Ray.

Note—Thos. Godfrey was a son of the mathematician Godfrey, of Philadelphia, with whom Dr. Franklin boarded. Of him Dr. Franklin said: “Among the first members of our junta was Thomas Godfrey, a self taught mathematician, great in his way, and afterwards inventor of what is now called Hadley’s quadrant.” The son was born in Philadelphia in 1736. When 22 years of age he became a Lieutenant in the provincial troops raised for an expedition against Ft. Duquesne. When the troops were disbanded he came to Wilmington and established himself in business there, but unhappily died on August 3, 1763 in the 27th year of his age in consequence of violent exercise on a very warm day.

He was gifted as a poet. His principal poem was “The Court of Fancy.” He was the author of the first American Drama “The Prince of Parthia.” His poems were published in 1765 at Philadelphia.

Jan. 3, 1763.

The Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen together with the Freeholders, met at the Court House in Wilmington to vote and choose an Alderman in the room of Joshua Toomer, deceased, when Mr. William Campbell was chosen Alderman for the said Borough and qualified agreeable to the charter, and at the same time, Alderman Frederick Gregg was chose by a majority of votes to be Mayor and qualified for the same agreeable to the charter.

Tuesday, Jan. 3, 1764.

The freeholders met at the Court House in Wilmington to choose Commissioners for the said town for the ensuing year, whereas there appearest that Alexander Duncan, Esq., George *——, William Campbell, Henry Toomer and Caleb Mason were chosen and thereupon declared duly elected and are hereby returned as such.

On Monday the 7th of January in the year of our Lord,

*Probably George Moore.

1765, the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and freeholders of the Borough of Wilmington met at the Court House therein in order to elect and choose a Mayor for the present year and Alderman Frederick Gregg was chosen and accordingly declared duly elected.

Note—It appears in this record of the proceedings, that beginning with January 1764, the charter creating Wilmington a Borough was ignored and commissioners were elected by the people of the town instead of a Mayor and Aldermen, but that in the following year, 1765, the Borough Charter was enforced when Frederick Gregg was elected Mayor.

On Monday 29th day of January 1765, the Mayor, Aldermen and Freeholders of Wilmington convened in common council at the Court House therein. Present: The Worshipful Frederick Gregg, Esq., Mayor, Cornelius Harnet, John Lyon, John Du Bois, Samuel Green, Moses John De Rosset, William Campbell, Esq., as Aldermen together with the freeholders, viz: John Corbin, Alexander Duncan, Archibald McClaine, John Burgwin, Anthony Ward, William Wilkinson, Ja. Morgan, Malatia Hamilton, Mortimor, Alex. Ross, William McKenzie, Benjamin Stone, Caleb Mason, Thomas Cunningham, David Brown, Magnus Cowan, Robert Wells, Robert McCrackin, Richard Player and Stephen Player: When the Goat Law was read with the amendments and passed and ordered to be ingrossed. Resolved: That the following rule be observed by the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Freeholders in all debates: "That the party speaking, should not leave the subject in debate to fall upon the person of any member of the common Council or other person; and whereas great abuses are daily committed by mixing milk with water and other such mixtures and afterwards exposing such milk for sale in the said Borough, be it therefore ordained, etc." A negro law read and passed with amendments. It is resolved and ordered that Cornelius Harnet, John Du Bois and John Burgwin, Esq. and Mr. Archibald McClaine, revise, correct and alter the diction of the said negro law when necessary and that the same be engrossed.

At a meeting of the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen at the house of Mr. Hamilton on Saturday the 26th of October, 1765. Present: The Worshipful Frederick Gregg, Esq., Mayor Marmaduke Jones, Esq., Recorder, etc. Ordered: That the

Town Clerk give notice to the freeholders to meet at the Court House on Wednesday next, the 30th of October to elect an Alderman in the room of Caleb Granger, deceased.

Wednesday, October 30, 1768.

The Mayor, Aldermen and Recorder together with the Freeholders of the Borough of Wilmington met at the Court House therein agreeable to the order and notice given to the same in order to appoint, elect and choose an Alderman duly qualified in the room of Alderman Caleb Granger, deceased: when John Burgwin, Anthony Ward and Caleb Mason, were candidates for Alderman, at the closing of the pole the number of votes for each candidate stood thus: For John Burgwin 1 vote; for Anthony Ward 5 votes, and for Caleb Mason 15 votes, and Caleb Mason was declared duly elected.

On Monday the 6th day of January in the year of our Lord 1766, the Mayor, Aldermen and Freeholders of the Borough of Wilmington met at the Court House therein in order to elect and choose a Mayor for the present year and Alderman Caleb Mason was declared duly elected Mayor for this present year.

On Tuesday the 14th day of January 1766, at a meeting of the Aldermen of the Borough of Wilmington, when Caleb Mason, Esq., who having been chosen Mayor for the ensuing year and refusing to qualify for the same; begged leave to resign the said office, and resigned accordingly. The consequence of which resignation, the Alderman ordered that the Town Clerk give public notice to Recorder, the Alderman and the Freeholders of this Borough, that on Monday, the 20th day of this instant, January, to meet at the Court House therein, in order to elect a Mayor for the same in the room of Caleb Mason, Esq., resigned.

On Monday, the 20th day of this instant, January, agreeable to the order of the board of Aldermen, the Alderman and Freeholders of the Borough of Wilmington met at the Court House therein, in order to elect and choose a Mayor for this present year instead of Alderman Caleb Mason, Esq., resigned. Present: John Sampson, John Lyon, Frederick Gregg, Cornelius Harnett, Arthur Mabson, William Campbell, Moses John De Rossett, Board of Aldermen: and John Burgwin, Thomas Cunningham, Samuel Marshall, Richard Player, Robert Wells, Stephen Player, Jeremiah Keenan, Robert McCrackin, Alexander Ross, Henry Toomer and William Wilkin-

son. At which time, Alderman Moses John De Rossett was chose Mayor by a majority of votes and was publicly declared as such, after which he took the State oaths and the oath of office, agreeable to the charter of said Borough.

Note—As this was after the seizure of the merchant vessels under the Stamp Act, the refusal of Mason to qualify as Mayor, and the election of De Rossett as Mayor, and the patriotic action of the Mayor and Aldermen in that matter seems to show that there was a particular purpose in substituting De Rosset for Mason as Mayor at this juncture.

Tuesday, Feb. 11, 1766.

Pursuant to the command of His Majesty's Writ of Election to the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen of this Borough, to choose and elect a Representative of the same to sit and vote in the General Assembly of this province, I proceeded to take the pole, when Cornelius Harnet, Esq., was unanimously chosen to represent this Borough.

Signed: Moses John De Rossett, Mayor.

Monday, June 23, 1766.

Pursuant to an order of the Worshipful Mayor at the Court House at the Borough of Wilmington at 9 o'clock in the forenoon, the pole opened with the election of Recorder in the room of Marmaduke Jones, Esq., resigned, when William Hooper, Esq., was unanimously chosen Recorder of this Borough and took the State oaths together with the oath of office and signed the test.

(Note— Dr. E. A. Alderman in his fine sketch of William Hooper says he came to the Cape Fear in the fall of 1767. He seems to have come more than a year earlier.)

Tuesday, Jan. 16, 1768.

The Freeholders of the town of Wilmington met at the Court House to choose commissioners for the present year and Mr. Alexander Scott and Mr. John Walker was agreed to take the pole and on closing it, the following persons appeared to be chosen unanimously: Mr. Harnet, Mr. Lyon, Mr. William Campbell, Mr. Ward and Mr. Toomer.

(Note—The Records between June 1766 and January 1768, does not appear in this volume, and in January 1768 the town

seems to have gone back to commissioners and the Borough Charter was disregarded.)

Tuesday, January 3, 1770.

The Freeholders for the town of Wilmington met at the Court House to choose commissioners for the present year and Mr. Anthony Ward was agreed to take the pole and on closing it, the following persons appeared to have the greatest number of votes, viz: Cornelius Harnet, Frederick Gregg, Arthur Quince, William Wilkinson and John Robinson, and they were thereupon declared duly elected.

Tuesday, Jan. 5, 1773.

Ordered: That the Constables be summoned to show cause before the Commissioners on Monday next why they shall not be fined for not walking the streets and taking up the negroes on the streets according to the ordinances in such cases made.

At the meeting of the commissioners on the first Monday in February, being the 7th day of February 1774, ordered: That the Town Clerk advertise in the Cape Fear Mercury for the proper person to undertake the office of Scavenger of the town, and also that the inhabitants have notice to assemble on Wednesday at Mr. Dekeyser's to consider of the address drawn up and already signed by the County to their representatives and to concur therein: Signed: A. M. McClaine, J. Burgwin, John Ancrum, Richard Player.

At a meeting of the Commissioners at the town of Wilmington on Tuesday, 14th day of June, 1774. Present: John Burgwin, John Ancrum, Archibald McClane and Richard Player, Commissioners. Ordered: that a Ducking Stool be provided for the use of the town and that the same be paid for out of the town tax.

Note—The record seems not to have been kept in this book between Monday, January 2nd, 1775 and January 1778.

Tuesday, January 6, 1778.

The Freeholders of the town of Wilmington met and choose John DuBois, Phillip Bradley, John Corkwood, Andrew Ronaldson and Henry Toomer Commissioners.

¹ This reference is doubtless to some patriotic resolutions signed already by the County, in which it was taken for

granted that the inhabitants of Wilmington would concur, and the Board gave them notice to assemble and "concur therein." These particular resolutions have not come down to us. It is to be regretted that the Town Book is so devoid of reference to the great matters of public interest that occurred during the Stamp Act troubles and in the early stages of the Revolution; but this is the only mention of any matter outside of the regular course of city administration.

LETTERS OF A LOYALIST.

As giving a glimpse of life in the New Settlement on the Cape Fear we make some extracts from "The Letters of a Loyalist," being the letters of James Murray, who, a young man in London, because of the recent appointment of Johnston as Governor of North Carolina, was led in 1735 to seek his fortunes on the Cape Fear. He brought over with him a varied assortment of merchandise, supposed to be suited to the country. This he opened in Charleston, and exposed for sale at Brunswick, but he found no demand for "wigs."

The next year he located at Newton, where shortly afterwards other members of his family joined him; and his sister Barbara soon married Thomas Clark, and became the mother of Col. Thomas Clark, of the Revolution, and of Anne Clark, who became the wife of William Hooper. James Murray made several trips to London, and was often absent from the Province. He was one of the Governor's Council and a man of great influence.

James Murray to William Ellison.

Brunswick 14 Feby. 1736.

We sail'd from Charles town the last day of Decr & came over the bar of Cape Fear the 2d of Jan'y & camped ashore all night by a good fire in the woods. Next day we got up to this town. I intended to have gone up to New town, alias New Liverpool, but was told there was no house to be had except I built one: so was oblig'd to bring all ashore here, where I have got a good convenient house on rent, which I

shall keep until I can purchase a few slaves and a plantation in the country where I can have all kinds of provisions of my own raising. Here I am obliged to pay no less than 17 to 20 s. p. Bushel this money for corn, and 10, 12 & 14d p. lb for meat. I am told this place is every bit as healthy as New town. There is a great emulation between the two towns.

* * But if you send him a fresh supply it must be in something else than wigs for I have not been able to sell one of them, though I open'd them both in Charles town and here.

James Murray to David Talligluph.

Brunswick 31 March 1736.

Dear Sir

Since my last of ye 21 ulto. have been up ye northeast branch of this river about 180 miles from the mouth of it. We found a little difficulty in getting up and down, with our canoes, which were deep loaded, by reason of logs lying across: but ye river was clear, we had 6 foot water as far as we went and an easy current.

Newtown Jan 10 1737.

I can write you nothing entertaining from this, but from the number of Irish and Swiss that are soon expected here, some of us imagine the prosperity of the country and happiness of its inhabitants in general to be at hand. (After a nine months residence at Brunswick) I bought a house and lot in this town where I now live and immediately after purchased a plantation within fifteen miles of about 500 acres. The one cost me £1000, the other £500 this currency.

Brunswick May 3, 1736.

I was up at Brampton last week, where I saw ye Gov. & Capt. Woodard in good health. Ye last has had a gentle fit of ye gout since he came from ye North East, but that expedition was of service to his Excellency's health, & Capt. Innes, & I grew fat on it.

(Note. Gov. Johnston, at first it seems proposed to have a palace at Brompton on the north west Branch of the Cape Fear. He seems also to have purchased the premises of Robt. Hilton near Wilmington.)

Newton Jan 10 1737.

Your Swiss families are very well, &c. We are very upish upon Capt Woodard, Mr Johnston, Capt Rowan and Capt Innes*, each of them, purchasing a good lot in this town which thrives apace.

*(Note. Capt. James Innes, after distinguished service with North Carolina troops, was appointed by Gov. Dinwiddie of Virginia to the chief command of all the forces to oppose the French and Indians in 1754. Capt. Rowan, afterwards President of the Council, and acting Governor; Governor Johnston.)

—"For all my complaints a man with a moderate fortune and tolerable management, may live very happily and plentifully here. I cannot say he has it in his power to make a great fortune at once."

Being in London, Dec. 20, 1738, James Murray wrote to John Parker, one of the incorporators of Newton:

"I have observed in you a justness of thought and generosity of temper that I would endeavor to imitate wherever I found it," &c.

(Note. John Parker was a son-in-law of Col. Maurice Moore, and his daughter, Mary Parker, became the wife of Gov. Sam Ashe. The Moores were particularly interested in Brunswick, and, when Murray espoused the cause of Newton, animosity resulted which doubtless led to the tribute to Parker. Murray returned to North Carolina early the next summer bringing with him John Rutherford, who afterwards played a leading part in North Carolina matters.)

Cape Fear Sept 4 1739.

We are in hopes this war will drive some of ye southern settlements to us. T'is a bad wind that blows nobody good.

(Note. That Spanish war was an episode in the life of the colony. North Carolina raised four companies for General Oglethorpe's expedition against St. Augustine. That expedition having failed, these companies. Captain James Innes were sent to Jamaica.)

"Nov 26. They have just put to sea with letter of marque, and to make the best of their way to Jamaica, where they expect to meet the English forces as well as those of America."

Wilmington, Cape Fear, 5th September 1741.

Since I begun this letter 5 days have elapsed in which time I have taken my passage and Cousin John's on board the Leathly, Peter Harrison Com'r for London. And that we may have some money to spend among the Spaniards in case we should be nabbed by them. I have by this opportunity ordered £500 Ster. insurance against capture: ie: 300£ for self and 200£ for Cousin John.

Wilmington 11 May 1741.

In my house there is a large room 22 x 16 feet the most airy of any in the country, two tolerable lodging rooms & a closet upstairs & garrets above. A cellar below divided into a kitchen with an oven and a store for liquors, provisions &c. this makes one half of any house. The other, placed on the east end, is the store cellar below, the store and counting house on the first floor & above it is partitioned off into four rooms, but this end is side plaistered, but only done with rough boards.

Cape Fear Feb 26, 1755.

I have about 100 thous'd bricks burnt & am to begin my house, if the bricklayer keeps his word, early next month.

To Mr. Sampson Simpson, Merchant in New York.

Cape Fear Sept 4, 1756.

If you can meet with a sober, diligent man, with or without a family, skilled in tanning and currying, I desire the favor of you to engage him for me for three years, &c.

* * I am also in need of a good sawyer to tend a saw mill, which, when well tended and in a common year, will cut about 100 thousnd feet &c. To such a one I would be willing to give a tenth part of the lumber sawn. If Mr Franklin would send me his Gazette postage free, it should be punctually paid for & it would also oblige our President who is my next neighbor. (President Rowan).

July 19, 1756.

I find also by a trial that my overseer, a Swiss, has made, both this year and last, that silk may be made here to just

advantage. The worms thrive uncommonly, fed with the leaves of the wild mulberry. Whether they will be equally healthy upon the Italian, I shall know, as I intend to plant out 2000 trees next year.

Note by K. P. B. The following information about some of the founders of Wilmington may be interesting:

Wimble was a mariner. He made a map of the Province.

Michael in 1751 gave the lot on the corner of Market and Fourth Streets for a church, but as it was not sufficient for both edifice and burying ground, the General Assembly authorized the use of thirty feet of Market Street for the front of the building. It occupied that part of the street until 1839.

During the French and Indian War troops were raised in North Carolina that served in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and on the lakes in New York, as well as in South Carolina, and the western part of North Carolina. Among the officers of these troops were Col. Caleb Grainger, mayor of the town in 1765, Col. James Innes, Col. Hugh Waddell, Captain Thomas McManus, Captain James Moore and Lieutenant Moses John DeRosset, afterwards Mayor.

THE LOCATION OF SMITHVILLE.

BY JOSHUA POTTS.

Matters, even of consequence, have sometimes originated more by chance than design. A number of instances might be cited. It was the case relative to Smithville though a place not yet of great importance. The first movement happened as follows:

About the year 1786 Joshua Potts, the writer hereof, then living in Wilmington, was taken sick and by medical attendance had got better but, notwithstanding, still continued very weak and a loss of appetite, etc. So it happened that his old friend, Capt. John Brown, who had been master of a packet that plied between Wilmington and Charleston, meeting me one day, asked me take a sail with him in an open boat down the river, saying that the salt air might recruit me, etc.

Accordingly, debilitated as I was, I proceeded with him down the river Clarendon, or Cape Fear, in an open boat, being at the time only able to sit up. Capt. Brown had put on board some eatable refreshments, but I had no thought of partaking any. We had not proceeded further down than opposite the New Inlet when Capt B. asked me to eat something. I listened to what he said, and discovered an inclination to partake of such cold collation as he had set forth. My appetite returned and in a day or two I felt myself braced up by the effects of the salubrious breeze from the sea, although I was exposed in camping out, etc., for at that time there were only two or three pilots' houses on the bank. I returned to Wilmington in a few days perfectly recovered.

I was at that time single, but in a year or two more became a married man and in a summer season determined that my family should retire from Wilmington to Fort Johnston and there experience the cool and healthy sea breezes. Accordingly I carried my then small family down to the Fort. and

rented the loft of a pilot house (Joe Swain's), where we were all stowed away, breathing health and rough pleasure.

While thus living a fisherman's life, I received a letter from John Huske, Esq., of Wilmington, then in low health, on the subject of having a town laid off on the level, near Fort Johnston. Mr. Huske wished to reside there for the sake of his health. This letter was dated Wilmington, October 18th, 1790, and it is herewith enclosed, No. 1.

Mr. Huske would have called the proposed town Nashton had an act of the Assembly been passed—concerning which intelligence shall hereafter be given.

Mr. Huske was the first mover of a town near the Fort, and I myself was to become the operator. I stepped off the ground from the old Fort southward to the first small creek. The distance was shorter than what was wished. I accordingly wrote Mr. Huske; notwithstanding I was prevailed on to form a petition to be circulated through Brunswick county, setting forth the prayer of the inhabitants that an act of the Assembly might be passed for the establishment of such a town.

The said petition accompanies the report, No. 2, J. Potts having written said petition was applied to for it by Charles Gause, Esq., a leading inhabitant of Brunswick county, who undertook the exhibition of it in order to obtain subscribers' names. This was performed and introduced to the General Assembly which in that year sat at Fayetteville.

The whole intention was unexpectedly opposed by Gen. Smith who was then a member of and for Brunswick county. It was said he supported his negative role on account of two or three pilots who had built their houses, by public permission promiscuously on said land—as it was, however, he had influence sufficient to stop the proceeding in the Assembly, and thus ended the prospects of a town at that time.

Some people in Wilmington and others in Brunswick county, being disappointed in their expectations of a town were said to have imputed the opposition of Gen. S. to the cause, not of pilots, but that he had not been previously consulted in and about the business.

Now, so it was that the old Fort Johnston as well as the surrounding lands was the property of the State of North Carolina, and that power alone the petitioners had relied on for the grant alluded to.

Capt. John Brown and Joshua Potts determined, however, not to abandon the place, and fearless of any molestation proceeded to occupy as a temporary residence for Summer and Autumn, each a few square feet near the shore, and accordingly proceeded to have each a cabin formed and framed in Wilmington and procured a sufficiency of boards and shingles to complete these; employed a pettiauger and put on board the frames and other materials of both houses, engaged carpenters with their tools and both families of said John and Joshua, with plenty of provisions, etc., all together went on board the lighter at Wilmington, arrived at Fort Johnston and there landed the whole.

In a few days afterwards we had erected each a summer house, in a temporary manner, near the water, between where is now Mrs. Wade's and the beach. The said two houses, or camps, had not chimneys of any kind, and only rough shutters to the windows, (no glass) the whole of the saw mill roughness, as a plane had not been used about them. Our two families were thus coarsely encamped; and instead of a kitchen our cooking fires were made among thick bushes near hand, which screened the inconvenience of the wind, but rain would sometimes moisten our cooking and depredating hogs would run off with our hot cakes in their mouths.

In this way our families enjoyed health, cool breezes and a coarse way of living several Summers. In the meantime Capt. B. and myself became expert fishermen.

During these rugged scenes there was no town laid off, and only a few neighbors, pilots and their families.

The first twelve months had nearly expired after the failure of the bill at Fayetteville and the General Assembly were next to sit at Newbern. Who should come in my cabin at the Fort but the same old Mr. Charles Gause whose business was

to get me to write and renew the petition for the establishment of said town. I remember reminding Mr. Gause that any such attempt must be of no use as no doubt Gen. Smith would oppose it as before. Mr. Gause replied in a positive voice that if I would copy off the petition he would advocate it as before, and that Gen. S. should not be sent to the Assembly unless he would use his endeavors to have a suitable act passed for the intended purpose. (The election was then pending.)

Conformably to the request of Gause I then wrote off a new petition, much after the tenor of the first.

The venerable old man made his word good. Gen. S. was elected, went to Newbern and assisted to get the act passed and which is herewith enclosed. See No. 3—passed at Newbern, November session, 1792.

The writer hereof remembers hearing Gen. S. say, when he returned from the Assembly, that on his making a motion and offering the bill for the act Mr. Macon or some other respectable member made an observation that many applications had been acted upon for different towns in the State, but that few, if any of them, had succeeded; that the said worthy member said as Gen. S. has applied in behalf of this petty town, it should be called Smithville, as if by way of derision to the applicant, should the town, (like many others) not succeed.

The next desirable object was to secure my attention and services in laying off and beginning the necessary operation to form the town; see a letter from Gen. Smith dated Belvidere, January 29th, 1792, No. 4.

By reading over the first act of the Assembly, No. 3, it will be seen that the town was to consist of one hundred lots, with streets and squares; that each subscriber should pay forty shillings or four dollars, to the State, for each and every lot of half an acre he might determine, but no one person might subscribe to more than six lots, that many might have a chance.

The plan of the town was at length sketched off by Gen Smith and J. Potts, and the lots numbered thereon, from No. 1 to No. 100. Meanwhile all the lots were subscribed for—

The rest of the manuscript, and also the documents referred to, are lost. Mr. Potts was a leading citizen of Wilmington.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF GENERAL JOSHUA G. SWIFT.

Gen. Joshua G. Swift, extracts from whose memoirs we present in this issue, was for a number of years the distinguished head of the United States Engineer Corps, and gained much reputation in the army during the War of 1812. In early life he had charge of the defences of the lower Cape Fear River, and while stationed here married the daughter of Capt. James Walker, a family resident in our annals, and by whom he had issue Capt. Alexander Swift, also of the Engineer Corps, who was a brilliant and accomplished officer and who died from disease contracted in Mexico during the war with that nation, and McRee Swift, now we think a resident of New Jersey, and others whose names we cannot recall:

There were few men in the service more prominent than Gen. Swift, and deservedly so, too, from his high character, his attainments, and the unbending integrity which marked every action of his life, public and private. It is pleasant to remember that such a man was so closely connected with Wilmington and that many of his family connections are still living in the State and are among our most prominent and highly esteemed citizens.

His memoirs, or rather his diary, is valuable and exceedingly interesting, and his descriptions of social life on the lower Cape Fear in the long ago are simply charming. There is a quiet dignity in his style that is very attractive, and his statements regarding individuals and events are calmly and forcibly expressed, and bear upon their face the stamp of undoubted truthfulness.

The following is the official statement of his military career: He graduated from the Military Academy at West Point in 1802; promoted second Lieutenant Corps of Engineers in the same year; first Lieutenant in 1805; Captain in

1806; Major 1808; Aide-de-camp to Major General Pinckney, 1812; Colonel and Chief Engineer, 1812; Chief Engineer of the Army, under Major General Wilkinson in the Campaign of 1813, on the St. Lawrence River; and of the forces for the defence of the City and Harbor, 1813 and 1814; brevet Brigadier General, 1814, "for meritorious services"; Director of the Military Academy, 1812-'15, and Superintendent, 1816-'17; Inspector of the Academy, 1815-'18; Resigned, 1818; Surveyor of U. S. Revenue for port of New York, 1818-'27; Civil Engineer in the service of the United States for harbor improvements on the Lakes, 1829-'45. Degree of LL.D. conferred by Kenyon College. Residence, Geneva, N. Y.

In the spring of 1803, Cadet William McRee of Wilmington returned to West Point with Colonel Williams,* Chief of the Engineer Corps, who had been stationed at Wilmington and Charleston.

1804. "At the close of the month of April I received orders from the War Department to repair to North Carolina and examine the harbor of Cape Fear, and to report a plan of defence therefor, and also to direct the execution of a contract with General Benjamin Smith of Belvidere, to construct a battery at the site of old Fort Johnston, in Smithville, of a material called 'tapia'."

"On my route to the South had appointed to visit my former chief, Colonel Williams, to learn what had been his views of the works needed in the harbor of the Cape Fear. I found him at his country seat, Mount Pleasant, near Philadelphia, on the Schuylkill, in the month of May. The colonel introduced me to the family of Mr. Clement Biddle, formerly quartermaster-general of Washington's army; the family an intellectual group living in enviable harmony. And I also renewed acquaintance with Colonel Cadwallert†. Colonel Williams gave me letters of introduction to Joshua Grainger Wright, Esq., General Benjamin Smith and Mr. John Lord—gentlemen of Wilmington, North Carolina. The remembrance of the disinterested friendship of Colonel Williams forms one of the brightest reminiscences of my life."

* Col. Jonathan Williams. Lawyer, jurist, Congressman, author, Superintendent West Point, Colonel of Engineers, General of Militia. Died 1815.

† This is probably Cadwallader.

"In prosecuting my journey to North Carolina I had the pleasure to accompany General Marshall to Raleigh, where the United States Supreme Court was to hold session. The chief justice is sometimes an 'absent man'. As an instance, he came on this occasion from home in a dark blue silk dress without an overcoat. It gave me pleasure to take from my trunk and lend him a new blue cloth cloak, that my father had given me, the stage ride being on a chilly morning. On our arrival at High Towers Tavern, near the border of the State, the general made a mint julep, the first of those drinks that I ever saw."

"Proceeding by the right bank of the Cape Fear River to Negro Head Point ferry, opposite Wilmington, I arrived at Mrs. Meek's boarding house in that town on the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, and on that day reported myself by letter to my chief, Major Wadsworth at West Point, using the day and 1775 as the figurative date of my letter by way of friendly memento. After presenting my letter of introduction I took packet for Fort Johnston, and there paid my respects to the commandant of the post, Lieutenant John Fergus, an uncle of Cadet McRee, and commenced a happy acquaintance with the surgeon of the post, John Lightfoot Griffin, and with whom established our quarters at Mrs. Ann McDonald's. Here I met also General Benjamin Smith, and to the last of the month had conferences with him as to the best mode of executing his contract with the war department in the construction of a battery on the site of the old Fort Johnston, Smithville.

Early in July I employed Mr. Wilson Davis, one of the most intelligent of the pilots, and with this aid I sounded the entrance over the main bar of shifting sand into the harbor of Cape Fear, and also the entrance at the new inlet, and then viewed the capacity of the anchorage within, together with the relative position of the several points of land near the entrances, of which I made a plot, and upon which I based my report of 26th of July to the Secretary of War. The substance of this report was that the main objects to be secured were those that had been set forth by my late chief, Colonel Williams, to wit: to cover an anchorage in the harbor and to command its entrance by a small enclosed work on Oak Island, and an enclosed battery at Federal Point, at the new inlet, and also to complete the battery of tapia at the site of old Fort Johnston, the last being contracted for by General B. Smith.

Pending the decision of the war department upon this report, much of the summer was a leisure among agreeable families from Wilmington, that passed the warm season in slight frame houses at 'The Fort', as the village of Smithville is called. Among these was the family of Captain James Walker, to whose daughter Louisa and her cousin Eliza Younger, I was introduced at a dinner given to Dr. Griffin and myself by Captain Walker. There were the families of Mr. John Lord, and of the founder of the place, Mr. John Potts, and of General Benjamin Smith, who was to construct the public work under a contract, and of Captain Callender, the surveyor of the port, who had been an officer of the army in the war of the Revolution, etc. General Smith became the governor of the State. He owned a large extent of property on Cape Fear River, and was of the family of Landgrave Thomas Smith, the colonial governor of South Carolina in the preceding century. He had become security for the collector of the port of Wilmington, who was a defaulter to the government, and it was to discharge this liability that General Smith had contracted to build the 'tapia' work at 'The Fort'. His lady, Mrs. Sarah Dry Smith, was highly accomplished, and was an hospitable friend to Dr. Griffin and myself, and one of the finest characters in the country. She was the daughter and heiress of Colonel William Dry, the former collector in the colonial time, and was also of the king's council. This lady was also a direct descendant from Cromwell's admiral Robert Blake. There was also residing at 'The Fort' the family of Benjamin Blaney. A native he was of Roxbury, near Boston. He had migrated to Carolina as a carpenter, and had by industry acquired a competence to enable him to dispense aid to the sick and needy and other charities, in the performance of which he was an example of usefulness and charity, and unostentation. Most of the families at the fort were Federalists, and though all deplored the event, they were the more sensibly impressed with the news of the death of Alexander Hamilton, who in this month of July had been slain in a duel with Colonel Burr, the account of which had been written to me by Colonel Williams. The whole Union was in a measure moved to grief by this sad event. Colonel Hamilton occupied a large space in the public mind. He had been the able leader of Federalism—a class of men who may in truth be said to have been actuated by far higher motives than those of mere party."

"In my excursions on the waters of Cape Fear I was aided

by Captain Walker, Dr. Griffin and Mr. Blaney, who as sportsmen were familiar with the numerous shoals and channels and anchorages thereof, so that the returns were not only in game, but also in giving me knowledge of the capacity of this harbor, situate as it is on one of the most shallow and troublesome coasts to navigators. The anchorage, covered from the ocean by Bald Head, or Smith's Island, extending from the main bar to the new inlet, and upon which island there is a growth of live oak and palmetto, and abounding with fallow deer.

"Intimacy with Mr. Walker furnished me with many items of the war in Carolina, with which he was familiar, although not partaking of the battles, for he had been a moderate Tory, adverse to taking arms against the mother country, in which his friend and brother-in-law, Louis DeRosset, had influenced him. Mr. DeRosset was of the king's council. Mr. Walker had been the executor of General James Moor* the planner and director (*sic*) of the American force at the battle of Moor's Creek, fought by Lillington and Slingsby. From the papers of that officer he had gathered many an anecdote of the march of Cornwallis. Mr. Walker had been in the regulating war of 1770, and then commanded a company in the battle of Allamance, in the western part of the state. He was cured of much of his Toryism by the tyrannical conduct of Major J. H. Craig, the British commandant at Wilmington, afterwards governor-general of Canada. The conduct of this man had been oppressive and needlessly cruel to the people of Wilmington, and Captain Walker had been able to influence some relief to those who were in arrest, etc. He with his brother-in-law, John DuBois, had been appointed commissioners to arrange the cartel of prisoners, and to negotiate for the families who were to leave Wilmington therein when Cornwallis marched to Virginia, thus showing the confidence that both Whig and Tory had reposed in those gentlemen. Mr. Walker's family were of the settlers called 'Retainers', coming from Ireland under the auspices of Colonel Sampson, and of his father, Robert Walker. Among the families of these 'Retainers' were those of the Holmes, Owens, and Kenans, etc., now become independent planters and distinguished citizens. The father of Captain Walker, the

* It is disputed whether General Moore planned this battle. The General Assembly, by resolution, thanked General Caswell. The friends of General Lillington claim the honor for him.

above Robert, was of the same family with that of the Protestant hero, the Rev. George Walker of Londonderry, The mother of Capt. Walker was Ann, of the family of Montgomery, of Mount Alexander, in Ireland, and had made a runaway match with Robert Walker. Capt. James Walker married Magdalen M. DuBois, the daughter of John DuBois and Gabriella DeRosset, his wife."

"In the month of September, in reply to my report of 26th of July, I received orders from the war department to proceed with so much of the work therein contemplated as was embraced by General Smith's contract upon the tapia work at the site of old Fort Johnston, that had been there constructed by the then colonial Governor Johnston from *South Carolina Anno 1740. In clearing away the sand I found much of the tapia walls then erected finer in their whole length, on a front of the ordinary half bastion flanks and curtain of two hundred and forty feet extent, far superior to our contemplated plan for the battery of tapia.

"Soon after this the slaves of General Smith commenced the burning of lime in pens, called kilns, formed of sapling pines formed in squares containing from one thousand to one thousand two hundred bushels of oyster shells (alive) collected in scows from the shoals in the harbor—there abundant. These pens were filled with alternate layers of shells and 'lightwood' from pitch pine, and thus were burned in about one day—very much to the annoyance of the neighborhood by the smoke and vapor of burning shellfish, when the wind was strong enough to spread the fumes of the kilns. In the succeeding month of November I commenced the battery by constructing boxes of the dimensions of the parapet, six feet high by seven in thickness, into which boxes was poured the tapia composition, consisting of equal parts of lime, raw shells and sand, and water sufficient to form a species of paste, or batter, as the negroes term it."

"At the close of this month of November a large Spanish ship called the 'Bilboa' was cast away on Cape Fear in a storm. It was alleged by the crew, who were brought by pilot Davis to my quarters, that the ship was laden with sugar, and that there was much specie in 'the run'; that the captain and mate had died at sea, and that having no navigator on board they had put the ship before the wind and run her on shore near the Cape. There were twenty-one in this

* Mistake for North Carolina.

crew, a villainous looking set of rascals, that I have no doubt they were. Lieutenant Fergus detained them in the block house at the fort until the collector sent inspectors to conduct the crew to Charleston, where the ship was known to some merchant. These men all had more or less of dollars in their are woollen sashes tied around their waists. On their arrival in Charleston they were detained some time, but no proof could be found against them, and they went free. The pilots and others were for some time after this exploring the remains of the wreck, but there was no valuable found among the drift save spars and rigging."

"In the previous month of September Alexander Calizance Miller was introduced to Mrs. General Smith, Dr. Griffin and myself and others by John Bradley, Esquire, of Wilmington. Mr. Miller was an accomplished gentleman, especially so in music and drawing. He interested us much in his history. He stated to us that he had escaped from France in the year 1797; was a cadet in the family of De la Marche; had been a mere boy in the corps of Conde' at the battle of Dusseldorf; made his escape to America from Rotterdam by the aid of the master of the ship, Captain Miller, whose name he bore, and arrived in Philadelphia, where he earned his bread by teaching the piano and violin and drawing. He is of remarkable personal beauty and elegance of manner, and Dr. Griffin and myself became very intimate with him." (Major Alex. C. Miller died in Bladen county, May (13)?, 1831.)

1805. "In January, by order of General Wilkinson, I relieved Lieutenant Fergus in the command of Fort Johnston."

"This winter I became engaged to Miss Walker. The season ran by charmingly at 'The Barn'. Mr. Walker's residence in Wilmington, and at Belvidere, the residence of General and Mrs. Smith, and at Fort Johnston. This engagement gave, of course, new prospects of life, and as is usual, my wishes gave them many agreeable hues. I had stated to Mr. and Mrs. Walker that my chief dependence was my profession. Mr. Walker said he could not subdivide his property during his life; that he approved of the marriage, and should do all he could to promote the interests of his children."

"In the month of March Colonel Tatham, of Virginia, arrived at the fort, bringing a collection of surveying and

levelling instruments, and an highly finished sextant to commence by determining the longitude of the fort. He presented himself to me, and described his services in Virginia as a partizan officer in the Revolutionary war. His demeanor evinced an erratic mind; I, however, promoted his wishes, and he commenced to establish the elevation of the block-house above the level of tide water, and extended a line of levels toward the ponds in Brunswick. At this juncture Captain Coles and party arrived to prosecute a survey of the coast of North Carolina by order of the United States navy department, and commenced observations to determine the longitude of the light-house on Bald Head. This operation disturbed Colonel Tatham, who 'boxed his instruments' and departed. Probably the colonel had learned at Washington City of the purposes of the navy department, and had come to the coast with some vague ambition for precedence of knowledge."

"In April the Secretary of War sent me a modified contract that had been proposed to him by General Smith, for his more convenient discharge of the bond of Colonel Reed, to which my reply was that it would delay the construction of the tapia walls, and so it proved, for there was a suspension of the collection of shells and lime-burning, and the workmen departed with their implements, leaving me to await the conclusion of the negotiation between the War Department and the contractor."

"On May 5th, to test the capacity of the channel-way into the harbor, I went to sea over the main bar in the Swedish ship 'Louisa,' Captain Asmus, loaded with ton timber, and drawing eighteen and one-third feet of water; thus establishing the facts set forth in my report of 26th July in the preceding year to the Secretary of War on that subject—returning to the Fort in the revenue cutter that had, at my request, accompanied the ship to sea."

"On 3d June Dr. Griffin, Mr. Miller and myself went to Wilmington in the revenue cutter, and on Thursday, 6th June, 1805, Miss Walker and myself were married at her father's residence, 'The Barn', by the Hon. John Hill, he using the Episcopal service, and was selected by me for that office because of his friendly relations to my father—they having been classmates at Master Lovel's school in Boston in 1775. This resort to a magistrate was made in consequence

of the low estimate by Mr. Walker of the character of the then Rector of St. James, in Wilmington. The bride's attendants on this occasion were Eliza Younger, Cecilia Osborne, and Maria Swann; mine were Dr. Griffin, Mr. Miller, George Burgwin, in lieu of his brother, John Fanning, accidentally absent. (Rector referred to was Rev. Dr. Halling)."

"In the following week Mrs. General Smith gave an entertainment in honor of the marriage, at the town residence of the general. The hilarity of this party was temporarily intercepted by a letter and challenge from Captain Maurice Moor to General Smith, who called me to his office to arrange the affair with the friend of Mr. Moor—Captain Grange. On 22d of the month John Fanning Burgwin, Esquire, gave us a wedding fete at the Hermitage, in a party of about one hundred persons, that continued for two days. On that same day I received my notice of promotion to the rank of first lieutenant of engineers, and also advices from Colonel Williams of the promotion of my brother officers, and of the appointment of several cadets at the Military Academy, and that there was some prospect of his return to the corps."

"On the anniversary of the battle of Fort Moultrie, in South Carolina, 28th June, the meeting of General Smith and Captain Moor took place in South Carolina, not far from the sea side, where stands the Boundary House of the two states, the line running through the centre of the hall of entrance, where was held a parley with some North Carolina officers sent in pursuit—our party occupying the south side of the line in the hall, and thus beyond their jurisdiction. Captain Moor was attended now by his cousin, Major Duncan Moor; General Smith by myself and Dr. Andrew Scott, the surgeon of both. At the second fire General Smith received his antagonist's ball in his side and fell. The surgeons, Drs. Scott and Griffin, conveyed the general to Smithville by water, while I hastened to Belvidere, and in a chair conveyed Mrs. Smith in the night to the Fort, through one of those storms of lightning and rain that often rage in Carolina summers. On this occasion the lightning destroyed two trees, one on either side of the road, apparently at one flash, and for a moment blinding us; but the anxiety of the wife was superior to the alarm, and the lady found her husband quite cheerful at the Fort with the ball lodged near the left shoulder blade. The party proceeded to Wilmington, where the General recov-

ered after a few week's confinement. Family rancour between these cousins was the cause of the duel."

"The 4th of July was celebrated this year at 'The Barn' by Mr. Walker's inviting my friends to a dinner given by him for the occasion, and where I formed the acquaintance of William Gaston, Esquire, of Newbern, and *John Hayward, of Raleigh. In the following week, the 8th, the family moved to the summer residence at the Fort, and renewed our fishing and other sports of the season. On 12th of the month I was summoned to the death-bed of our surgeon, Dr. Griffin, at Wilmington, where he had been attending the wound of General Smith. The doctor died of yellow fever, and in the act of repeating the death scene of Shakespere's Julius Caesar. In his lucid moments he pronounced his case mortal, and asked to be buried in Mrs. General Smith's flower garden at Smithville. * * * In a few days after this mournful scene in Wilmington I was assailed by the same type of fever, and by the care of Dr. DeRosset was conveyed to sea air at the Fort, but did not regain my health until the following September when, by authority of the Secretary of War, I employed Dr. R. Everett as surgeon for the port of Fort Johnston, and by the same authority a hospital was commenced there, which not only served for the garrison but also received many a sailor from the European ships that carried the ton timber of North Carolina to the dock yards of England."

"In November moved from my post quarters to the Bay Street house of Captain Walker—that had been prepared for his family residence at the fort—for my winter quarters. In December I received a request from the Secretary of War to examine the live oak and other growths on Bald Head Island, to ascertain the expense of delivering the timber to the government by contract. Lieutenant Botts of the revenue cutter and myself explored the whole island, east and west of 'Flora's Bluff,' and estimated that there were then standing at least twenty thousand live oak, sixteen thousand cedar and twelve thousand palmetto trees; and we found that the expense for furnishing live oak by contract would be one dollar per cubic foot delivered on board of a United States vessel in Cape Fear River, and reported the same to the Secretary of War: palmetto and cedar at half that price."

1806. "This winter, at the Fort, we received much company from Wilmington and Charleston, S. C., by the packet

*Should be Haywood.

of Captain McYlhenny, a favorite ship-master of that name. We were sometimes obliged to borrow bedding from my friend Benjamin Blaney, and sometimes borrowed sheepskins from the public stores, for the gentlemen's beds, while venison and wild turkeys were abundant from the woods in the vicinity, and my waiter, Riley, was an expert gatherer of oysters from the shoals, and we had an abundance of sweet potatoes and corn bread from the plantation."

"As the spring approached I began to conclude that the tapia contract to build the battery would not be fulfilled; indeed I had letters from Washington informing me that General Smith had extended his negotiations with the Secretary of War to the Treasury Department, and to secure the 'Reed bond' had mortgaged rice lands on the Cape Fear river. Thus I was left with but slight duty in my small command of troops at the post. I wrote the Secretary of War for such leave as would allow me to look after some domestic affairs up the river a few miles, that might be done consistently with my responsibility as commandant at the fort. The request was granted in a three months' leave under the conditions proposed, and thus I left Sergeant Fowler in charge of the troops and public stores, Dr. Everett in charge of the hospital, and moved my family to Barnard's Creek, on the Cape Fear, four miles below Wilmington, in the month of February, 1806. The one-half of this place, including a tract of pine land of four thousand acres, Mr. Walker had given Mrs. Swift. My object was to essay in planting and milling. The plan was commenced by widening and deepening a canal from the mill pond to a rice mill, and by constructing a set of conduits at the tail of the mill race to run the water used on the wheel into the rice field below the mill, extending to the margin of the river—for the water-culture of rice. I also constructed several of Evan's elevators, and brought the rice machine into useful and profitable service."

"On 15th May my first child, James Foster, was born at the residence of his grandfather Walker, and in walking to see the mother and son, from the mills, overheated and injured myself. By the middle of June the unhealthy residence at the mills had convinced me that rice planting and milling were not suitable pursuits for me in that climate. My good servant Erickson, a Swede, had died of the fever, and I buried him under the live oaks at the margin of the creek. The

honest man gave me his silver sleeve buttons as a memento of his regard. This exposure to ill health caused me to return to the fort in May, and to move my family thither the last of June, 1806; and with the usual monthly report to the War Department I sent an application to be sent to any northern port that might be deemed proper for me, and was replied to, that such should be done as soon as the good of the service might indicate a station."

"On 14th July Lieutenant William Cox, of the United States artillery, arrived at Fort Johnston, to relieve me from command, but found me too ill of fever to proceed to make up the returns and receipts of and for public property, and so continued until 26th of August, at which time a storm swept all the craft in the harbor into the marshes, save the revenue cutter. On 28th I received the account of the destruction of my rice crop, mill dam and flood gates at Barnard's. From what source I cannot say, but from that day I began to recover my health, and by 8th September was able to travel to Wilmington, and, with my family to sojourn at Mr. James W. Walker's place at the Sound. On 15th October returned to the fort, and took receipts from Lieutenant Cox for all the public property at the fort, and transmitted the one part of the duplicates to the war department."

"First of November proceeded to Raleigh, and passed a few days of my convalescence there in company with the Governor of the State, Evan Alexander, Esq., and the Secretary of State, Mr. John Guion. By 10th of the month had arrived at my uncle Jonathan Swift's in Alexandria, and on the 13th at the War office in Washington, where I received from the Secretary my commission as captain of engineers. Had the honor to dine with President Jefferson."

1807. "The holidays and January were passed among my acquaintances in and near Wilmington and Fort Johnston, and with an association at the head of which was Archibald F. McNeill, Esq., the object of which was to raise means to aid the poor of Wilmington. The mode was by representing some of the plays of Shakespeare and others of the English drama. The price of the tickets was a dollar, and a considerable fund was realized, and Mr. McNeill was esteemed (and in reality was) a good Hamlet. Mr. McNeill was an accomplished gentleman of the same family as Dr. Daniel McNeill of the Scottish emigrants, after the battle of Culloden, among

* Wm. White was Secretary of State. Perhaps Guion was his locum tenens. He was then very old.

whom was Flora McDonald, the friend of Charles Edward 'the Pretender'. Mr. McNeill's mother was a daughter of Sir James Wright, the colonial Governor of Georgia, and he married Miss Quince, an heiress of Wilmington and cousin of Mrs. Swift. Dr. Daniel McNeill is an intimate friend of mine. His wife, the beautiful Miss Martha Kingsley, is one of the most interesting persons in Wilmington. Among my other intimates is our family physician and friend, and cousin of Mrs. Swift, Dr. Armand J. DeRosset. He is of an old Huguenot family expelled from France. The brothers Louis and John had been early settlers in Carolina, and officers of the royal government, and steady supporters of the Episcopal church. Mr. George Hooper was also a friend of mine. His family came from Boston with his brother William, the member of Congress from North Carolina in 1776. Mr. George Hooper settled as a merchant in Wilmington and married the daughter of the distinguished counsellor, Archibald MacLean* and is a gentleman of inborn hospitality and of fine literary taste, and writes well and with facility on various subjects. The Hon. John Hill, whose family also came from Boston. He was among the prosperous rice planters of Cape Fear. His brother William was a member of Congress. The family of Swann (formerly Jones) of Virginia were among the oldest and most respectable families of Wilmington. The ancient family of †Moor, descended from Governor James Moor of South Carolina, were residing on the banks of the Cape Fear. Alfred, recently a judge in the United States Supreme Court, and his sons Alfred and Captain Maurice, informed me that this family was that of Drogheda in Ireland, and that the rebel, Roger Moor, celebrated as the defender of Irish independence in the century before the last, was of the same family. (Major Alexander Duncan Moor, the son of the Revolutionary general, James Moor, was of the same family). The family of Ashe was also living here. Col. Samuel, an accomplished gentleman and son of the governor of that name. They had given several officers to the army of the Revolution, such as John Baptist and Captain Samuel."

"My groomsmen, John Fanning (Burgwin) and George Burgwin, were the sons of an opulent merchant of Wilmington. The family came from Bristol in England, where these sons were educated. They introduced at their residence, the Hermitage,

*Usually spelt McLaine.

†Now written Moore.

the modern social habits of the English gentry, and which the elder people of Wilmington said was not an improvement upon the days when the Tories (Dr. Robert Tucker, Francis Cobham and Colonel John Fanning) had given the gentry of Cape Fear a sample of English manners, as practiced in New York when that was a British garrison in the Revolution. Be that as it may, the Hermitage was a delightful visiting place. The sister of the Burgwins was a beautiful woman, and had also been educated in England, and had married Dr. Cletherrall of South Carolina."

"I had now been nearly three years a resident of North Carolina, and had experienced the kindness and hospitality of many of its good citizens, and become attached to them, and had also in a measure become identified with their institutions; was a master of a few slaves, and had a little experience of their ways and knowledge of their condition. The relation of master and slave in that part of North Carolina is of a kindly character in general on the part of the masters. But with my essays to operate with this class of laborers I could not be reconciled to their perpetual retention in a condition forbidding their mental improvement; and as far as my observation extended a sentiment similar to this was entertained by most of the educated gentlemen. That which seemed to me the worst consequence of slavery was its influence upon the minds and habits of the white children. The natural disposition to rule, that is inherent in the human mind, is nourished in the 'young master' and mistress. They become impatient and domineering, and vent their angry passions upon the negro children. These passions grow and strengthen with the years of both white and negro child until both approach their 'teens'. It is the nature of human qualities that it should be so with both parties."

1807. "In the month of February I received orders from Colonel Williams, who was then at the war office in Washington, to repair to West Point early in the ensuing April, and receive the command of that post from Captain William A. Barron."

"I negotiated a loan at the Bank of Cape Fear for four hundred dollars, and received one hundred and fifty dollars from the United States, and on 20th March was on board the packet Venus, Captain Oliver, with Mrs. Swift's mother and niece Margaret as our companions, and, with Mrs. Swift and our son James and servant Nancy, proceeded before a fair

wind by the New Inlet to sea, and on 28th arrived at Mrs. Tilford's boarding house in Courtlandt street, city of New York. The next day gave Mr. George Gibbs two hundred dollars that I had received for him from Carleton Walker, Esq., of Wilmington, and on 6th of April arrived by a Newburg packet at old West Point, and received command of the same from Captain Barron, who went to the city. Mrs. Swift, mother, and niece took the barge and made a visit to her uncle and Aunt DuBois at Newburgh, where I joined them in a few days thereafter, and found Mr. DuBois (John) an intelligent old gentleman, full of reminiscences of the scenes of the war of 1781 in Carolina, and of the iron rule of Major Craig, Governor at Wilmington in those days, and familiar with the events of the DeRosset and DuBois families, then prominent people in North Carolina. The former he described as refugees to Holland after the St. Bartholomew's massacre, and the latter as refugees to the colonies after the revocation of edict of Nantes."

"Congress appropriated fifty thousand dollars for the survey of the coast, including the publication of Thomas Cole's and Jonathan Price's survey of the coast of North Carolina; the latter gentleman having published an interesting map of the whole of that State, one of the best specimens of maps yet published in the Union, fully equal to Mr. Madison's map of Virginia, though both have many errors in them."

1808. "This winter we received the sad account of the sudden illness and death of Mrs. Swift's father, Captain Walker, in Wilmington, North Carolina, on 18th January, at the age of sixty-six years. He sent me a message through Dr. DeRossett of his hopes that I would approve of his will. I did not, however, see the justice by which his son James received the greater portion of the estate. This will diminished my prospects of settling my family, as was contemplated to be done, near Boston, in accordance with arrangements to be made under the orders of my official chief, with whom I was exchanging thoughts in reference to his purpose to assign me to duty in that quarter."

1809. "At the request of J. W. Walker and S. R. Jocelyn of Wilmington, N. C., I examined the salt works at Dorchester, and employed Thomas Mayo of Cape Cod to proceed to the Sound, near Wilmington, where he constructed similar vats for evaporation. The plan was very successful."

"On 6th of November we were at the New Inlet of Cape Fear, and landed on Federal Point, the proposed site for a work recommended to the War Department in 1804, in my report made at the time. Thence proceeded to Wilmington and found my family in health at "The Sound," and remained there until 10th November, at which time made a temporary residence at Mrs. Swift's mother's, Mrs. Walker, in Wilmington, preparatory to going to Fort Johnston. After an absence of two-and-a-half-years find North Carolina but little changed in aspect of country. The best of North Carolina is constituted of warm hearts and an early flowering spring. My intimacy with the people of North Carolina, and some acquaintance with the interests of the State have grown with me, and attached me to both."

"In December, 1809, the Legislature of North Carolina receded the site to Fort Johnston to the United States."

"On 11th of the month I received orders from the chief engineer constituting me the engineer for the State coast."

1810. "In January, previous to my professional excursion to the Harbor of Cape Fear, I renewed my social relations with increased pleasure at Judge Wright's, Mr. John Lord's, the Hills and other families. At one of these re-unions, a numerous party, Dr. Caldwell, from the University of Chapel Hill, exhibited the declining condition of that college, and the whole company joined in a subscription to improve the condition of that institution, the alma mater of several of the younger persons of the party.

In the course of this month I visited Fort Johnston with Joshua Potts, General Smith and Mr. John Lord, and examined the boundaries of the public land at that place, and the dilapidated condition of the work, and reported on the same to the War Department. Lieutenant Robert Roberts was in this Board of Examination, and was also the commandant of the post. The reply from the department is that no more would be done at that post than occasional repairs and the construction of permanent barracks."

"In February at a deer hunt with a party at Major Duncan Moore's, in the forks of the north-west and north-east branches of Cape Fear River got up some sixteen fine deer. On this occasion Major Moore offered me one hundred acres of rice land on terms so liberal (if I would settle my family in his neighborhood) that I could not accept them without incurring too deep an obligation, but the liberality was not forgotten."

"March 18th, in company with many gentlemen from Wilmington on a search for the son of our friend, Samuel R. Jocelyn. On the second day the body was found in Holly Shelter Swamp, he having wandered thither in a demented state, and was chilled to death lying in some four inches of water. His name Samuel, and recently married to a daughter of Counsellor Sampson, of the county of that name."

"In April I accompanied John R. London and others to the Sound on an excursion to see its adaptation to salt-making. I gave these gentlemen the plan of the works on Cape Cod that I had received from Mr. Thayer of that place. No doubt the ocean water in this shallow sound, not being freshened by rivers, and constantly receiving the tide from the sea, must afford a good surface for evaporation."

"On the 15th of the month I received orders from the War Department to construct permanent barracks at Fort Johnston, with funds to defray the expenses thereof, and also orders to relieve Lieutenant Roberts in the command of that post."

"During the past season I had attended the Masonic Lodge in Wilmington, having been admitted to that fraternity while at West Point in the year 1802. Observing an abuse of the test for admission, and considering the objects of the society, as a secret society, not agreeable to the spirit of our political institutions, I ceased to be a member of any Lodge, though having no doubt that the conduct of the society had ever been respectful of law, and with benevolent purposes."

"April 20th, renewed my official visits to the fort while the commandant is preparing his returns to obey the orders of the War Department; examined at the workshops the gun carriages made on Colonel Burbeck's plans, and condemned them. They are of pitch pine, but not strong enough to resist the concussion of a proof charge of powder. I had reported these facts to the War Department, and also that the works at Beaufort, in my command, required seven cannon and carriages and a barrack magazine, that would call for an expenditure of fifteen thousand dollars."

"May 1st, received the command of Fort Johnston from Lieutenant R. Roberts, and gave him receipts for the public stores. The next day, with the collector of the port, examined the beach at Bald Head, and the encroachments of the sea

at that place, and advised the placing of fascines confined by piles of thirty feet in length, as a protection against the action of the waves."

"May 15th, moved my family to the fort, and at house-keeping in the 'Blaney Place' near the fort. June 1st, deposited the United States funds in the Bank of Cape Fear, and commenced the collection of materials for barracks, etc."

"On June 15th, with the commissioners of the town of Smithville, marked out the lines of the United States land, and set red cedar posts for landmarks."

"The first armed vessel that came in was the British schooner 'Eliza,' Captain Bradshaw, who landed his guns at the battery."

"From the great mobility of the sand on the coast the storms had produced a variety of changes in the form of a large shoal near the entrance of the harbor, called the "Middle Ground". I employed the pilots early, and at several times in the month of July to sound out and buoy the Old Island channel, and found thereby several changes in the course of the channel that had been made since my survey in the year 1804."

"On the 3rd of August, in the presence of the collector of the port, Robert Cochran, Esq., and General Smith, the proprietor of the Island of Bald Head, and others, Mr. S. Spring the keeper of the light-house, etc., surveyed and marked with a theodolite, ten(10) acres, including the site of the light-house and having reference to the abrasion to the shore of the sea, as examined last May, I included a wide sea-beach margin on Bald Head."

"August 9th, with a theodolite, above mentioned, received from Jones of London, made observations that proved the magnetic variation at Fort Johnston at this time to be fifty-five minutes from the true meridian."

"The August election of State officers came on this year on 9th of the month. I gave the troops a fishing excursion to Old Island for that day, with a view to prevent any question of 'interference of troops at the polls,' in reference to which, as an abuse of the franchise, much had been said, but, as far as my experience extended, had never witnessed any such interpolation."

"On 12th August the United States brig 'Nautilus,' Captain Arthur Sinclair, came into port in a storm that had wrecked an English brig on the 'Middle Ground' shoal."

"On 25th September accompanied Captain Sinclair to sea for the purpose of examining the 'slew' through the Frying Pan Shoal, which we found at a distance of thirteen miles south of the light-house, a four-fathom channel directly through the Pan, bearing east-by-south. After a cruise of a few days the 'Nautilus' returned to anchor off Fort Johnston, and finally resumed the cruise along the coast on 7th of October."

"During the months of October and November the weather was excellent for labor, and by 1st December had completed the brick barracks and guard-house, and discharged the workmen. Moved the troops into the new barracks, much to their comfort."

"December 12th, by order of the Secretary of War, transported the military stores from Wilmington to the block-house at the fort. These appurtenances had been in the use of the 12th United States Regiment of Infantry in 1799, and were stored in Wilmington in 1800."

"Passed our Christmas at the wedding of our fair cousin, Mary Vance, with Mr. James Orme, and with my friends Alexander C. Miller and General and Mrs. Smith at Belvidere, and at General Brown's seat at Ashwood, on the Cape Fear, and returned to the fort on the last day of 1810."

1811. "January 5th, *the governor of the State and suite inspected the post at Fort Johnston, and was received with military honors."

"In February I employed Dr. Egbert Haywood Bell as surgeon of the post, which was confirmed by the Secretary of War. The doctor is distinguished in his profession. The family of which he is a member are generally noted for talents; they reside in the upper country of North Carolina. During the winter Mrs. Swift's sister Harriet and husband, †Colonel Osborne, had been members of our family, and in the spring they moved to Salisbury, when Mrs. Swift's mother joined our family. Mrs. Osborne is not only amiable but has also an highly cultivated mind, that has contributed much to our enjoyment. With Mrs. Osborne we had the pleasure to receive as guests the father and daughter, Colonel John De-

* William Hawkins, of Warren.

† Edwin Jay Osborne.

Bernier. They were from England; and from Edward Jones, Esquire, I learned that this gentleman, with his brother Henry, had (both) been lieutenant-colonels in the army of England, and in command in Canada, where they had been suddenly relieved from command, and chagrined by the order, they had both sold out their commissions, which act was soon succeeded by orders giving them both more distinguished commands in India. The mortification resulting from those occurrences may be imagined. In the case of Colonel DeB. melancholy was marked on his face. Mr. Jones, who gave me this information, is an Irish gentleman, and has filled the office of *attorney-general of North Carolina with high repute. The Colonel Osborne before mentioned is the son of †Audly Osborne, Esquire, of Iredell County, North Carolina, reputed to be a son of the family of Leeds, in England. The colonel is a lawyer of much ability, and who, with four of his brothers, had received the first honors of Chapel Hill College."

"During the months of February and March flocks of pigeons were daily passing over the fort, with a sound resembling a gust of wind. Several of these flocks were more than a mile in extent, and vast numbers of them were destroyed. Their roost was on Bald Head Island, where they found an abundance of acorns, and from whence sportsmen brought many thousands of these birds."

"On 12th May while at Wilmington dining with George Hooper, Esquire, was summoned to the bed of his son-in-law, Mr. James Fleming, who had a few moments previous left us at table, and had been thrown against the corner of the brick market house in town by an unruly horse. Mr. Fleming's brains were forced through the ears by the concussion, and I found him breathing with some violence, but he was dead within an hour."

"The 4th July was passed at the seat of General Brown at Ashwood, with a purpose to attend the marriage of my friend Alexander C. Miller, and the general's daughter, Miss Mary Brown. The general asked me of the origin, etc., of Mr. Miller; my reply was all that I knew of him had been received of him, and to judge from his uniform deportment it left me no reason to doubt that he had been highly educated, etc.

* Col. Jones was Solicitor-General.

† Adlai is the usual spelling.

Before leaving the fort, Lieut. Roberts and myself had set our watches together and arranged to have the salute at the fort commenced at noon, and to fire at interval of fifteen seconds. I placed myself alone at the margin of the Cape Fear River at Ashwood, sixty miles distant from the fort, in due season to listen, and heard the sound of the distant cannon, but not at precise intervals. The sound was that of a puffing continuous sort, and I counted only fourteen of them. My ear was not more than three inches above the surface of the water; the day was quiet, and the air from the southwest; my position in a direction a little west of north from the fort. In the banks of the Cape Fear at this place, some seventy feet below the general surface of the country, I found an abundance of shark's teeth and other organic remains in the earth, washed by every successive rise of the river."

"I returned to the fort on 6th, and on 10th July, having received the long expected 24-pounder new cannon, carriages, and six hundred round shot, replaced the old guns by mounting the battery with eight new ones."

"The appropriations this year for fortifications are four hundred and seven thousand dollars. These and preceding preparations may show both France and England that our endurance of their decrees and orders may, find a limit. Both nations seem, from our own dissensions, or contempt for us and for our form of government, to consider our ability or purpose to sustain a war as of small importance to them. Both parties in our country greatly mistake their policy; the Democrats in their evasive palliations of the cause of France; the Federalists by their efforts to prove that the decrees and orders are equally insulting and therefore deserving equal resistance. They lose sight of the hope of England that we may make some error to favor their pretensions, and that her superiority on the ocean gives her power to annoy, and they lose sight of the fact that if we ever are to assert our rights on the seas, we must commence to do it while England is practising her arrogant power of impressment."

"July 11th received at the fort, *Treasurer Haywood and other guests from Raleigh, who came to look at the ocean, and to be informed of what plan of defense might secure the entrance to the most important harbor on the coast of North Carolina, in which the Legislature of the State had taken a deep interest, and here were several of her prominent

* State Treasurer, John Haywood.

members to prepare themselves to give that body such an account of their observations as they could collect. It was very evident that these gentlemen had no respect for the moderate use of naval power of England in case we should have a war with them."

"In my memorandum of my visit to Ashwood I omitted to state that there stands a tree whose bark has been marked, indented in the year 1780, with a figure representing the Revolutionary general Robert Howe. These marks had been spread by the growth of the tree, and now exhibits a gigantic rude figure of a man in military costume. This is the result of a slight engraving on the bark of any tree, especially the beech, but if the indentation be deep the growth of the bark covers the work and so obliterates the design."

"August 1st delivered the command of Fort Johnston to Lieutenant Roberts, United States Artillery."

1812. "February 1st, gave orders to Lieutenant Ewing to detail a party to work daily in the block-house, cleaning the arms, etc., received there in the previous year. This was in pursuance of orders received from the War Department, together with the appointment of myself as military agent for the coast of North Carolina, and was the first intimation in orders of haste, of preparation for war!"

"February 21st, the United States brig 'Vixen', commanded by Lieutenant Charles Gadsden, arrived at Fort Johnston on public business with me."

"In March I received orders from the Secretary of War that the state of public affairs required an inspection of the fortifications on the coast of Virginia, the two Carolinas and Georgia, and requiring me to make the same as soon as my present duty permitted."

"On April 1st proceeded on this inspection in the packet to Charleston, South Carolina, (at the same time escorting the daughter of Colonel DeBernier on a visit to her friends in South Carolina. This lady is the wife of Harper Hooper, Esquire, of Wilmington), leaving the command of Fort Johnston to Lieutenant Ewing." (Next several pages contain account of this inspection—war being imminent.)

"At the close of the month received letters from my family informing of the birth of my son Thomas Delano, at the residence of his grandmother Walker in Wilmington, 23d November, 1812."

"On 9th December, with Bishop Hobart consulting on the subject of inviting the *Rev. Adam Empie to take the chaplaincy of the military Academy, the Secretary of War having in the previous summer given his consent to offer the appointment to Mr. Empie, and having learned that he (Mr. Empie) had determined to leave Wilmington, North Carolina, I now wrote to Mr. Empie that the Bishop highly approved the plan, and that the selection of an Episcopalian had been made because, aside from my own views, the service of that church was deemed to be the most appropriate to the discipline of a military academy."

"On May 7th, 1814, Rev. Adam Empie reported for duty at the Military Academy. On 20th of May I inducted him to his office, that of chaplain and professor of ethics, and also treasurer of the Academy; a novel junction of functions, but rendered needful by want of officers."

"In the past two years I have endeavored to promote the interests of the Military Academy by selecting the intellectual sons of my most respectable acquaintance, and inviting them to apply to the Secretary of War for cadet's warrants. Among the number is †William McNeill, the son of my friend Dr. Daniel McNeill of Wilmington, N. C.; whom meeting on my way to West Point, and he on his way to commence theological study with Rev. Mr. Wyatt of Newtown, L. I., he (William) found my purpose suitable to his propensities, and so took him with me to the Point. He has been there now several months, and gives evidence of being suited to the place."

1815. "I returned on 3d March to my family in Brooklyn, with whom the Rev. Mr. Empie had passed the winter, and where Mrs. Swift had received the account of the death of her only sister, Harriet, Mrs. Osborne, in North Carolina." Winter of 1816, "the Rev. Mr. Empie having returned to his former residence in North Carolina."

* Dr. Empie returned to Wilmington and was a leader in reviving the Episcopal Church in North Carolina. He was afterwards President of William and Mary College and Rector of St. James Church, Richmond, Va.

† Wm. Gibbs McNeill became Major of Engineers; resigned 1837 and was a distinguished civil engineer; Major General of Militia of Rhode Island.

1817. "While thus confined (Sept. 20th to Oct. 6th) General Benjamin Smith of Wilmington, North Carolina, called on me, and awaited my convalescence. My brother-in-law, Julius H. Walker, being my amanuensis, I dictated a letter of introduction of General Smith to the Secretary of the Navy, and recommended the purchase of Bald Head, North Carolina, because of the extensive growth there of live oak and cedar, and thus to enable General Smith to liquidate the old bond of Colonel Reed, late collector, for whom General Smith had become security."

"On October 13th Mrs. Swift, with her mother and brother Julius, and my son Julius and daughter Sarah left me, and by packet sailed for Wilmington; Mrs. John London and children occupying my house in Washington St."

1818. "On 7th February I proceeded to Newbern, where I met William Gaston, Esquire, whose very agreeable acquaintance I had made in the family of father-in-law in Wilmington, 1806, when Gaston practiced in the courts there. At dinner I also met my friend John Guion, Esquire, and William Graham, and Mr. Donnel, and passed a few hours with John Stanly, Esq., one of the brightest minds in the State. On 9th February arrived in Wilmington."

"On 21st February the citizens of Wilmington gave me a dinner—a flattering token of the remembrance of earlier days I attempted no speech in response to a complimentary remark, and gave this toast:—"North Carolina and her liberal spirit, as evinced in her carte blanche order to Canova for a sculpture of Washington, at an expense limited only by the artist's decision."

"February 26th, to Fort Johnston, Oak Island and Bald Head, and reported from Smithville my views to the War Department. Visited the grave of my friend John Lightfoot Griffin, in the garden that had been the care of its owner in 1805, Mrs. Sarah Dry Smith. I could find no stone in the public graveyard to mark the resting place of my early friend Benjamin Blaney, the friend also of the poor, and that especially of the sick sailor and stranger."

"February 28th to Orton, the plantation of General Smith on the banks of the Cape Fear, and passed a day with Mrs. S. D. Smith and himself. The pleasure of our reminiscences of that spot, and of Belvidere, were clouded by the aspect of the failing fortunes of the General. Mrs. Smith presented us at

the board a bottle of the nearly consumed stock of old sherry, with which, and blue perch from the adjacent pond, we were used to regale in more prosperous days; Mrs. Smith evincing a well-balanced serenity, to cheer her husband. On March 1st returned to Wilmington, and found it a fruitless essay to liquidate the large claims of the general's creditors."

"Mrs. Swift and myself renewed our associations with the Lords, Mrs. Vance, Mr. Miller and the Browns, Wrights, Toomers, Londons, Hoopers, and other of the friends of our more early days. On 7th visited my correspondent, Alfred Moore, Esq., at Buchoi, and enjoyed a retrospect of our deer hunts with Duncan Moore, now laid low, and the Swanns, Hills and Burgwins, Richard Eagle, etc."

"On 11th March, I purchased carriage and horses, and, with my wife, son and daughter, and maid Peggy, commenced a jaunt to Norfolk, leaving of our family in Wilmington, Mr. J. W. Walker and Julius, and their mother, Mrs. Walker—an exemplary parent, and true lady of the old school—and her sister, Mrs. Ann Quince, of equal virtues and our semper idem friend and cousin, and family physician, Dr. A. J. DeRosset. Mrs. Vance and daughters Mary and Jane took the road to Newbern by the Sound to Sage's, and to Colonel Shine's by Holly Shelter and Trenton. Detained some days by storm in Newbern, entertained by friends there already named, and by the Edwards; employed the rainy hours in reading to Mrs. Swift, whose piety enjoyed the "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul of Man", by Doddridge, more than her less pious husband, who, however, found it among the best books he ever perused—thanks be to God."

* * * *

"From thence to the city, where I met Mrs. Swift's cousin, Mrs. Mary Orme, who returned with me on 26th to my family in Georgetown; finding there my old friend General B. Smith, from Belvidere, on his way to Kentucky, to examine his lands near Henderson. My brother-in-law, James W. Walker, from Wilmington, has been sojourning in my family on his way to seek a new residence on the Limestone River in Alabama, and to examine some lands in West Tennessee to which his father had claims for military service."

"Our friend Mrs. Orme returned to Wilmington under the escort of Mr. ——. I wrote by her to Julius H. Walker, advising him of all the facts that had come to me from Lawyer Shight of Newburg, and from uncle John DuBois of the same

town to-wit: That all the children of John DuBois (Mrs. Swift's grandfather) were entitled to the said grandfather's rights in the "Minnesink land", and that under the will of Mrs. Swift's mother, Julius H. and Louisa M. Walker (my wife) were entitled to all the said lands that had belonged to Isaac DuBois, the brother of the said grandfather John; which land had descended to the only child (Margaret) of the said Isaac and wife of the aforesaid John DuBois of Newburgh, to whom was born one son, Isaac, who dying before his father and after his mother, the said father, John had conveyed by his will all the rights of said Isaac, his father-in-law, to his sister, the said M. M. Walker, mother of said Julius H. and Louisa M., i. e., all said Dr. Isaac DuBois' rights in the patent of land called the "Minnesink Patent" aforesaid, which said Dr. DuBois died in October, 1745, and was then seized with his brother, the aforesaid grandfather John, (who died December, 1767,) of all the DuBois right to the said "Minnesink lands," they, two brothers, being the only heirs and sons of the Rev. Gualthemus DuBois, deceased in October 1751."

1819. "On 15th April my son McRee was born, and named for my friend Colonel McRee."

"On 14th October I purchased from George Gibbs the place where I was living with him on the Heights, and on 1st November commenced trimming a large grape vine that Mrs. Gibbs had transplanted from General Smith's garden in Smithville, North Carolina, and I gave the cuttings of the vine to William Prince, the florist and gardener at Flushing, who wished to name the grape "The Louisa", for my wife, but both she and myself deemed Mrs. Isabella Gibbs entitled thereto, and accordingly the vine was named "The Isabella", and I gave the cuttings to many of my neighbours in Brooklyn. Thus originated the Isabella Grape, 1824."

1820. "October 7th, received from the United States Comptroller a deed of trust of Bald Head, Mallory and Blue Banks lands on Cape Fear River, in North Carolina—several thousand of acres—with the directions to have the same acknowledged before the mayor of the city, and which was done as agent of the United States Treasury, to aid in settling a debt of General B. Smith as security for Colonel Reed a defaulter, and late collector of the port of Wilmington, North Carolina."

1823. "In June my mother-in-law and grand-daughter Mary Ann, and cousin Mary Orme, John Q. McNeill and Mrs. S.'s brother-in-law, Edwin Jay Osborne, returned to North Carolina. Mr. Osborne, a gentleman of fine mind, attempted, by aid of my friend Cadwallader Colden, Esq., to establish himself in the city as a counsellor of law, but did not succeed."

LETTER OF COL. SAMUEL ASHE, ON REVOLUTION- ARY HISTORICAL POINTS.

The writer of the following letter was Colonel Samuel Ashe, of Rocky Point, brother of Colonel John Baptista Ashe, of Halifax, who was elected Governor and died before qualification. Samuel was the second son of the Governor and Judge of the same name, born in 1763 and entered the army at the age of sixteen. He was captured at Charleston with the rest of General Lincoln's army; confined on a prison-ship for fifteen months, exchanged on James River, served with LaFayette in Virginia, then with General Greene in South Carolina until the end of the war. He was appointed a colonel in the War of 1812; was State senator for seven terms. He died in Fayetteville 1835. One of his sons was the late William S. Ashe, President for years of the Wilmington and Weldon Rail Road Company, and author and originator of the charter of the North Carolina Rail Road Company.

Joseph Seawell Jones, generally known as "Shocco" Jones, was a native of Warren County, and author of "The Defence of the Revolutionary History of the State of North Carolina from the Aspersions of Mr. Jefferson." He died in Mississippi in 1855. He had considerable sprightliness, but lacked accuracy.

To J. Seawell Jones, Esq.

Dear Sir:

My personal acquaintance with Mr. Hooper, owing to the great disparity in our ages, for he was much my senior, was very slight, having but seldom been thrown in his company after I reached manhood. But I am happy in being able to say of him that as a Lawyer, a Scholar, a man of amiable and fascinating manners, he was unrivalled by any of his contemporaries, and as a whig, he enjoyed the entire confidence of all who knew him, and it never entered my mind until I saw Mr. Jefferson's letter, that the soundness of his principles had

been questioned by any one. From my intimate knowledge of his character, I feel warranted in saying that he was a man of as pure principles and as ardently devoted to the cause of American liberty as any other of the distinguished personages who were evolved by the Revolution.

The Col. John Ashe to whom you allude, was an elder brother of my father, Samuel Ashe, who were the only sons of John Baptista Ashe, my grandfather, who was the first of the Ashe family who came into North Carolina. He was a lawyer, and a bold energetic man, distinguished in his profession and frequently a member of the provincial legislature, as I have been informed. Col^d John Ashe was a man of engaging and popular manners, and one of the first and firmest opposers of the oppressive measure of the British Government, and early distinguished himself, as did many other worthy and gallant spirits, who have sunk unnoticed to the grave, in resisting the distribution of the stamps at Wilmington. Notwithstanding his firm and decided opposition to what he conceived to be encroachments by the Mother Country on the rights of the colonies, he was made treasurer of the Southern Division of North Carolina five or six years, as well as my memory serves me, before the breaking out of the Revolution. He was, I think, a delegate together with my father, *Judge Maurice Moore, and his brother General James Moore, Mr. George Moore, Alexander Lillington and perhaps Cornelius Harnett, to form the Constitution of the State. The part which they respectively took as members of that body, is doubtlessly a matter of record and better known to you than myself. The first session of our legislature, conferred on him the commission of Col. of the Militia of the county of New Hanover, and shortly afterwards, perhaps the next session, he was made Brigadier General of the District. Shortly after this time, Georgia was actually invaded and South Carolina threatened with invasion, by the British troops under the command of General Prevost, when General Ashe with a division of North Carolina troops was ordered to join the Continental Army, then near the Savannah River, under the command of General Lincoln who was then in South Carolina. Immediately upon his Junction with General Lincoln, he was ordered

* The delegates from New Hanover were John Ashe, Samuel Ashe, John Devane, Sampson Moseley, John Hollingsworth. From Brunswick were Maurice Moore, Cornelius Harnett, Archibald McLaine, (sometimes spelt McLean), Lewis Dupree and William Lord. William Hooper was the delegate from the borough of Wilmington.

to the western side of the Savannah River with his Militia, who were raw and undisciplined, and many of them actually destitute of arms, and was stationed on Briar Creek near its Junction with the Savannah. He had not been long in this position when his rear was surprised and attacked by a Division of the British Army, when a general route of the Militia ensued. Major Nelson and Mr. Francis Kinlaw, who were eye witnesses of this defeat, both informed me that General Ashe made every exertion and did all that a Commander could do to rally his men and prevent the overthrow of his division. Mr. Kinlaw, I think, also informed me that General Ashe made application either to General Lincoln or to S. Carolina to be supplied with arms or ammunition, perhaps both, but could not obtain them. Some years subsequent to this, General Ashe was betrayed by a confidential servant into the hands of the British who kept him a close prisoner. During his confinement he was taken with the Smallpox and after a tedious illness was discharged on parole, but with a Constitution so much impaired that he shortly afterward died at the house of Col. John Sampson in Sampson County.

Pursuant to your wish, I will endeavor to furnish you with my reminiscences, as they occur to me, of Judge Maurice Moore and his brother, James Moore, (brothers-in-law to General John Ashe.) Judge Moore was a highly gifted and accomplished gentleman, distinguished alike for the soundness of his professional learning and his urbanity of manners. He stood high, and deservedly so in the confidence and esteem of all who knew him, but unfortunately fell a victim to pulmonary consumption in the midst of his usefulness and the vigor of his manhood, in the year 1777 or 1778 as nearly as I can recollect. General James Moore, I have reason to believe, was a member of the first legislature from N. Hanover County and was appointed by an act of that legislature Col. Commandant of the 1st N. Carolina regiment of Regulars. He was a man of distinguished talents and admirably qualified by the peculiar cast of his mind for military pursuits, but unfortunately, the delicacy of his constitution formed a striking contrast to the boldness and energy of his character. He fell a victim of disease shortly after the discomfiture of the Tories at Moore's Creek, universally regretted and lamented as an able officer, an accomplished gentleman and one of the firmest and most efficient advocates of our Country's cause in those perilous times. He left two sons, James Moore and A. D. Moore, gentlemen of

high standing and respectability, and two daughters who have left a numerous progeny. The daughters, Mrs. Swann and Mrs. Watters, are still living venerated and beloved by all who know them. I should have also mentioned in connection with Judge Maurice Moore, that he left three sons, the two youngest died in early life; the eldest, Alfred, bore a conspicuous part in the Revolutionary War, and subsequently became distinguished in his profession as a lawyer. He succeeded Judge Iredell as Attorney General, which appointment he filled with singular promptness and ability and was afterward made one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. He had a sister Sarah Moore who married General Francis Nash, who left one only daughter. She became the wife of Mr. John Waddell of Brunswick County, from whom have sprung a numerous and respectable progeny. General Nash fell at the battle of Germantown at the head of the North Carolina Line. At the breaking out of an Indian War about the year 1715, James Moore, Esq., then Governor of the Province of Carolina, sent out his son Maurice Moore (the father of Judge Maurice Moore and Gen. James Moore) at the head of a division of troops for the defense and protection of the settlers about Edenton. After a difficult and protracted contest with the Indians he succeeded in subduing them; and shortly afterwards formed the design of establishing a colony on the Cape Fear, which was the third attempt that had been made. For this purpose he associated a number of highly respectable persons from Virginia, Edenton and Charleston which gave to the colony a character of respectability and intelligence rarely equalled in any new settlement.

General Alexander Lillington was a native of Carolina from the vicinity of Edenton; he was a highly respectable man and took an early and active part in the Revolution. By the first Legislature he was appointed Colonel of a regiment of Minute men, two hundred to two hundred and fifty of which he had raised and called into service at the time of the Scotch Insurrection. Upon the approach of the Scotch to Wilmington they were met at Moore's Creek by General Lillington who stationed his men across a peninsula formed by the creek, commanding entirely the road and the bridge by his position. General Caswell, who was his senior in command, was compelled for the want of room to form in Lillington's rear. The battle was fought early in the morning and such of the Scotch and Tories as passed the bridge were destroyed. The

succeeding Legislature made him a Colonel of our sixth Regiment of Regulars, which command he held about twelve months, then resigned it and was subsequently promoted by the Legislature to the rank of Brigadier General of the Militia in the district of Wilmington. During the invasion of South Carolina by General Provost, and while a descent upon Charleston was threatened, he marched immediately with what Regulars and Volunteers he could command to the assistance of that City. He continued to the close of the war, an active, vigilant, and useful public servant, universally esteemed and respected. He left a son who was the father of the present Major John Lillington of Wilmington.

Richard and Parker Quince who were gentlemen of great respectability and were devoted whigs, but, quiet and unobtrusive in their characters, they never mingled in public life.

John Walker was an Englishman, who came to this country when very young, attached himself ardently to the whig party, and was a Captain in Col. James Moore's Regiment. After serving a year or two, he resigned, but continued a zealous whig throughout the war. Gen. Robert Howe was made a Colonel by our second legislature (according to my best recollection) and marched to the relief of Norfolk when it was attacked by the British under Governor Dunmore, and was promoted in Virginia (strange as it may seem) to the rank of Brigadier General. He marched from thence to the North and soon took the rank of Major General, and occupied a distinguished stand among the military men of the day. Few have equalled him in the elegance and courtliness of his manners, and his talents were confessedly of the first order.

Cornelius Harnett came to Wilmington before the breaking out of the Revolution, and early and heartily espoused the cause of the colonies. He was, I think, a member of the old Congress from North Carolina, and was esteemed a man of acquirement and great usefulness. While the British were at Wilmington he was made prisoner, and I think died in captivity.

In respect to the duel to which you allude, I do not suppose I can give you any information. I have no recollection of having heard of any occurrence of the kind between a British and an American officer, but there was a circumstance somewhat similar in its character which doubtless gave rise to the story you have related. There was a duel fought near Bruns-

wick between a British Captain* and his first Lieutenant (whether they were of the Diligence or not I don't recollect) which proved fatal to the Captain, who was a relative of Gov. Tryon's Lady. The Lieutenant who was severely wounded, was immediately arrested and thrown into prison to await his trial. He was accordingly arraigned before Judge Berry of Newbern, tried convicted and condemned to the no small gratification of Gov. Tryon, who used all his influence against him. Before the day of execution arrived, which was fixed by the Court at a remote period, he made his escape and returned to England where through the aid of his friends he was acquitted. Judge Berry immediately upon his own return to Newbern committed suicide; an event which excited the surprise, astonishment and regret of all who knew him, for he was a talented, amiable and useful man. With respect to my father, his character is doubtless known to you, as he was connected with the executive and Judiciary departments of the State, and his acts as such form a part of the History of the Commonwealth. He was one of the Committee of Safety and is the only member of that body of whom I am sure. My brother, John Baptista Ashe, who was my father's eldest son, entered the army I think, as Senior Captain in General Lillington's Regiment, early in the war and was shortly after promoted to the rank of Lieut. Colonel, and saw much hard service both at the North and at the South. At the battle of Eutaw, he commanded a division of North Carolina troops, and remained attached to the army until the close of the war. He then settled himself in Halifax where he died about thirty years since.

Of myself, I have but very little to say; only that I entered the army as a Lieutenant in the spring of 1779 then but just in my seventeenth year, I am no doubt the person you see noticed as Lieutenant in January 1781. In April 1780 I went to Charleston and joined the army under the command of General Lincoln and was made prisoner on the capture of that City about the 12th of May, 1780, and experienced a long and painful captivity of about fourteen months. Afterwards I was shipped to old Jamestown in Virginia, was there exchanged

*The duel was between Captain Alexander Simpson and Lieutenant Thomas Whitehurst of H. M. Ship Viper. Whitehurst was killed. Simpson escaped but afterwards surrendered, was convicted of manslaughter and branded. (For the true account see Waddell's Colonial Officer, p. 128.)

and ordered to join Gen. LaFayette, with whom I remained but a short time; but was together with the rest of the North Carolina exchanged troops attached to Gen. Greene's Division with whom I continued until the close of the war.

SAM. ASHE.

August 23, 1833.

NOTES.

Col. Ashe says of the Moore settlement of Cape Fear that it was the third. He may mean the New England attempt, the Yeamans attempt and Maurice Moore's, or he may mean that there was an attempt in 1711.

There is on file at Beaufort town, a grant to Burrington, July 30, 1725 for land at Rocky Point, (Stag Park) 5000 acres which in the deed is stated "to have been taken up in 1711". There was an extension from Beaufort precinct south between 1708 and 1713. Major Maurice Moore bought lots in Beaufort in 1713. (He is described as of "South Carolina") His sons Gen. James Moore and Judge Maurice Moore died on the same day.

See Gen. George Davis' Address.

Col. Ashe speaks of the provincial Congress as being a Legislature.

He mentions that Gen. James Moore was Governor of S. C. at the time of our Indian insurrection; that is an error.

S. A. A.

EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS BY COL. JAS. G. BURR

In the Opera House in Wilmington, February 3, 1890,
on "The Old Churchyard of St. James."

Colonel James Green Burr was at his death one of the oldest citizens of Wilmington. He was of antiquarian tastes and very learned in regard to the history of Wilmington. Born in its limits in 1818, he was educated in the City Grammar School, and then was clerk and cashier of the Bank of Cape Fear for about forty years. During the Civil war he was for a time Aid-de-Camp to Governor Vance, with the rank of Colonel, and was subsequently Colonel of the Home Guard of elderly men. After the war he engaged in banking business for awhile and was subsequently employed by the County as an accountant. Up to his death he wrote frequently and sometimes lectured about the history of Wilmington and its leading men. He was a communicant and vestryman of St. James' Church, (Episcopal).

I hope it will not be regarded as presumptuous if I invite you to accompany me in a ramble to our oldest city of the dead, the venerable churchyard of St. James. There may perhaps be found something to interest if not to furnish food for reflection. It is one of the oldest localities in the city, dating back to 1751, nearly a hundred and forty years ago. At that time the corner of Market and Fourth Street was where the old Church formally stood, and a portion of which was used as a burying ground, was given to St. James Church by Michael Higgins, one of the original settlers of the town, and to his bounty the people of Wilmington have been indebted for the ground which for so many years formed the last resting place of their departed relatives and friends.

Some years ago, in the Spring time of the year it was, and long before the present so-called improvements had been made

upon the grounds, I strolled into the old burial place of the dead. It is a sacred spot, and one can learn a lesson of the vanity of life from the still remaining record of those who after "life's fitful fever sleep well" within its hallowed precincts. It is now almost deserted and greatly changed, but at the time of my visit, tall trees waved their untrimmed branches over the graves of those who once trod our streets, the rank undergrowth grew over and above many an old sandstone slab, bearing a brief notice of the last resting place and virtues of the departed. It was towards the close of the day, and the mild beams of the sun shone with tempered radiance. Here—there, all around me the graves of those who in former years carried life and it may be happiness within the social circle.

But my object is not to moralize, but to go back into the past and call up a few personalities in connection therewith.

Thomas Godfrey, the son of the inventor of the quadrant, and the author of the first dramatic work written in America, lies buried in that old churchyard. His grave is undistinguished from those of the numerous congregation of the dead sleeping around him. Time has long since levelled the incumbent sod and no stones were erected to mark the spot where his ashes repose. The memorials of him are few.

He was born in Philadelphia in 1736, received a common education and was apprenticed to a watchmaker. In 1758 he was appointed Lieutenant in the Pennsylvania forces raised for the expedition to Fort Du Quesne, the site of the present city of Pittsburg. On the disbanding of the troops, he removed to this place and entered into business as a merchant and a factor. He lived here about five years during which time he wrote his tragedy, "The Prince of Parthia," also the "Court of Fancy", modelled after Chaucer's "House of Fame." He died August 3, 1763, being only twenty-seven years old. The Prince of Parthia was the first dramatic work written in America. Extracts from this play may be found in Duyckink's *Cyclopedia of Literature*.

Godfrey spent his summers at Masonboro Sound, and was highly esteemed for his many good qualities. He wrote a piece upon Masonboro and many others of local interest, which survived for years in the recollection of the people of this section but which have long since been forgotten.

In the year 1783 an Irish gentleman with his wife and two young children started from Ireland for America. Landing first at

Charleston they sojourned in that period for a brief period only and then removed to Wilmington. Within a year after their arrival here their parents sickened and died, the old churchyard received their mortal remains, and the helpless little ones were left to the cold charity of the world. One of those orphaned children, but five years old when deprived of the watchful guardianship and gentle care of his parents, was Johnston Blakely. He "who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb" watched over that helpless boy and raised up a friend in the person of Edward Jones, subsequently Solicitor General of the State, himself an Irishman and possessing those generous impulses so characteristic of that people. He adopted the boy, directed his education and was a father unto him. In the year 1800 young Bakely then nineteen years of age was appointed mid-shipman in the United States Navy. His abilities soon won rapid promotion and the war of 1812 developed the inherent heroism of his character.

In 1814 he was appointed to the command of the Sloop of War, Wasp, and early in June of that year appeared off the English coast and announced his presence by the capture of the English Ship of War, Reindeer, after an action of but fifteen minutes. His success in that brief and brilliant cruise electrified the country, and his name was on every lip, and a grateful people were prepared to welcome back the youthful hero and bestow fresh honors upon him. But alas, he returned no more. On the 4th of November 1814 the Brig Atlanta arrived at Savannah, Ga., with dispatches from Blakely for the government, and that was the last authentic information ever received of him. Whether he foundered at sea or went down amid the roar of battle was never known, the restless ocean gave no sign nor did the wild winds syllable the mystery of his fate.

Thus perished at the early age of 33 years, Johnston Blakely, one of the most gallant officers of the United States Navy and around whose name a romantic interest still clings on account of his youth and the mystery of his fate. By his marriage* in 1813 he had one child, a daughter named Udney and on the 27th of December 1816 the General Assembly of North Carolina unanimously resolved that the child of Blakely

*The widow of Blakely married a second time a Dr. Abbott of Santa Croix and removed to that place taking her daughter with her who married in 1841 Baron von Bretton, M. D. and in 1842 died without issue.

should be educated at the expense of the State which resolve was faithfully carried out.

The name of Blakely is dear to the people of North Carolina, but I hold that we of this section are more closely connected with him than all others, for he may well be classed among our most distinguished sons. This was his home in America—in our old churchyard the bones of his ancestors have long since mouldered into dust.† It was in this ancient borough that his infant years were passed and where he grew into lusty youth until he went forth into the world to shed a lustre upon his country's history and to write his name full high upon the scroll of fame, and surely I think we have the right to claim for our good old town a portion of the glory which encircles the name of that orphan boy of the lower Cape Fear.

In the northeast corner of this same old churchyard, Cornelius Harnett sleeps the sleep of death. The spot is marked by a red sandstone on which is inscribed the following,

“Cornelius Harnett, died April 24, 1781,
Slave to no sect, he took no private road,
But looked up through nature to natures God.”

Such is the brief and artless biography written by the men of 1781, of the first Provincial Councillor of the State, the first member of the Provincial Assembly from the borough of Wilmington, elected to that body by the unanimous vote of the people, and one of the three delegates from North Carolina, who signed the original Articles of Confederation of the United States. His beautiful home at Hilton on the North-east branch of the Cape Fear River, embosomed in a grove of majestic oaks and luxuriant cedars was the seat of a refined hospitality. It was there that the brave hearts of olden times met together to listen to his words of wisdom and to take fresh courage from his example. It was there that he, Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts and Robert Howe of Brunswick held conference in regard to public affairs and devised plans for the success of that cause to which they had pledged their fortunes and their lives. Quincy in his diary mentions this meeting and writes in warm tones of Harnett, styling him the “Sam-

† Some years before entering the navy, Blakely lived with his guardian, Solicitor General Jones, in Chatham County. He was a student of the University but left before graduating in consequence of the destruction of his property in Wilmington by fire.

uel Adams of North Carolina. He was bold, eloquent and incorruptible, the representative man of Cape Fear, and such was the influence he wielded that when Sir Henry Clinton issued his proclamation of amnesty to the citizens of North Carolina on the 5th of May, 1776, dated on board of the Pallas transport then lying in the Cape Fear River, there were but two names exempted from its benefits, Cornelius Harnett and Robert Howe of Brunswick.

He did not live to enjoy the triumph of the cause to which he was so devoted. While lying sick at the house of a friend on the Newberne road he was captured by a party sent out by Major Craig, the British Commandant of the town. His merciless captors compelled him to walk until he sank to the ground from utter exhaustion, then they threw him like a sack of meal across the back of a horse and thus brought him into Wilmington. The effect of such treatment upon a system enfeebled by disease could have no other than a fatal result, he sank under it, and the old churchyard of St. James contains all that was mortal of the first scholar, statesman and patriot of the age in which he lived.

I cannot say his resting place has been neglected, for the old red sandstone marks the place of his repose and points the pilgrim to his narrow bed. At the time I visited it, two aged china-trees waved their branches above him and two stalwart oaks shaded his remains from the eastern and western sun, while the fox flower in rich luxuriance grew lightly above his breast. In the days of the Revolution he was a terror to the mother country and in these later days the Legislature of the State has honored his memory by assigning his name to the county of Harnett, created from the county of Cumberland, a county whose fair proportions were shorn once before in making the county of Moore, which was also named after a distinguished son of New Hanover.

Among the many brilliant young men who shone in Wilmington society many years ago were two, particularly distinguished for intelligence, culture and many attributes. Between them an intimacy had existed from boyhood and had ripened into an affection closer than that of a brother. They were lovers of pleasure, and their circumstances in life were such as to enable them to gratify any reasonable desire or fancy. Like most young men of the day they indulged in the sports of the field but not to an injurious excess, and took pleasure in giving employment to others frequently without calculating the cost to themselves. At a pleasant gathering at their rooms one even-

ing of many of the young men of the town the conversation turned upon the existence of a man after death and whether if he really existed, he had the power to return to earth and make his presence known. After the company had dispersed the two friends continued the discussion in which they were greatly interested and at parting it was agreed between them that the one first called away would if possible reveal himself to the survivor. A very short time after the agreement had been made, one of the parties were called to sudden death, having been thrown from his horse while riding in the woods.* Every effort was made to restore him to life but in vain, and the following day his remains were interred in the old burying ground of St. James.

His sudden and untimely death cast a deep gloom over the community for he was greatly esteemed, but to his friend the shock was terrible and, like Rachel mourning for her children, he refused to be comforted. A short time after the funeral, while sitting in his room in the darkening twilight, weary of the world and sorrowing for his departed friend, that friend suddenly stood before him and gazing sadly in his face said, "how could you let me be buried when I was not dead." "Not dead," exclaimed the survivor horror struck. "No, I was not," replied his visitor, "open the coffin and you will see I am not lying in the position in which you placed me," and vanished immediately. The survivor was a man of nerve and not easily excited, and though startled as any one would naturally be at such an occurrence was not at all inclined to believe in its reality but attributed it to a morbid condition of his nervous system or the wild vagaries of a distempered imagination. The next evening however at the same hour, and again on the ensuing evening the apparition appeared with the same mournful query, "how could you let me be buried when I was not dead."

Three times this vision appeared to him on three successive evenings and he could no longer bear the strain upon his nervous system and the agony that weighed upon his mind. At all hazard he determined to exhume the body and satisfy himself as to the truth or the falsity of the statement of his supernatural visitor. Calling to his assistance a gentleman on whom he could rely, they together proceeded under cover of night to the grave and commenced their work. Nature was in harmony with their thoughts and feelings for for it was a night well calculated to excite emotion and make their pulses throb with a wilder beat. The clouds hung

bleak and lowering overhead, the wind in fitful gusts moaned through the branches of the trees and scattered in wild confusion the dead leaves which had gathered upon many a tomb within that sacred spot. No twinkling stars looked down upon them from above, and no mortal eye was there to witness their proceedings; no sign of life in any shape or form was heard save the mournful hooting of the owl as it flitted from limb to limb. In the stillness of the midnight hour, for not a word was spoken and scarce a breath was drawn, amidst the darkness and the gloom that weighed upon them like a pall and with the clammy moisture clinging to their garments they shovelled out the earth until at length the coffin was exposed. Carefully unscrewing the lid, with reverential awe they raised it up, and with bated breath and quivering nerves he, to whom the vision appeared, threw the light from a dark lantern full upon the body as it lay full exposed to view. "Merciful God!" he cried with horror as he gazed upon his dead friend lying upon his face.

This is no fancy sketch I have drawn, ladies and gentlemen, but the simple statement of a *fact*, which is vouched for by parties whose veracity is unimpeachable. I remember well, when a child, listening to the voice of my mother as she related this circumstance which I have attempted to describe. In after years and in my mature manhood she frequently repeated it to me. It was made known to her by the chief actor in the scene, who was her near relative and with whom she was on terms of affectionate intimacy, and it has been confirmed in every particular by the late venerated President of the Ladies Benevolent Society who so recently lapsed from earth to her rest among the saints. I trust I violate none of the proprieties when I quote the following note I received from her some time since.

"Mr. Burr, the incident I spoke of months ago happened in my early youth and made an impression on my childish mind as I heard it related to my mother by an intimate friend of one of the parties. The one who stated the *fact* to my mother had been the companion by night in the graveyard search, and spoke of the horror of having seen the body lying in the posi-

NOTE.—Samuel R. Jocelyn was the one who died, and appeared to his friend Alexander, or as he was familiarly called, Sandy Hostler. The one who assisted Hostler in opening the grave was Lewis Toomer, Esq.

Jocelyn was the son of the great equity lawyer of the same name.

tion in the coffin indicated in the vision. It was made known to but very few on account of surviving relatives. Yours, C. G. Kennedy."

If the circumstance I have here mentioned stood alone and was not verified by similar instances in the history of the human race I would not regard it worthy of notice however well sustained by testimony it might be, but as it constitutes a link in a chain of events that has claimed the attention of the thoughtful in all the ages of the world, it furnishes, I think, food for serious reflection. What explanation can be given in regard to this *fact* which I have narrated?

There is another remarkable circumstance connected with that old churchyard which occurred nearly sixty years ago but which I can only glance at for reasons which will doubtless be understood. In the summer of 1833 a communication appeared in a newspaper published in a northern city which communication was sent from this town and entitled "a true narrative" and which, among other matters, charged that there were thirty-eight regular day drunkards in the then small town of Wilmington. This publication caused intense feeling among those who were at all addicted to dissipation. Some of them met together on Sunday evening and after imbibing freely and indulging in reckless remarks adjourned to meet again on the following Sunday, but on the ensuing Saturday two of this number were dead and were buried the next day. On the following Saturday another died and was followed to the grave on Sunday by his boon companions. During the interment some of the parties commented on the singularity of these deaths and the question was asked, "Who will go next?" One of them laughingly responded, "I will." On their return from the grave of their associate they stopped at a drinking saloon and as the wine cup passed freely around the question, as to who would die next and when, was discussed again. He who had volunteered at the grave again said he would go next Saturday and was called upon to name one to follow him on the ensuing week which he did and the party so chosen agreed to the arrangement.

Just as they volunteered, so they died, one, two, three. In a day or two the first one was taken sick and on Saturday was dead. As soon as it became known that he had died on that day, the other who agreed to follow him the ensuing week was taken to his bed. He made the strongest promises of reformation, offered all his possessions for life, life in any

form, poverty, misery, starvation, only life. But it was too late, he had made a covenant with death and the grave and they claimed him for their own. When the rising sun of the ensuing Saturday broke upon the town, it shone upon him sinking in death, and ere it reached its zenith he was a corpse. On Sunday the funeral bell again tolled forth as he was borne to the grave.

These remarkable occurrences naturally created much excitement at the time, and were regarded by many as a direct exhibition of the awful providence of God as manifested in the particular identity that marked the circumstances of their demise, they having all died on Saturday and having been buried on Sunday. They also furnished a fruitful theme for the advocates of temperance, and it was used very freely then which gave rise to bitter controversies in the newspapers of the day. The facts of the deaths could not be controverted or denied, and I have alluded to the matter not with any desire to awaken bitter memories or to revive recollections that have long been buried, but simply as a remarkable occurrence connected with the local history of the town.

Many years ago there was an association of the ladies of St. James parish known as the Ladies Sewing Society, organized for charitable purposes and which through a series of years scattered its benefactions with a liberal hand over every part of the diocese of North Carolina. As evidence of what was accomplished by this Society, I will state that the proceeds of their labor, working only one afternoon in each week from 1822 when the Society was formed to 1843 amounted to more than \$4,500. In 1832 an eligible lot was purchased by the Society and the present rectory building provided for the minister. For that important measure the parish is indebted almost entirely to the ladies of that Society. It was a noble charity and like the present associations of our noble women, was every way worthy of our admiration and should be held in lasting remembrance.

It was incorporated by the General Assembly in 1833 and authorized to hold property. Upon the lot which they purchased, adjoining the old churchyard and immediately in the rear of the present church building a commodious hall for the purpose a free school, and known for years as Society Hall, was subsequently erected by the munificence of the late Governor Edward B. Dudley and P. K. Dickinson, Esq., and presented to the Society.

It has been used for a variety of purposes since. The

services of the Church were conducted there during the erection of the present church edifice of St. James. When the Court House was destroyed in the great fire of 1840, it was there that the seat of justice was established and courts of law and equity held. Its walls have echoed the shouts of excited partisans at many a political gathering, and at a later period the heavy tramp of armed men has been heard drilling for that fearful clash of arms between the States which shook the earth and appalled the nations of the world.

About the first public use made of the house was in the Spring of 1833. At that time a fair was gotten up by the ladies for some charitable object of the church and as it was the first event of its kind in Wilmington great interest was manifested by all classes the old as well as the young. It was a complete success in every way and the amount realized was astonishingly large. Who that participated in that gorgeous scene will ever forget the beauty and the charm of its surroundings? I can remember, though but a youngster at the time, the many tables tastefully arranged around the room and laden with the choicest specimens of art. The genius of the painter was excited side by side with the triumphs of the modiste, nature and art vied with each other to add brilliancy to the occasion and all that could please the eye or captivate the fancy was displayed in profusion around. It was a scene of enchantment. Fair women in gorgeous toilettes moved gracefully around with glistening eyes, and smiles that caused many a pulse to throb with a quickening beat; the perfume of a thousand flowers stole gently upon the scenes and voluptuous music ravished the ear and heightened the glow of delight.

I may be pardoned, I hope, if I indulge for a moment in a slight personal retrospection in connection with the fair. I was then young and, like all youths at that period of life, was desperately smitten with a dark eyed little one who was assisting a middle-aged lady at one of the tables. I had determined to invest my entire capital in a present for the object of my idolatry, and read in the only newspaper published in the town a long list in rhyme of the articles offered for sale and had settled upon a particular one which I meant to purchase and present to her, though I had no idea what the article was. A few rhymes still linger in memory and ran thus:

"Come and buy, come and buy, we have every thing rare,
Ever pictured by fancy or modelled by care,

All that's useful or novel, or pretty or plain,
Has been gathered and ordered your bounty to gain.
"Come and buy, come and buy, all ye belles that love slaughter.
We have gloves, fans, fate ladies and Florida water,
We have parasols, pearl powder, pincushions, paper,
And glasses to twig the beau through as they caper.
"Come and buy, come and buy, we have fancy wood casketts,
Veils, vinegar scented, and bright alum basketts,
We have butterflies, buttons, knives, razors and bodkins,
Tongs, souvenirs, scissors and 'flexible odd things'."

The euphony of that last article struck my fancy although I had no idea what "flexible odd things" were, I determined to purchase them and present them to my sweetheart. So to the table I marched behind which she stood by the side of the middle-aged lady, and boldly inquired the price of the "flexible odd things." I wanted one I added for a present for a young lady, and I cast a tender glance at the little one with dark eyes and raven locks. The words had scarcely passed my lips before I saw that I had blundered, but how, I knew not, but the blush that crimsoned her cheeks showed that her delicacy had been offended. "You impudent scamp," said the middle-aged matron, "how dare you ask a young girl for such an article as that!" "Madam," I replied with a face as red as the little one's, "I beg pardon, but please tell me what it is, for I really know nothing about it or its uses." "You spooney," she replied, "begone and find out." But as I turned to leave she stooped towards me and whispered in my ear, "It is what gentlemen seldom use as they don't wear long stockings." The secret was out, I had plunged head foremost into the mysteries of a lady's toilette, had run against a snag and had no insurance. My ignorance was no excuse for I ought to have known better and I well deserved to have applied to me that caustic line, "fools rush in where angels fear to tread."

However, the storm blew over and we were again on good terms with each other very soon, but as we grew older our paths in life diverged, each formed different connections, and alas for the remembrance of youth, the little dark-eyed houri, who was then the bright particular star of my existence, is now, and has been for years, an honored grand mother, while the verdant youth, who was such a veritable know-nothing in those days, now, in the "lean and slippered pantaloons" still totters on towards the end with lengthening shadows gathering around him.

APPENDIX.

One of the Commissions given by William and Mary, King and Queen of England to Captain Louis de Rosset is given in full below. He was descended from an ancient noble family in South France, members of which from time to time had served the French Government. He himself was a Lieutenant in its army, prior to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. He sacrificed a considerable fortune by adhering to his religion and emigrating from his native land.

William R.

William & Mary, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc: To our trusty and well beloved Lewis de Rosset, Esq., Greeting. We, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty Courage & good conduct do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Captain of that company whereof Captain of grenadiers Rene' de la Fucille was Captain in the Regiment of Foot commanded by Our Trusty and Well beloved Colonell de la Caillemorte. You are therefore to take the said Company into your Care and Charge and duely to exercise as well the Officers as Soldiers thereof in armes and to use your best endeavor to keep them in good order and discipline. And we hereby Command them to obey you their Captain and you to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time, as you shall receive from Us, your Colonell or any your superior officers according to the Rules and Discipline of Warr in pursuance of the trust We hereby repose in you. Given at Our Court the 1st day of April 1689 in the first year of the Reigne.

By his Maj^{tys} Command
Shrewsbury.

THE SWIFT JOURNAL.

The extracts from General Swift's Journal were made by Mr. Harrison Ellery, a relative. He aimed at publishing what is of peculiar interest to the inhabitants of the Lower Cape Fear.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

James Sprunt Historical Monograph
No. 5



Minutes of the Kehukey Association
(BAPTIST)

With Letter of Joel Battle Fort, and with Introduction and Notes by Kemp Plummer Battle, LL.D.

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY
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CHAPEL HILL

INTRODUCTION.

The History of the Kehukee Baptist Association was first published in 1803 by Elders Lemuel Burkitt and Jesse Read, ministers of the Gospel in Northampton and Halifax Counties in North Carolina. It was republished in 1834 by Elder Joseph Biggs, Pastor of the Baptist Church at Skewarkey, under the supervision of a committee appointed by the Association, and the history brought down to the later date. Neither of these volumes contain the first minutes of the Old Kehukee (or Kehukee) Baptist Association organized before the Revolutionary War. We are fortunate in having procured them from a descendant of one of the early members residing in Robertson County, Tennessee. We print them with the old-time spelling.

According to Burkitt and Read's book most of the churches before they were united in an Association were "General Baptists", adhering to Free-will doctrines, under the preaching of Elders Paul Palmer and Joseph Parker and their successors. Then the Philadelphia Baptist Association sent two of their ministers, Vanhorn and Miller, of New Jersey, to visit North Carolina. They and their followers were called New Lights. They were generally cordially received. Those who believed in their doctrines adopted the confession of faith published in London in 1689, containing 32 articles, the foundation of the Philadelphia and the Charleston Associations. By means of these ministers the greater part of the North Carolina Baptists became Regulars. The churches thus reformed entered into the Kehukee Association in the year 1769. Burkitt and Read mention as members some who were not present in the first organization, viz., Elders John Thomas, John Burges, William Burges, Charles Daniel, William Walker, Thomas Pope and Henry Abbott. Kehukee meeting-house was on a creek of the same name in the south-

eastern part of Halifax County, emptying into the Roanoke.

The Kehukee Association is composed of those now known as Primitive Baptists. In 1826 those known as Reformed Baptists issued a circular, which was referred to the churches of the Association. In 1827, at the meeting of the Association, according to Elder Joseph Biggs, "it was agreed that we discard all Missionary Societies, Bible Societies and Theological Seminaries and the practices heretofore resorted to for their support, in begging money from the public." * * "believing these societies and institutions to be the inventions of men and not warranted from the Word of God." Non-fellowship was also declared against joining the fraternity of Masons.

The first State Convention of those who are sometimes called the Missionary Baptists was held at *Greenville in 1803.

I learn from Rev. Pleasant D. Gold, an able and honored Elder, or preacher, of this denomination, that the first Kehukee Church was about three miles east of Scotland Neck. About fifteen years ago the old house was sold and a new church built about one mile from that town. There are now about forty churches in the Kehukee Association. Elder Silvester Hassell is the Moderator. The territory includes Nash, Edgecombe, Halifax, part of Pitt, Washington, Beaufort, Hyde, Tyrrell and Pasquotank.

Some of the leading preachers, or elders at present are Elders Silvester Hassell, G. D. Roberson, Samuel Moore, M. T. Lawrence (a grandson of Elder Joshua Lawrence), N. H. Harrison, Charles Meats, M. B. Willeford, Jordan Johnson and J. D. Armstrong. Mr. Gold is not a member of this Association, but has been pastor of the church at the Falls of Tar River for thirty years.

The Kehukee is the oldest Association of the Primitive Baptists in North Carolina and one of the oldest in the United States, those of Philadelphia and Charleston only being older.

KEMP P. BATTLE.

* In the charter spelt Greenville.

LETTER FROM JOEL B. FORT.

In the year 1789, Elias Fort and wife Sarah, with his sons William, Josiah, and Sugg Fort, Emigrated from Edgecombe County, North Carolina, Seeking homes in the then unsettled far West.

Josiah and William brought their families with them. Sugg Fort was married in Tennessee and was a number of years and until his death a Baptist Minister. In the separation of the Missionary Baptists from the Primitive Baptists which was occasioned by the preaching of Eld. Ruben Ross who came from Edgecombe County, N. C. a short time after the Fort emigration, Elder Sugg Fort sided with Father Ross and preached for the Missionary Baptists till his death in 1826.

The emigrant company in 1789, when they reached Knoxville, employed Gen. Andrew Jackson to guard them and protect them against the attacks by Indians over the Cumberland Mountains and as far as Nashville. Elias Fort and his sons passed Nashville and settled on the waters of Red River near the mouth of Sulphur Fork Creek where the village of Port Royal now stands. They entered large tracts of land, some of which has continued to descend from father to son to the present time. During the long journey over the mountains and to Nashville, a strong and lasting friendship was cemented between the Fort family and Gen. Jackson. Later on in 1796, William Fort and Gen. Jackson met as Members of the "First Constitutional Convention of Tennessee" at Knoxville, and old ties were so strengthened and confidence engendered that William Fort made his last will and testament naming Gen. Andrew Jackson as his executor.

His will is on record in Minute book No. 1 in the County Court of Robertson County, Tennessee. William Fort passed

away before "Old Hickory" became the hero of New Orleans and the idol of the Nation.

Red River Church was organized at the mouth of "Sulphur Fork on Red River, District of ²Mero, Tennessee County on the 5th day of July 1791 by Ambrose Dudley and John Taylor," Minute Book, Red River Church, page 1.

These Baptist Ministers and devout servants of God rode on horseback carrying their scanty wearing apparel, Bible and Hymn Books in their saddle bags along the Indian trail over the plains, through the unbroken forests, and as they journeyed for the first time, the hymns of praise sung from fervent souls echoed through the primeval woodland.

On April 27, 1794, the Minutes of Red River Church show:

"Received Elias Fort and his wife Sarah by letter of recommendation from the Baptist Church of Christ, near the falls of Tar River in Nash and Edgecombe Counties, North Carolina." In the back of this old book, sear in leaf and worn of cover, will be found the first Minutes of Old Kehukey Baptist Association, organized before the Revolutionary War, with Elisha Battle, Elias Fort and William Horn as delegates from Tar River Church. The Minutes are recorded *each year till 1777, and the place of meeting selected for 1778. But no more is recorded. It is to be presumed that, in the perilous times when the infant nation was fighting for life and existence, those devout people found little time or opportunity to assemble and worship as they had done in the past. After the Minutes cease in 1777, a family record of the Fort family is found, showing that the book fell into the hands and safe keeping of that family and was thus delivered by them to the first Church organized in Tennessee, to be used as a Minute book. The Minutes of said church are therein recorded till 1826. My correspondence with Dr. H. B. Battle revealed the loss of this much of the history of the old Kehukey Association which I cheerfully supply. I have the old book in my possession and am careful of its preservation. The copy I

* Except 1775. See page 25.

furnish is an exact copy of the original, which, if as interesting to those who may chance to read as it has been and is yet to me, will entirely repay me for making the copy for Dr. Battle.

JOEL B. FORT.

Adams, Tenn.

Mar. 21st, 1903.

MINUTES KEHUKEY ASSOCIATION,

NOV. 6th, 1769 TO 1777.

The Sixth day of November Anno Domini 1769 A Considerable number of Baptists Ministers and Brethren met at Kehukey in the County of Hallifax and province of North Carolina to Consult about the expediency of An Association and the Manner of Conducting it to the advantage of the Churches. The issue of the Meeting was adopting the platform and Sentiments of the Philadelphia Association and thereon forming themselves into a like Body. The Churches that incorporated this year is the Church at Kehukey in Hallifax County, the Church at³ Tossneot, and Tar River in Edgecomb County and the Church in Bertie and the Church in Pitt County.

The Sentiments Concerning an Association, that such an Association is useful and beneficial, are first Union and Communion among themselves Maintaining more effectually the order and faith once delivered to the Saints, having advice in cases of doubt, helps in distress &c.

Secondly, that such an Association is consistant with the independency of particular Churches because it pretends to be no more than an advisory Counsel, Disclaiming Superiority, Jurisdiction, Coercive right or infallibility.

Thirdly, that an Association should consist of Men Knowing and Judicious especially in Scriptures. And now in Concurrence with the above Sentiments We whose names are hereunto Subscribed being met together, as we trust in fear of God and having a desire to promote the glory of God and the good of his Church, We have unanimously united and joined ourselves together in an Association.

CHURCHES.		MESSENGERS.
Kehukey	. . .	⁴ John Meglamore.
	. . .	Jessie Andrews.
	. . .	Thomas Witherby.
Bertie	. . .	⁵ James Abbington.
	. . .	Ephram Daniel.
	. . .	James Vinson.
Tar River	. . .	John Moore.
	. . .	⁶ Elisha Battle.
	. . .	Elias Fort.
	. . .	⁷ Wm. Horn.
Tossneot	. . .	⁸ Jonathan Thomas.
Pitt	. . .	Jeremiah Robin.
	. . .	John Nobell.

PLAN OF ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association to consist only of Messengers Chosen and Sent by the Churches. These Messengers to be their Ministers (for reason given in Sentiment 3) together with some Judicious brethren, their expenses to be borne by the Churches which send them.

2nd. With the Messengers the Churches send letters addressed to the Association, in these letters mention is made of the names of the Messengers and their authority to act for their Churches, also the State of the Church touching their peace, their increase by Baptism and by letters dismission and commendatory from other Churches, touching their dismission by death, excommunication and dismission to other Churches, and the present number of members. If any questions are to be put to the Association, any advice to ask, or any business to propose, these are to be expressed in said letters.

3rd. All matters to be determined in this Association by the suffrage of the Messengers, except what are determin-

able by Scripture, such matters are never put to the decision of votes. All that speak are to address the Moderator, who is to take care that none are to be interrupted while speaking, and that no other indecorum take place.

4th. Churches are to be received into this association by petition setting forth their desire to be admitted, their faith, order and willingness to be conformable to the rules of the Associated body. When a petition is read and matters ripened for a vote, the Moderator states the question, suffrage being given in favor of the petition, the said Moderator declares that such a Church is received into the Association in token of which he gives the Messengers the right hand of fellowship and bids them take their seats.

5th. The Association to meet annually at Kehukey Meeting house on Monday next after the first Sunday in August and to continue till business be finished, it is to be opened with divine Service, after which a Moderator and Clerk are Chosen, the letters from the Churches are read the names of the Messengers are written that they may be called over after Meetings, then business is attended to and Minutes thereof made. A circular letter to the Churches is made and signed and a copy of it sent to every Church containing the Minutes of the association, the States of the Churches when and by whom Services are to be supplied, who to preach the next association Sermon, and whatever else is needful for the Churches to know.

6th The faith and order of this Association are expressed in a confession put forth by upwards of a hundred congregations in Great Britain in the year 1689 and adopted by the Association of Philadelphia in 1742. Some of the principles in said Confession are, the imputation of Adam's Sin to his posterity, the inability of man to recover himself, effectual Calling by Sovereign Grace, Justification by imputed righteousness, Immersion for Baptism and that on profession of faith and repentance, Congregational Churches and their

independency, Reception into them upon evidence of sound Conversion &c.

Hallifax County. At an association held at Kehukey Meeting House the 6th day of November 1769.

CHURCHES.		MESSENGERS PRESENT.
Kehukey	.	John Meglamore.
	.	William Burgess.
	.	Jessie Andrews.
	.	Thomas Wethersby.
Bertie	.	James Ablington.
	.	Ephram Daniel.
	.	Thomas Miers.
Pitt	.	Jeremiah Rohm.
	.	John Nøbell.
Tar River	.	John Moore.
	.	Elisha Battle.
	.	Elias Fort.
	.	Wm. Horn.
Tossneot	.	Jonathan Thomas.

Received as assistants to sit in Ass'n from Fishing Creek in *Bute County, Zachariah Thompson and Laurance Winfield, Jonathan Thomas Chosen Moderator and Elisha Battle Clerk.

Whereas Charles Daniel Minister being charged with disorderly Walking has this day by the consent of himself and this Association Come to a legal trial and by the opinion of said Association it is ordered that the said Charles Daniel from henceforth is suspended from communion and silenced from preaching until a restoration.

Hallifax County. At an Association held at Kehukey Meeting House the 6th. day of August 1770.

* Now Warren.

CHURCHES.		MESSENGERS PRESENT.
Tossneot	. . .	Jonathan Thomas.
	. . .	Moses Baker.
Kehukey	. . .	John Meglamore.
	. . .	William Burgess.
	. . .	Livy Lancaster.
	. . .	Thos. Wethersby.
Bertie	. . .	James Abbington.
	. . .	Thos. Miers.
	. . .	Jonathan Carr.
	. . .	Jessie Hart.
Tar River	. . .	Elisha Battle.
	. . .	William Horn.
	. . .	James Wiggon.

Rec'd as assistants to sit in the Ass'n from Fishing Creek Church Bute Co. Zachariah Thompson, William Allen, Laurance Winfield.

Ques. Who was Melchizedeck according to Hebrews the 7 Ch. 15 V's?

Ans. That he was a man according to our Judgments.

Ques. Is it a transgression worthy of suspension for a church member to buy a ticket in a lottery and insist upon it being lawful and not sinful so to do?

Ans. It is unlawful and worthy of suspicion.

Ques. How can God be said to repent when he is unchangeable as in 1 Sam. 15 and 29?

Ans. Gods repenting in Gen. C. 6 we understand to be meant the human nature of Jesus Christ the Son of God, but in 1 Sam. 15, 29, we understand to be meant his divine nature which cannot repent, alter or change.

Ques. Whether God did decree the possibility of any thing that never did nor never will come to pass?

Ans. In the Affirmative that he most Certainly did.

Upon reading a letter from Charles Daniel directed to this Association it is agreed that John Meglamore, William Bur-

gress and Levy Lancaster and Thos. Overby be appointed a committee to prepare a letter in answer to that of the said Daniel. Ordered by this Association that when a Minister is to be ordained the Church where he resided shall call to their assistance two ordained Ministers or more. Ordered that John Moore be appointed to preach the Ass'n Sermon next year.

Hallifax County at an Association held at the Kehukey Meeting House the 5th day of August 1771.

CHURCHES.	MESSENGERS PRESENT.		
Tar River	.	.	John Moore.
	.	.	Elias Fort.
	.	.	William Horn.
Tossneot	.	.	Johnathan Thomas.
	.	.	Moses Baker.
	.	.	John Thomas.
Bertie	.	.	James Abbington.
	.	.	Thomas Deans.
Kehukey	.	.	James Vinson.
	.	.	John Meglamore.
	.	.	William Burgess.
	.	.	Thos. Oveby.
	.	.	Thos. Wethersby.
Pasquotank	.	.	James Bell.
	.	.	Henry Abott.
	.	.	Joseph Creeper.

Rec'd as assistants to sit in Ass'n from Wm. Walkers Church on Fishing Creek, Zachariah Thompson, Mathew Thomas, Wm. Cook, John Meglamore chosen Moderator. Elias Fort Clerk. Henry Abett pastor of the Church in Pasquotank County joined himself a member of this Association and is received as such. Jonathan Thomas motioned that the general conference Book be read and as many of the

Queries adopted in the Association Book as can be universally received by the Association. The same is granted.

Ques. How doth mankind first attain to the knowledge of moral good and evil?

Ans. By External revelation.

Ques. Whether the commission of sin or the omission of duty among professors is the most heinous crime?

Ans. Sins of omission or commission receive their aggravation from Circumstances &c. and therefore no general answer can properly be given which are most heinous, but we hereby caution Christian professors against both.

Ques. Whether it is lawful for a woman to vote in conference or not?

Ans. It is not.

Ques. Is it orderly for a male member in our Churches if he finds freedom to exhort in publick or not?

Ans. We Judge it is the duty of any person who looks upon it to be his duty to exhort his fellowmen, first to acquaint the Church with his desire and to obtain priviledge of the Church for that purpose.

Ques. Whether the pastor of any particular church may lawfully leave the place of his attendance to live in a branch of his Church distant from his former attendance?

Ans. A pastor of a Church, that is so for a limited time, may remove any where when said time is expired, But if his pastoral charge is for life he may not remove without the consent of the people he was ordained over.

Ques. Is it orderly for those called regular Baptists to commune with the "Separate Baptist Church?

Ans. We esteem it our duty to commune with any Baptist Church or orderly member who has the essential of Church Communion, viz. Those whose principles in fundamentals are not heretical and whose practices are not vicious.

Ques. What is meant by Christs Second Coming which is so often spoken of in Scriptures?

Ans. It is his coming to Judgement.

It is agreed that, an Association fund be established and be supported by voluntary contributions from the Several Churches, the sum they bestow for that purpose be specified in their letters and sent to the Association by their Messengers and We appoint William Burgess our Treasurer during the Associations pleasure. On motion made by Jeremiah Walker it is agreed that delegates be appointed to attend the Separate Baptist Association in Virginia and by a private poll held for that purpose, Jonathan Thomas, James Abbing-ton and John Meglamore appointed to attend said Ass'n the last Saturday in Sept. A motion made by Jonathan Thomas for an occasional Association to be held for furtherance of business to intervene between this and the next annual Ass'n., it is agreed that an occasional Ass'n. be held at Fishing Creek Meeting House in Bute County the 3rd Saturday in November next.

At an Association held at William Walkers Meeting house on Fishing Creek in Bute County the 16th day of November 1771.

CHURCHES.		MESSENGERS PRESENT.
Kehukey	. . .	John Meglamore.
	. . .	William Burgess.
	. . .	Thos. Oveby.
	. . .	Nath'l Tatum.
	. . .	James Bell.
Tossneot	. . .	Jonathan Thomas.
	. . .	John Thomas.
	. . .	Ruben Hoge.
Tar River	. . .	John Moore.
	. . .	Elisha Battle.
	. . .	Elias Fort.
	. . .	Henry Horn.

Received as assistants to sit in Ass'n. from Fishing Creek

Church Wm. Walker, Wm. Davis, Richard Acock, Francis Coppe, Mathew Thomas, Zachariah Thompson, Wm. Cook, Wm. Solymon, Wm. Allen. From Burches Creek, Va. John Creel. From Amelia in Va. Jeremiah Walker, John Williams, John Meglamore chosen Moderator, Jeremiah Walker Clerk.

Proceed to business on Monday Nov. 18th. 1771.

Ques. Whether the fourth Commandment obliges Christians to observe the Sabbath in as strict a manner as it did the Jews under that dispensation?

Ans. We hold and believe that the fourth Commandment obliges us to observe the Sabbath as a moral precept and not by a positive New Testament institution.

Ques. What is to be done in case a Church in communion with us should neglect to keep up a strict discipline, according to the word of God?

Ans. When a member of any Church is acquainted with a member or members of any other Church in Communion the proper way to find whether the church tolerates such members in such practices is to deal with such a member or members in Gospel order (if the difference be private) or bring them before the Church (if publick) and if the Church refuses to Censure such a member or members, he ought to inform the Association of their proceedings and if they continue to indulge such offenders the Association ought to expel them from Communion and Correspondence and if they belong to any other Association to inform the Association to which they are joined thereof. Jonathan Thomas motioned that the Association in the future begin and business proceeded to on Saturday, that the Communion on the Sabbath be better attended to, it is unanimously agreed on.

Ques. What are we to understand with respect to discipline by our Saviour's words to Peter "I say not till Seven times but till Seventy times Seven" and what are the Symptoms of repentance in the transgressor on which this forgiveness is to be founded?

Ans. We believe that our Saviour's words to Peter shows that the times of forgiveness are unlimited and the symptoms of repentance necessary to forgiveness are, An ungenerous and humble acknowledgement of the offense making the Confession as public as the Commission and engaging for the future by Divine Assistance to guard against Sin.

Ques. If a member of a Church Commit some Scandalous crime publicly before the world whether it is according to the gospel rule to reconcile such matters in a private manner by a few of the members of the Church?

Ans. Before the Church.

Ques. Whether it is a Ministers duty to forbear speaking to open or vindicate the truth in any matter either of queries or dispute in difference for fear some members should be prejudiced or offended?

Ans. No.

Ques. Suppose a number of Baptized members all of the female Sex, should dwell at a distance from any other baptist Society, are they or are they not Justifiable in Meeting together to pray and edify each other in the things of God?

Ans. They are Justifiable.

Upon some consideration the time of holding the association is altered and to be held at Kehukey Meeting House annually on the Saturday next before the Second Sunday in September.

Halifax County. At an Association held at Kehukey Meeting House on the 12th. day of Sept. 1772.

CHURCHES.

MESSENGERS PRESENT.

Kehukey	.	.	.	William Burgess, Past'r.
	.	.	.	William Bishop.
	.	.	.	Thos. Oveby.
Tar River	.	.	.	John Moore, Past'r.
	.	.	.	Elias Fort.
	.	.	.	Elisha Battle.
	.	.	.	William Horn.

Sussix, Cor'd Va.	.	.	.	John Meglamore, Past'r.
	.	.	.	Nathaniel Tatum.
	.	.	.	Nathaniel Holt.
	.	.	.	Richard Marks.
Tossneot	.	.	.	Jonathan Thomas, Past'r.
	.	.	.	Moses Baker.
	.	.	.	Nathan May.
Fishing Creek	.	.	.	William Walker, Pastor.
	.	.	.	Richard Acock.
Bear Creek	.	.	.	Joshua Herring, Past'r.
	.	.	.	Major Croom.
	.	.	.	Abraham Baker.
Brunswick Co. Va.	.	.	.	Zachariah Thompson,
				Past'r.

Jonathan Thomas Chosen Moderator, William Andrews Clerk.

Bertie	.	.	.	Lewis Thomas.
	.	.	.	John Bishop.
	.	.	15	James Vinson.
Pasquotank	.	.	.	Isaac Jones.
	.	.	.	John Berry.

Proceed to business on Monday Sept. 14, 1772.

The following ministers petitioned in behalf of their Churches to join the Association (to wit) Joshua Herring, John Maglemore, Zachariah Thompson, and William Walker. The Said Ministers and their Churches are rec'd as members of sd Association, Letters from the Several Churches read.

Motion. Is it legal for any church who is joined to an association to leave the same and join another association without permission from the former or not?

Answer. We conclude that it is legal nevertheless it would be commendable for such Ministers and Churches if opportunity permitted to acquaint such Association for their design.

Ques. How many delegates shall be Judged convenient for one Chnrch to send as members to an Association?

Ans. Two from the body and from each branch.

Motion. Is it thought necessary to address his Excellency the Governor?

Ans. It is thought expedient.

Ordered that the following address be presented to his Excellency the Governor.

To his Excellency Josiah Martin Esqr Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Province of North Carolina.

The Humble Address of all the Ministers and Elders of the Baptist Society, who associate annually in Hallifax County in the Province aforesaid in behalf of themselves and many hundred of their Brethren.

It is with unfeigned pleasure we acknowledge the happiness with which we are blessed in Common with other inhabitants of this Province under your Administration of government, but we beg leave in a more particular manner to express our gratified Sentiments of the protection we enjoy in exercise of our religious and civil liberties, for which it is our duty and shall be our constant endeavor to distinguish ourselves as loyal Subjects to our most gracious Sovereign, and useful members of Society. We hope this address will not be considered for a customary compliment, but a tribute of acknowledgement due to your merit from the experience we have had of your publick conduct. It is our prayer to the Almighty that as he has placed you in a most distinguished Station he would most eminently guide and direct you in all your actions and bless you with prosperity here and everlasting happiness hereafter.

Signed at our Association in Hallifax County Sept. 17th. 1772.

Jonathan Thomas, Moderator.

Elisha Battle, Clerk.

We appoint our Brethren Jonathan Thomas, Henry Abbot,

William Horn, Elisha Battle, John Thomas and William Burgess to present this address.

To which his Excellency was pleased to make the following answer. To the Ministers, Elders and Brethren of the Baptist Society in North Carolina.

Gentlemen:—I received with pleasure this mark of your approbation of my publick conduct, which my duty to my Royal Master calls upon me to make as much as possible conducive to the happiness of his Majesty's people in this Province. From the consciousness of steadily aiming to discharge that duty faithfully I derive a real inward Satisfaction. The tolerating Spirit of the British Government, and the Security it gives to the civil and religious liberties of the Subjects are blessings of which you seem to entertain a just sense and cannot be to highly valued. Your intended constant endeavor to distinguish yourselves as loyal Subjects to our most gracious Sovereign and useful members of the Community are highly commendable and will be certain crowned with Success as they shall be properly directed. I return you my hearty thanks for your pious good wishes to me and shall hope a continuance of them.

Josiah Martin, Gov.

Upon some consideration the Association have agreed to meet at Kehukey Meeting House in Hallifax County and to proceed to business on the Saturday on the first Sunday in August Annually.

Jonathan Thomas, Mod.

William Andrews, Clk.

At Kehukey Meeting house in Hallifax County the Association Met according to appointment on the 31st. day of July 1773.

CHURCHES.

Tar River . . .

MESSENGERS PRESENT.

John Moore, Pastor.

Elisha Battle.

William Horn.

Daniel Ross.

Kehukey	.	.	.	Wm. Burgess, Pastor.
	.	.	.	Thos. Ousby.
	.	.	.	Levy Lancaster.
Fishing Creek	.	.	.	Wm. Walker, Pastor.
Tossneot	.	.	.	Jonathan Thomas, Past'r
	.	.	.	Moses Baker.
	.	.	.	Nathan May.
Pasquotank	.	.	.	Henry Abbot, Pastor.
	.	.	.	John Wilson.
	.	.	.	Lem'l Burkitt.
	.	.	.	Wm. Lurry.
	.	.	.	Isaac Jones.
Sussix C. Va.	.	.	.	John Meglemore, Pastor.
	.	.	.	James Bell.
	.	.	.	Nathaniel Holt.
	.	.	.	John Sturgeon.
	.	.	.	Wm. Andrews.
	.	.	.	Shadrack Baley.
Bertie	.	.	.	Wm. Campbell.
	.	.	.	Wm. Connor.
	.	.	.	John Mc'Cabe.
Brunswick, Va.	.	.	.	Zack Thompson, Pastor.
	.	.	.	Rollin Williams.
	.	.	.	David Borrow.
	.	.	.	Wm. Ravies.
	.	.	.	Buckner Lanier.
Pungo in Va.	.	.	.	Robt. Lane.
	.	.	.	Augustus Lane.

John Maglemore Chosen Moderator and Lemmel Burkitt Clerk.

Letters from Several Churches rec'd.

Monday Morning August 2nd. 1773.

A regular Baptist Church at Pungo in princess Ann County, Virginia by a letter petitioned to join the Association, an examination finding them to be a church well regulated and constituted, agreeable to gospel rules and order,

they are received. The present State and Standing of the aforesaid Churches is as follows.

CHURCHES	MINISTERS	Baptized	Rec'd by Letter	Restored	Dismissed	Dead	Excom.	Members	Increase
Tar River.....	John Moore	7	2					84	9
Behukey	Wm. Burgess	12				2		63	10
Fishing Creek.....	Wm. Walker.....	10			5			300	5
Tossneot.....	Jonathan Thomas	21	2			2		100	21
Pasquotank.....	Henry Abbot.....								
Sussix Co. Va.....	John Meglamore...	67			10	1		187	56
Bertie.....	Minister dead								
Brunswick, Va....	Zach. Thomas.....	100			13	5		188	82
Pungo in Va.....	.....							76	

Motion made for circular letters to be sent to their Several Churches and agreed on.

Ques. What shall a Church do with members when they rent themselves off from her without just cause?

Ans. That the Church shall publicly declare that such members have without just cause irregularly rent themselves off from the Church, and that whatsoever offence the Sd. members are or shall be guilty of, that such a church is clear of the reproach.

¹¹Ques. What shall be done with a member that believes that Christ in his life and death fulfilled and made satisfaction to the law of God for all mankind?

Ans. That such a tenet is unscriptural and that it would be prudent in Churches having such a member to use all possible means consisting of love to convince and reclaim him.

Ques. Whether a Church have the right to remove a Deacon to a ruling Elder?

Ans. Yes, if the person is willing.

Motion made by a letter of Correspondence to be sent to the Philadelphia Association and agreed on.

Motion. For some method to be taken to regulate a sister Church in Bertie County.

Answer. It is agreed that the delegates of the Sd. Church should nominate some particular Ministers belonging to the Association to attend the said Meeting house and to receive the Members by experience into Church fellowship, accordingly they Chose John Moore, Jonathan Thomas and Lemuel Burkitt.

Motion. That a letter by way of admonition be sent those Churches that omitted Sending the Association on account of their states and Standing, and the Association appoint Brothers, Jonathan Thomas and Lemuel Burkitt to draw the letter in behalf of the whole.

Ques. A Controversy being between two Brethren being brought before the church and the Church appoints a committee to Settle the matter and when brought to trial being under bonds to abide by a Christian trial, the matter being determined and then part of the Church apprehending the committee being misinformed, gave a wrong Judgment as they conceive which lies on them as a burden, what shall be done in such a case?

Ans. Have a new trial by the same committee.

JOHN MEGLAMORE, Modr.

LEMUEL BURKITT, Clerk.

At Kehukey Meeting house in Hallifax County the Association Met by appointment on the 6th. day of Aug. 1774.

CHURCHES.		MESSENGERS PRESENT.
Tar River	. . .	John Moore, Pastor.
	. . .	Elisha Battle.
	. . .	John Moore, Jr.
	. . .	Henry Hart.
Kehukey	. . .	Wm. Burgess, Pastor.
	. . .	Stephen Wesley.
	. . .	John Mc'Cabe.

Fishing Creek . . .	Wm. Walker, Pastor.
. . .	Charles James.
. . .	Samuel Thompson.
. . .	Wm. Mc'Gregor.
. . .	Charles Ivey.
. . .	Wm. Andrews.
Tossneot . . .	Jonathan Thomas,
	Pastor.
. . .	John Thomas.
. . .	Moses Baker.
Brunswick . . .	Zachariah Thompson, P.
. . .	Peter Lee.
. . .	Buckner Lanier.
. . .	Isom Reavis.
Pasquotank . . .	Henry Abbott, Pastor.
. . .	Joseph Creecy.
. . .	Isaac Jones.
. . .	R. Harrison.
. . .	Benj. Wilson.
. . .	Wm. Constantine Luton.
Sussix Co., Va. . .	John Meglamore, Pastor.
. . .	Wm. Andrews.
. . .	John Sturgeon.
. . .	Z. Bell.
. . .	Sha'd Bailey.
Sandy Run . . .	Lemuel Burkitt, Pastor.
. . .	Mc'Allister Vinson.
. . .	James Lassiter.
. . .	Jessie Williams.
Red Bank . . .	No Pastor.
. . .	Wm. Traves.
. . .	John May.
Bear Creek . . .	Pastor not present.
. . .	Abraham Baker.

A Church in the Iles of White [Isle of Wight] County, Va. applied for admission into the association and is rec'd. David

Borrow, Pastor. A Church in Craven County, Willis, Pastor, also applied for admission and is rec'd. A Church in Granville County, Tar River, Ledbetter, Pastor made application to join the association.

"The Proceedings of the Association in 1775 is loste".

At the Meeting house at Tossneot in Edgecomb County the Association Met according to appointment on the 24th. day of August 1776. Letters being read. A Clerk and Moderator was chosen, the Association adjourned till Monday.

CHURCHES.		MESSENGERS PRESENT.
Tar River.	. . .	John Moore, Pastor.
	. . .	Elisha Battle.
	. . .	Elias Fort.
	. . .	Jacob Dickinson.
Bear Creek.	. . .	Joshua Herring, Past.
	. . .	Samuel Peacock.
	. . .	John Rows.
Duplin.	. . .	Richard Brown, Pastor.
	. . .	Timothy Williams.
	. . .	Joseph Eason.
	. . .	John Segrist.
Tossneot.	. . .	John Thomas, Pastor.
	. . .	Theophilus Thomas.
	. . .	Moses Baker.
	. . .	John Staned.
	. . .	Ruben Huse.
	. . .	Godfrey Staned.
Kehukey	. . .	William Burgess, Pastor.
	. . .	Solomon Atkinson.
	. . .	Henry Jones.
Fishing Creek, Halifax Co.	. . .	Thomas Daniel, Pastor.
	. . .	Jesse Pope.
	. . .	Mathew Raborn.

Johnston	.	.	.	John Moore, Jr., Pastor.
	.	.	.	William Wood.
	.	.	.	John Sanders.
Fishing Creek, Bute Co.	.	.	.	Charles James.
	.	.	.	Richard Bennett.
Nuse River	.	.	.	James Brinson.
Craven County	.	.	.	James Willis.
Sandy Creek	.	.	.	Edward Carlile.
	.	.	.	Wm. McGregor.
	.	.	.	William Solymon.
	.	.	.	William Anderson.
Pitt County	.	.	.	Henry Ellis.
	.	.	.	George Williams.

CHURCH	PASTOR	Baptized	Rec'd by Letter	Restored	Dismissed	Excom.	Members	Increase	Dead	Under Ding.
Tar River.....	John Moore, Sr.....	3	.....	.....	.....	3	126	.....	.....	2
Bear Creek.....	Joshua Herring.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Duplin.....	Edward Brown.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	23	.....	.....	.....
Tossneot.....	John Thomas.....	40	.....	.....	.....	2	340	38	.....	3
Kehukey.....	Wm. Burgess.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	34	1	.....	1
Fishing Crk. (Halifax)	Thos. Daniel.....	47	.....	.....	.....	.....	103	45	2	.....
Johnston.....	John Moore, Jr.....	46	5	.....	.....	.....	76	51	.....	.....
Fishing Creek (Bute)	Wm. Walker.....	13	1	2	3	11	136	2	1	.....
Nuse River.....	Joseph Willis.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	140	.....	.....	.....
Sandy Creek.....	.....	12	.....	.....	7	1	63	.....	.....	.....
Pitt.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	63	.....	.....	.....

The Association met according to adjournment and proceeded to business. The Church under the Care of Edward Brown Joined the Association. The Association moved to Moore's Meeting house 3rd. Sunday in Oct. 1777.

At the Meeting house on Tar River in Edgecomb County the Association met according to appointment. Letters from the Several Churches being read the association proceeded to business. First John Thomas was chosen Moderator and John Battle [son of Elisha] Clerk.

CHURCHES.	MINISTERS PRESENT.
Tar River . . .	John Moore. Daniel Ross. Emanuel Skinner [First Pastor of Red River Church in Robertson Co., Tenn.].
Tossneot . . .	Elias Fort. John Thomas. Aaron Tyson. Wm. Bond. Ephrm Daniel. John Staned.
Bear Creek . . .	Abram Baker. Wm. Taylor.
Duplin . . .	Joshua Sikes. Joseph Eason.
Kehukey . . .	Wm. Burgess. Benjamin Dukins. Thomas Joyner.
Fishing Creek, Halifax Co. . .	Hezekiah Morris. Mathew Rabun.
Sandy Creek . . .	John Brown. Wm. Andrews. Simon Williams.
Fishing Creek, Bute Co. . .	Samuel Thompson. Charles James.
Flat Swamp, Pitt Co. . .	John Page. Godfrey Staned. Nathan Mayo.
Three Creeks, Johnston Co. . .	John Moore. John Sanders. Hardy Sanders. James Moss. Aaron Sugg.

CHURCHES	MINISTERS	Baptized	Recd. by Letter	Restored	Dismissed	Deceased	Excom.	Members	Increase	Undr. Ding.
Flat Swamp.....	John Page.....					1		64	34	4
3 Creeks (Johnston)...	John Moore, Jr.....							103	27	3
Fishing Creek (Bute)...	Wm. Walker.....	10	20		9	3	3			3
Sandy Creek.....										
Fishing Crk. (Halifax).....		6	2		2	4	1	101	1	7
Kehukey.....	Wm. Burgess.....							47		1
Duplin.....										
Bear Creek.....	Abram Baker.....							45		
Tossueot.....	John Thomas.....	40						230		
Tar River.....	John Moore.....	1			2	2	4	113		

A Church in Flat Swamps in Pitt County (to wit) John Pages petitioned for admission into the association and was received.

John Moore Sr. moved for a plan to be fallen upon for Marriage in the regular Baptist Society, the association took it into consideration and appointed John Moore Sr., John Staned, John Thomas and Nathan Mayo a committee to draw a plan for the same. The Association adjourned till Tuesday 20th day of October 1777.

The Association met according to adjourn't. The committee brought in the plan they had formed for Marriages which is as followeth (viz) The persons intended to marry shall be properly published three Several Sundays in publick congregation (or parish) in the County (or parish) where one or both of the parties resides by the Minister (or clerk) of some regular Baptist Church having care of souls, and if the persons appear in order for marriage the Minister shall propose the following questions (or to the same import) whether they are free and clear from all or any other preengagement, and shall lay before them the danger and ill consequences of the falce fying of any former engagement, and shall inform or instruct them what the great end or design of the Ordinance or Insti-

tution of Marriage and likewise instruct them in their duty to God and to each other, that they may live so as to answer the end and design of that ordinance and proceed as followeth (viz)

To the man N—Wilt thou in the presence of God and this Congregation take this woman to be thy wedded wife, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy State of Marriage, to love, honor and Cherish in Sickness and in health, in prosperity and adversity, forsaking all others, keep thee only unto her so long as you both shall live (the man shall answer) I will.

And then to the woman as followeth (viz)

N—Will thou in the presence of God and this congregation take this man to be thy wedded husband to live together after Gods ordinance in the holy State of marriage to love, honour and obey in Sickness and in health, in prosperity and adversity, and forsaking all others, keep thee only unto him so long as you both shall live. The woman shall answer, I will. Then the man shall say after the Minister as followeth (viz) I.N—take thee N—to be my lawful and wedded wife to live together after Gods ordinance in the holy State of marriage, to love, honor and Cherish in Sickness and in health, in prosperity and adversity and forsaking all others keep me only unto thee so long as we both shall live and thereto I plight thee my troth (then likewise the woman) I N— take thee N—to be my lawful and wedded husband to live together after Gods ordinance in the holy State of Marriage, to love, honour and obey in Sickness and in health, in prosperity and adversity and forsaking all others, Keep me only unto thee so long as we both shall live and thereto I plight my troth, then Joining their right hands together the Minister shall say. These whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder And shall pronounce them man and wife in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, Amen.

Appointed that the Association be the Saturday before the

second Sunday in October 1778 at the Meating House on Fishing Creek in Hallifax County, North Carolina.

[This is a true and perfect copy of the minutes of Kehukey Association as now recorded in the book now in my possession.

JOEL B. FORT]

NOTES.

¹ Joel Battle Fort is a descendant of Elias Fort, and William Horn, "Messengers," or Delegates, from the Tar River church to the Kehukee Association. He is also descended from Elisha Battle, the third messenger, who sometimes acted as clerk and at others as moderator. He was born in 1854, his parents being Josiah William Fort and Eliza Penelope Dancy. He is a missionary Baptist, a prominent lawyer of Tennessee, and a successful manager of large farming interests, is a graduate of Cumberland University at Lebanon in Tennessee, and served two terms in the General Assembly.

² Mero District in West Tennessee was named in honor of the Spanish Governor of New Orleans., who favored the traders of the west.

³ Tossneot is an Indian name spelt in various ways—Toesnot, Toisnot. There is a swamp of that name and a creek running from it. The village on the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad called Elm City once was known as Toisnot.

⁴ John Meglamore, the name spelt by Burkitt and Read Meglamre, probably the same as our McElmore, was a Northern man. He had the pastoral care of the church at Kehukee. He then was pastor of a church in Sussex, Va. He was generally moderator of the Association. He left the Kehukey Association and joined that of Portsmouth, Va. He died 13th December 1799 in the 70th year of his age.

⁵ James Abbington was from Bertie county; was addicted to sporting until his conversion, when he became a pastor and "a Boanerges in preaching the Word." He died in 1772.

⁶ Elisha Battle was born in Nansemond county, Va., moved

to Tar River, when 24 years old, was often moderator of Associations. He was a Justice of the Peace as early as 1756, member of the General Assembly of this State from 1771; of the Congress that formed the State Constitution; and Senator from Edgecombe during the Revolutionary period and repeatedly afterwards. He was also member of the Constitutional Convention of 1788, which postponed the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and was often Chairman of the Committee of the Whole. He died March 6, 1799, in the 76th year of his age. His absence from the Association in 1777 was because he was State Senator.

⁷ William Horn was Colonel of the County in Colonial times. He was also a member of the Congress at Halifax, in 1776, which adopted our State Constitution.

⁸ Jonathan Thomas was a native of Edgecombe. His brother was John Thomas, and he had a brother named John, all three being Baptist preachers. Jonathan was ordained in 1758, and was much revered. He had a peculiar facility in reconciling apparent contradictions in Scripture. He died early in 1775.

⁹ Burkitt and Read state that "the Separates, or Separate Baptists, arose in New England, where some pious men left the Presbyterian, or the Standing order, on account of their formality and superfluity. 1. Because they were too extravagant in their apparel. 2. Because they did not believe their form of Church government to be right, but chiefly because they would admit none to the ministry, only men of classical education, and many of their ministers apparently seemed to be unconverted. They were then called Separate Newlights. Some of these were baptized and moved into the Southern provinces, particularly Elders Shubal Sterns and Daniel Marshall, whose labors were wonderfully blessed in Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia." * * * "The distinction between us and them was that they were called Separates, and the Philadelphia, the Charleston and the Kehukey Association were called Regular Baptists."

An effort was made by the Kehukey Association to establish fellowship between the two parties, but the Separatists refused, complaining that the Regulars were not strict enough in receiving experiences—that the Regulars baptized many before they believed—that they indulged their members in superfluity of dress—but chiefly because they held persons in fellowship, who were baptized in unbelief. These were, it was claimed in reality never baptized at all.

These doctrines brought about a division in the churches. Some were gathered by the *Free Will Baptists*, whose custom was to baptize any who were willing, whether they had experience of grace or not.

In October 1775 when the Kehukry Regular Baptist Association held their meeting at the Falls of Tar River, a fierce discussion of these questions was had, the result being a division in the Association.

In 1786 the two Societies united on the basis (1) that baptism of unbelievers is not valid. (2) Every church member to be sole judge whether he is baptized in unbelief. (3) Every minister may baptize such as desire, being scrupulous about their former baptism. In 1790 owing to the great increase in the number of churches, there being 61 with a membership of 5,017, and also the distance of some from the centre of the Association, there was a friendly division, 42 churches in North Carolina retaining the name of the Kehukey Association and the 19 churches in Virginia calling themselves the Virginia Portsmouth Association. Means were provided for keeping by interchange of delegates friendly intercourse with each other.

¹⁰ In the early years of his office Governor Martin endeavored to ingratiate himself with the people of the province. Being the servant of King George it was inevitable however that the harmony should be disrupted. Probably every man who voted for this friendly letter became his political enemy. The clerk of the Association was, as has been mentioned, a member of the war Congresses and General Assemblies.

¹¹ There were at this time and afterwards vigorous proselyting efforts made by the Universalists. A challenge for a joint discussion was made by one of their preachers to Elder Joshua Lawrence, a Baptist of great talent and force of character. The bulk of the hearers thought that Lawrence had the best of the argument, but admitted that his opponent was gifted with oratorical power.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

James Sprunt Historical Monograph

No. 6.



Diary of a Geological Tour by Dr. Elisha Mitchell in
1827 and 1828 with Introduction and Notes
by Dr. Kemp P Battle, LLD.

CHAPEL HILL
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY
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2

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
CHAPEL HILL

INTRODUCTION.

Statesville, N. C., Nov. 20, 1903.

Hon. Kemp P. Battle.

Dear Sir:—At the request of my aunt, Miss Margaret Mitchell, I write a note to accompany a package of old letters, sent by this mail.

In looking over some hundreds of old family letters, these records of Grandfather Mitchell's earlier tours in Western N. C. seemed, perhaps, to have some value for the Historical Society. They are written with care and method, and are as he says, of the nature of a diary, in the vacations of 1827 and 1828, and, some, later, giving daily account of travels over various counties, what mines he looked into, what minerals and geological features he saw, the kind of lands he passed over, and the people he met. If they prove to be of any use, please accept; if not, destroy them. If they reach you, please acknowledge to Miss Mitchell, at this place.

She heard of the death of her old playmate, and long time friend, S. F. Phillips. Another break in the band of Mitchells and Phillipses. Four left, Mrs. Ashe,¹ Miss Margaret, Mrs. Spencer, and Mrs. Laura Phillips. Mrs. Ashe is in the feeblest health, 81 years old. Miss M. enjoys good health but is slowly losing her sight, from cataract.

Respectfully,

MRS. W. H. COIT.

The foregoing letter by a granddaughter of Dr. Mitchell explains the character of the letters now published as No. 6 in the James Sprunt Monograph Series. It is deemed proper to prefix a short memoir of their author.

Elisha Mitchell was born in Washington, Connecticut, August 19, 1793. His father, Abner by name, was a farmer. His mother was Phoebe Eliot, a descendant of the "Apostle

¹Miss Margaret Mitchell and Mrs. Mary Ashe have since died.

to the Indians," John Eliot. His grandfather's father, Rev. Jared Eliot, was eminent in science, and received a medal from the Royal Society of London for a discovery in the manufacture of iron. He graduated at Yale College in 1813, among the highest in scholarship. Among his classmates were Senator George E. Badger, Dr. Denison Olmstead, Judge James Longstreet and Thomas P. Devereux, Esq. After teaching in schools for a year or two he became a Tutor in Yale College and in 1817 on the recommendation of Rev. Mr. Dwight the Chaplain to the U. S. Senate and of Judge Wm. Gaston, then member of Congress, he was elected Professor of Mathematics in the University of North Carolina. In 1825 at his own request he was transferred to the chair of Chemistry, Geology and Mineralogy, which he held for thirty-two years. He was twice Chairman of the Faculty, virtual President of the University—during President Caldwell's visit to Europe in 1824, and after his death on January 25, 1835, until the coming of President Swain, January 1st, 1836. Before leaving Connecticut he obtained license to preach in the Congregational Church but in 1821 was ordained a minister of the Presbyterian Church by the Presbytery of Orange, North Carolina.

The General Assembly in 1822 appropriated \$250 a year for a Geological and Agricultural Survey of the State and in 1826 continued the appropriation for one year longer. Prof. Olmstead, and on his resignation in 1825, Dr. Mitchell was selected to do the work. A report was made and printed, Parts I and II by Olmstead, Part III by Mitchell. In 1829 the latter made another short report. He published also a thin textbook called "Elements of Geology with an outline of the Geology of North Carolina." A paper on the "Character and Origin of the Low Country of North Carolina," is in the Journal of Science for 1828. He wrote much for newspapers and for Scientific Journals. Among other pamphlet publications are two sermons with notes, called "The Other Leaf of the Book of Nature and the Word of God," giving cogent argu-

ments against the Abolitionists on the Slavery question. The pamphlet is 74 pages long and is dated 1948.

Dr. Mitchell read so extensively in many directions as to acquire the reputation of being possessed of universal knowledge. He had a large brain and might have been among the great men of the world, if he had confined himself to his specialty.

His great self-reliance caused his death. He claimed to have visited the highest peak of the Black Mountains. General Thomas L. Clingman contended that he himself was the first discoverer and endeavored to have it called Mount Clingman. After a long controversy in the newspapers, Dr. Mitchell determined to ascertain the height by the spirit level, as he had formerly done by the barometer. On the 27th of June, 1857, leaving the engineering party, he endeavored to ascend the mountain alone and go down on the Yancey side, in order to visit one or more of his former guides. Being detained by a thunderstorm it was late in the afternoon when he began to descend a fork of Caney river. By the side of a forty-foot precipice he slipped and fell into a deep pool below. His body was not found until the eighth of July. He was buried in Asheville, but the next year his family allowed his body to be buried on Mount Mitchell.

For years Dr. Mitchell was one of the most conspicuous men in the state. As a teacher he was most interesting, abounding in illustrations, often humorous, which illuminated the subject. As a preacher he was able and logical but lacking in grace of delivery. As a disciplinarian he was active in detection and prevention, but mild in punishment. As a neighbor he was boundless in charity, ready with purse and wise counsels to aid all who needed help.

His children were four daughters and a son. The son, Charles, a physician, died in Mississippi without issue. His daughter Eliza, married to Richard I. Grant, a citizen of Texas, likewise left no children. His daughter Mary married Captain Richard J. Ashe, of the Bethel regiment, a citi-

zen of Chapel Hill and late of California, left children and grandchildren, as did his daughter Ellen, who married Dr. John J. Summerell, of Salisbury. Margaret did not marry.

The letters, while containing allusions of a personal and family nature, were evidently intended to be material for a report or an article for a scientific journal.

It is probable that the distress following the Panic of 1825 caused the General Assembly to discontinue the Geological Survey.

In annotating I have not deemed it necessary to notice men about whom nothing is known except what is mentioned in the text. If any facts of importance are not brought out it is because I was unable by correspondence to discover them. Owing to the high rates of postage Dr. Mitchell's penmanship is extremely fine, sometimes almost illegible, and it is possible that I may have been unable to decipher correctly some words.

I acknowledge my indebtedness to the courtesy and intelligent enquiries of Hon. John S. Henderson, of Salisbury, Hon. C. J. Cowles, of Wilkesboro, Dr. Wm. T. Whitsett, of Whitsett, Hon. Alfred M. Scales, of Greensboro, Miss Adelaide L. Fries, of Salem, Prof. Alexander Graham, of Charlotte, Messrs. Finley and Hendren, of Wilkesboro, Alfred Nixon, Esq., of Lincolnton, Thomas C. Bowie, Esq., of Jefferson, R. A. Nunn, Esq., of Newbern, H. A. Daniels, Esq., of Goldsboro, Dr. Richard H. Lewis, of Kinston, and Mr. J. R. Lewellyn, of Dobson.

KEMP P. BATTLE.

DIARY.

Newbern, Dec. 28th. 1827.

My Dear Maria:

I received today from the post-master your very welcome letter—"and having this evening no other means at hand for killing the time have concluded to prepare a few lines in reply." The words included in the commas are such as according to the general language of mankind in relation to the state of feeling subsisting between man and wife I ought to address to you. After writing them down however I cannot let them stand without connecting with them an assurance that-however it may be with others there is at least one husband who some eight years after marriage is fool enough to love his wife tenderly and well. I sympathize with Mr. Phillips and trust that you will pass the vacation without encountering those evils which Millee Strowd was threatened with. In Raleigh I met with little or nothing to interest me. The Geological Survey dies a natural death at the end of this year. There is no one who takes any interest in the business, nor, in the present state of the Treasury, did I find there was any the least prospect of succeeding in any application to the legislature and I therefore gave it up at once. I sent you 25 dollars by Dr. Caldwell—at least it was to be paid into his hands by Mr. Devereaux for you. This you will pay into the hands of Mr. Cheek or at least sixteen dollars of it, *if he gives up the paper I gave to Mr. Somebody Mr. Lloyd for corn, but not else.*

We left Raleigh on Friday about noon and rode to Smithfield having Mr. Devereaux¹ in company some of the way. We put up together at Rice's and passed a pleasant evening. The

¹Mr. John Devereaux, merchant of Newbern, father of Thomas P. Devereaux, who was a Reporter of the Supreme Court, and a wealthy planter on the Roanoke.

next day proving rainy Mr. Andrews¹ took the stage for Newbern and left me to trudge along in the mud by myself. I rode down to Bass's² ferry and paddled about the river a while in an old crazy canoe to see the limestone about the mouth of falling creek and then passed on to Waynesboro and put up at Isaac Hills,—found there a young Lawyer from Orange who knew me and went with me to see Mrs. Andrews—the ci-divant Miss Gunn who was married in the meeting house in Washington the summer you were there—she lives just on the bank of the Neuse. On Sunday collected a little congregation and held forth to them at the tavern. Drs. Williams and Tippoo Henderson³ and Morris called upon me. And of them all I liked Dr. Williams the least. Took my tea and spent the evening at Dr. Andrews.⁴ Monday morning crossed the Neuse and got my breakfast at Mr. Griswolds⁵ where I spent some time in examining the limestone on the bank. Griswold is a Yankee boy who came from Rocky Hill to Carolina as he married a girl of some property—failed—and now lives in rather humble style in Wayne. He does not appear to be efficient and I doubt his wife regrets her having married a Yankee; rode down to the river and put up at Stephen Herrings in Lenoir—a hearty droll old cock who told me how *extravagant* the storm had been about Wilmington and how

¹Ethan A. Andrews, Professor of Ancient Languages in U. of N.C., 1822 to 1828. He afterward taught in New England and was author of valuable classical school books.

²Name extinct Andrew Bass in 1784 gave three acres in Waynesboro for a court house, &c. He doubtless gave the name to the ferry—Falling Creek is still so called.

³Tippoo Saib Henderson was a son of Major Pleasant Henderson, of Chapel Hill. He graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1814.

⁴Dr. Samuel Andrews kept a tavern at Waynesboro for many years. One son, Rev. S. G. Andrews, was a colonel in the C. S. A.; another, George P. Andrews, was a colonel in the U. S. Army; a third, Rev. F. John Andrews, was a gifted Methodist preacher; and a fourth is a local Methodist preacher.

⁵James Griswold, long clerk and master in equity for Wayne county.

fortunate the Messrs. Whitfield¹ had been about marrying, each of them having buried 3 or 4 wives. Tuesday rode through a desolate country—the western part of Jones—entered Onslow where the appearances improved—crossed the rich lands of that county and put up at old Kit Dudley's² on the east side of New River at the head of Navigation 5 or 6 miles from the court house N. East. A violent Jackson man. Deist, very rich, offensive and talkative. Mrs. Hill his daughter was there and agreeable. The old fellow entertained me hospitably but I had some difficulty in maintaining my independence without quarrelling with him. I fear indeed I hardly did my duty to him so far as religion is concerned but I was restrained by the circumstance of his being apparently petulant thro the effect of a recent illness.

Wednesday, had a stroll over the plantation before breakfast, and after breakfast then my horse was to be got ready, found that the fellow apprehending I had not done my business faithfully had gone on an exploring expedition so that I did not start till it was late. Rode down to Col. Dulany's³ or rather to his son in law's on New River for the Col. a very worthy man, abides with his daughter—got my dinner—rode out to see New River and then passed down to Swansboro at the mouth of White Oak on the sound—a village of 4 tolerable houses and some smaller ones. I expected to

¹Two Whitfields lived near Waynesboro, Samuel and William. Samuel was father of the first wife of Mr. E. B. Borden. William moved to Mexico and owned a large coffee plantation.

The removal of the county seat from Waynesboro to Goldsboro was authorized by Act of the General Assembly. The exodus of people and houses was from 1837 to 1854. Mr. Richard Washington was the last inhabitant of Waynesboro. Flat boats and small steamers plied between it and Newbern.

²Christopher Dudley, seven times Senator from Onslow, father of Edward B. Dudley, Representative in Congress 1835—, and Governor 1836-'40—the first elected by the people.

³Col. Daniel B. Dulany, Representative in the General Assembly, 1820—1821 and 1822.

stay with Mr. Ferrand¹ who is the principal man of the place but, observing that he had company, rode down to Thompsons—a tolerable house in appearance, where, whilst the yankee landlord and his Carolina wife and sister set before me an indifferent supper and breakfast, he congratulated me in sounding terms on the escape I had made in not going to Onslow Court house where I should have had another fare.

Thursday. I intended to cross White Oak and proceed to Beaufort but, considering that I should have nothing to pass over during the day but uninteresting sands, and that the country from Beaufort up would possess as little interesting, I turned my horse for Newbern. Country flat and barren till I came near Trent River. Saw slate rock in the bed of White Oak when I crossed it and also in two or three places near the Trent and arrived here after dark. Friday, proposed to go back into Jones County to examine the shells on Durant Hatch's² plantation but finally gave up the plan and concluded to stay in Newbern till Monday next. Have been today strolling about town—have looked up some books for the girls, dined with Mrs Shepard³—called upon Mrs. Brown⁴ this evening. She is not in the least altered that I can see, has now a most beautiful little boy on hand. On Monday D. V. we

¹Wm. P. Ferrand, Representative in the General Assembly, 1826.

²Durant Hatch was State Senator fifteen terms; also a Trustee of the University. Shell rock is still obtained from his plantation, which is now mostly owned by Mr. James A. Jones of Newbern.

³Mrs Shepard, nee Blount, grand daughter of Sir Frederick Blount. She was widow of Wm. Shepard, a wealthy merchant, and grandmother, among others, of Gen. J. J. Pettigrew, Judge Henry R. Bryan, Judge Wm. S. Bryan, of the Supreme Court of Maryland, and Mrs. Mary S. Speight, a benefactor of of the University.

⁴Mrs. Silvester Brown. Their son, Silvester Tilman, was father of Judge Brown of the Supreme Court. The "beautiful little boy" turned out to be a very fine looking old man. He was a student of U. N. C. in 1841-'42. Mrs Brown's maiden name was Hannah Holladay, of a Green County family. She had another son at the University 1831-'35, who was a physician.

started for Washington—I suppose at least that Mr. Andrews will be in company—pass up the Tar—and so get home—about which same place I have a few things to say. It seems that a great deal of pork has been lost the whole country through. Mr. Barbee, and much more Mr. Robson, therefore must not bring his hogs till the weather is cool¹. Cut them up immediately and spread them. They are not to be salted till quite cold but when this is the case there should be as little delay as possible. If the Journal of Science comes and the extra sheets—retain all said sheets. I will distribute them myself instead of placing them at the disposal of the Board.

I am pleased with the accounts from N. London and Washington in regard to brother Elnathan though I have no great expectation that there will be any very favorable result. I hope he may stay in N. London a while and make a trial. I hardly think you will hear from me again till I come home—perhaps you may. Messrs. Andrews and Treadwell² having been here some 4 or 5 days before me, have forestalled most of the civilities of the good people of the place. I called upon Mr. Stanly to-day. The stage waits. Adieu.

Yours,
E. MITCHELL.

The above is a lie. The stage did not wait but was off a mile when Mr. Andrews and I came down with our letters. My carry-all is ordered and we start for Washington.

Thine,
E. M.

¹Up to the Civil War families in towns bought hogs freshly slaughtered, cut them up and “cured” the hams, shoulders and sides for the year’s consumption. Near the dwelling was the smoke-house in which they were exposed to thick smoke for many days. Much loss was sometimes had from rapid change of temperature from cold to heat. A warm winter is on record, in which hundreds of thousands of pounds of pork were destroyed.

²Oliver Wolcott Treadwell, of Connecticut, graduate of U. N. C. 1826; Tutor, 1826-’9. “Mr. Andrews” is Prof Ethan A. Andrews.

Hines's, 11 Miles West of Salem, 7 miles East of the Shallow Ford or Huntsville, Wednesday Evening, July, 1828.

My Dear and Good Wife:

I did intend to write a few lines for you last night at Greensboro, but after rummaging the trunk sometime, could find no quills for the very obvious reason that they were directly before my eyes. I have two methods of keeping a journal to choose from. One, that of noting down in my memorandum book whatever may occur worthy of observation; the other of introducing the same matter into my letter to you. My Epistles filled with Mineralogical and Geological details are in danger of becoming in this way so dull that you will care nothing about them. But what else shall I write about? 'Tis altogether out of the question—a man who has not yet been separated from his wife quite two days to fall to sighing and wooing as though he was now experiencing the first access of his maiden passion.

My present trip, if matters hold as they are, is likely to prove in one respect more agreeable than those which have preceeded. The aspect of the country is delightful. People talk of fine prospects, and I believe I have an eye to distinguish, and a soul to feel them. But, after all, there is no prospect like that of a country covered with luxuriant vegetation, that is going to pour of its abundance into the granaries of its cultivator. The mind is carried forward to the peace, security, and happiness that are to result to the poor as well as to the rich, when heaven pours out its bounties with so unsparing a hand. What a contrast between the appearance of the fields now and what they were two years ago. The wheat is gathered in and is therefore wanting to the unvarying landscape which Levi¹ and I enjoyed together, but the oats still cover the fields, and it is difficult to persuade ones-self when

¹Levi must have been his horse's name. He was too independent to have a driver and I know of no one of that name likely to have been his companion.

we see the Indian corn of so deep a green; its growth so vigorous; shooting up towards the clear sky, and bathed in the balmy air and the sunbeams—It is difficult to persuade oneself, that it is not positively happy. And I can hardly help congratulating the trees of the forest, as I ride along on the beautifulness of the year under the idea that they prefer it such as it is to a dry and dusty summer. But the daylight is fading, and I do not know whether Mrs. Hines will let me have a candle, and must therefore, improve the moments to make a few memoranda. The latter part of my ride to Breeses' was dark, but on the whole it was not disagreeable. Started early on Tuesday morning and rode 24 miles to Joseph Gibson's² to breakfast. The slate continued until I reached Judge Murphy's², where it was gradually replaced by some half baked granite. Found Breccia a little before I got to the stone tavern, but scarce—Afterwards, 18 miles from Chapel Hill, one James Johnston has been digging a well which goes through a slate rock that is full of small crystals of pyrites. The slaty structure is much more found in many of the rocks of this region. The bank of the river at Murphy's mill is covered with grains of sand that have been brought down from the rocks miles above. From Judge Murphy's to where I entered the Hillsboro and Greensboro road near Ephraim Cooks there is little bit the imperfect granite. It produces rather a cold black, sticky soil. The road from Cook's to Greensboro I travelled last year. For a mile and a half from Cook's the rocks are slaty; in one place in the right of the road there appeared to be granite imbedded in the slate. Along by Gibson's there was imperfect slate again. Stopped at Gibson's. He married Rev'd Mr. Paisly's sister. Went to see the mine.

¹The name of Breese has disappeared from the neighborhood. Information about Gibson is given in note to another letter.

²Archibald Debow Murphey. His plantation was on Big Alamance, 3 miles south of Graham. On his insolvency it was sold and Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin became the purchaser. After the Civil War he sold it and later it has been called the Curtis place.

They have made an anthill of the whole enclosure on which the gold is found. The veins run every which way, but more especially to the N. East and S. West. There is abundance of Iron Pyrites—some carbonate of copper. The vein has a stratum (strasser, the workmen call it) of Magnesium slate on each side of it. The mine is worth visiting again. Ten miles from Greensboro, struck the granite again and rode on it all the way to that famous Metropolis. Put up at Mooring's, Miss Christie¹ not arrived, Professor Barr² then sick. After supper went up to see Mr. Paisly, found the family,—well one tolerable pretty daughter; Dr. Mebane² there. Observed in an inquiring way that he presumed Miss Hogg¹ would be a good instructress. A case for a casuist. I bore ample testimony to Miss Hogg's good qualities. A thunderstorm. After it was over, returned to Moorings with the intention of writing to you, but was disappointed by not finding the quills. Went to bed and dreamed that I had a quarrel with you. I forget what about.

Wednesday—Rode to Salem, 28 miles to breakfast and dinner. Route through a pleasant country, interesting in a geological point of view. Rock granite growing more crystalline as we approached Salem, and becoming decidedly so within 12 or 14 miles. Sometimes (rarely) schistose, presenting something that is neither mica, talc slate nor gneiss. A good many hornblende rocks having gneiss structure or rather having the little crystals of hornblende, etc., approaching to parallelism and distributed through the whole rock. Got my dinner. Strolled about Salem till three, then got my horse and rode to this place. Country rather sterile about 5½

¹Dr. Paisly's school was prior to Caldwell Institute, Edgeworth Seminary and the Greensboro Female College. There was a family of Hogs, who lived at Chapel Hill prior to this. There were three children, Christie, Lydia and Gavin. Gavin was a prominent lawyer, father of Dr. Thomas D. Hogg, of Raleigh. Lydia married a Lindsay of Greensboro. "Miss Christie" was a teacher. They were of very little kinship to James Hogg of Hillsboro—I know nothing of Professor Barr.

²Dr. John A. Mebane, brother of Dr Paisly's wife,

miles, then much better. Rolling but fertile. At 6 miles ? and well defined gneiss; a little above very coarse granite. Rocks very few. 'Tis useless to traverse such a district in search of minerals. Many hornblende rocks like those described as occurring between Greensboro and Salem. Within two miles of this place mica is abundant in scales as large as a Connecticut nine pence.¹ Farewell.

Sales', 15 miles east of Wilkesboro, Thursday evening.

I left Hines' early this morning and have just arrived here having met with little interesting or remarkable on the road. About $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles before I reached the Shallow Ford² and of course near the Stokes and Surry line I struck a bed of soap-stone about a mile and a half across. It was preceded by a kind of Granite chlorite rock, giving a green color to the soil. Of this soap stone I know nothing as yet; it will require examination hereafter. The passage of the shallow ford with the Pilot in full view at the distance of 15 or 20 miles, is most beautiful. After leaving the soap-stone there are some rocks discovering themselves in the sides of the hills near the river. They are gneiss and mica slate. After this there is nothing from which to discover the nature of the subjacent rock till we come near Hamptonville, 18 miles from the river where the rocks, gneissoid hornblende rock, are more abundantly granite and but little mica and approaching to gneiss are seen and continues to this place 11 miles farther with an interval where the mica becomes very predominant. The country traversed today is fertile but much less beautiful than that through which I passed yesterday. Something raw and countrified about it. Still I am coming in among the mountains, and the Blue Ridge is in full view from this place—a part of Ashe. The road has in general been remarkably level. Sales' is under a high steep hill cultivated to its summit. Hunts-

¹A little larger than a dime.

²Through the Yadkin, on the road from Winston to Huntsville and Wilkesboro.

ville,¹ I passed only one corner of, so I can't speak of it. Hamptonville² has 7 or eight dwelling houses. Stopped for dinner with John Wright, who was formerly sheriff of the county, and gave me some interesting information respecting it. He is married and has no children. A very pretty mulatto boy stood by the table as I was eating my breakfast or dinner. A sign in Hamptonville bore Cowles and Porter. I said at once that I could tell from what town in Connecticut those men came from. I was within one of it. Cowles³ was from Southington; Porter from Farmington. Cowles' grandfather and Mrs. Andrews's great-grandfather by his account were brothers. As a merchant here he is, I believe successful. Married in Connecticut; carried his wife on a year ago to see her friends, and she died there—are you not scared? Has another wife visiting in Iredell. Went down after dinner a mile to see the plantation of a certain Mr. Nixon, who had ridden with me from the Shallow Ford, to see if he had any chance for gold, and found he had none. I learned the secret of being a punctual correspondent when on a journey; it is to sit down at once as soon as one arrives at night, and write on ones trunk as I am doing now. Good night.

Foot of the Blue Ridge at Mrs. Colberts, Friday Evening.

I rode into Wilkesboro this morning. Tracing first, granite, gneiss and then mica slate. Put up at Massey's Hotel. For some time could find nobody to get any information

¹Huntsville and Hamptonville now have each about 100 inhabitants.

²Josiah Cowles came to this State in 1816 and first established himself in business at Kernersville, then at Healey's, finally at Hamptonville. He married first a Connecticut, Rebecca Sandford, then a North Carolina lady, Nancy, daughter of Andrew Carson, a comrade of Daniel Boone, and uncle of Kit Garson. Hon. Calvin Josiah Cowles, President of the convention of 1868, is a son of the first, and State Senator Andrew C., Mr. Miles M., and Colonel William H. H. Cowles, of the second. A son of Hon. Calvin J., Colonel Calvin D. Cowles, of the 5th U. S. Infantry is getting up a tree of the old Connecticut family. He and his brother, Lt. Col. Andrew D., were in the Spanish war. Porter's name was David S,

from. At length bethought myself of Rev'd Abner Gay, who as I had seen in the papers has charge of the Academy here. Went out and found him inter umbros circumire, as Virgil says, that is, on the top of a hill half a mile from town, where a log academy has been built for him in the midst of the forest. I of course complimented him on having a situation so classical—exactly such that Apollo and the Muses are represented as loving to haunt; After leaving him, I went down to the sheriff's to get some information out of him, and as he had some iron Pyrites, I played Olmstead¹ with him; got out my blow-pipe and magnet and showed him how his supposed gold was unmagnetic before roasting to drive off the sulphur and magnetic after. Mr. Massey came in and I got acquainted with him. Mr Gay called and took me up to Col. Finley's² to dinner. The Col. and his wife are the only two Presbyterians in Ashe. There is to be a ball at Massey's this evening. I had an invitation to attend, but having, as I believed, sufficiently apprised the people of my existence, came on to this place, 17 miles from Jefferson the celebrated seat of Justice for Ashe. I crossed the Yadkin by fording, travelled over mica slate chiefly, crossed some impure plumbago at six

¹Professor Denison Olmstead, Professor of Natural Philosophy of Yale. He left the University of N. C. in 1825.

²Colonel, more properly Major John Finley, was son of Michael Finley, of Adams Co., Penn., and nephew of Rev. Samuel Finley, D.D., President of Princeton College, the latter being grandfather of Samuel Finley Breese Morse, inventor of the telegraph. His twin sister, Mary, was the mother of General Samuel Finley Patterson, once State Treasurer, father of the late Col. Rufus L. and Samuel L. Patterson, Commissioner of Agriculture. Major Finley moved to Wilkesboro in 1805. In 1828 he was farmer and merchant, copartner with Colonel Waugh, having branch stores at Jefferson and Lenoir. He died in 1865, leaving children and grandchildren. His oldest son, Augustus W., married Martha Lenoir Gordon, sister of Gen. Jas. B. Gordon and grand niece of General Wm. Lenoir. Their oldest son, J. E. Finley, is President of the Bank of North Wilkesboro, and the youngest, T. B. Finley, is a lawyer of the firm of Finley and Hendren. The land underlying the town of North Wilkesboro once belonged to Chapman Gordon, grandfather of General John B. Gordon of Georgia.

miles, at nine miles descended into the valley of Reddie's river, and travelled by the side of it until quite near this. These four miles were very pleasant—the steep mountains were on either hand—the river clear as crystal tumbled over its rocky bed, and there were fine fields of corn upon its banks. The farms are small and here, according to some men calling themselves philosophers, in retirement shut out from intercourse with the world by the sides of these streams and hemmed in by these mountains—man may, if he will, be happy. But they are less happy than we.

It is not in seclusion that the human mind receives its fullest development and that its enjoyment is most intense. Instead of caring to feel the fine passions that agitate the breast of the inhabitants of the city, they are placed on low and grovelling and brutal objects. I doubt after all whether there are many persons happier than ourselves. There are doubtless times when our pride is mortified by an inability to exhibit as much style as we might desire, but it is not every person—it is not every married pair that has the confidence we have in each others mutual affection—as well founded a prospect of having all the necessities and some of the luxuries and elegancies of life supplied to us. This Mrs. Colbert does not appear to be very old, and yet she has six sons and five daughters.

Jefferson, Saturday Evening.

Arrived at this place about noon in safety. Fox has not yet run away with me. Indeed, there seems more danger that the crows will run away with him. The poor old fellow is badly worsted. His back is very sore, and I shall leave him here on Monday and hire a horse to ride about the country with. At Mrs. Colvards the fare was rather hard; no tea or coffee but excellent potatoes. I intended to start as soon as it should be light this morning, but the sun had already gilded the mountain tops. Poor Fox, if he is in the habit of swearing, and I hope he is not, must have cursed the negro that brought him out this morning, and the white man who

drove him. I first clambered up the mountain and a long and dreary clamber it was of five miles. Near the summit there is a very extensive prospect embracing a wide circuit of the comparatively low, level country through which I had been traveling, but there was nevertheless, notwithstanding the extensiveness of the prospect, something wanting. There was no water; there were no thriving towns and villages to be seen, inhabited by an industrious, frugal and virtuous grown population, and a body of youth preparing to supply with ability the plans which their fathers are shortly to leave. The rocks in the ascent of the ridge were chiefly mica slate, and granite of a grain, very white and frequently with abundance of mica. Seven miles from the top of the ridge after a moderate descent—the path apparently over mica slate almost exclusively—only two or three houses; I came to New river. 'Tis a beautiful stream, broad but not deep, clear and running its course among the mountains, which often over-hang its banks and overshadow its waters. About three miles from this place left the river. Passed an old Dunker¹ who was mending his mill-race. He evidently is not quite orthodox, poor man; for he shaves around his mouth where the beard would interfere with what he probably considers as amongst the more important duties of his life—those of kissing his wife and eating his dinner. I am put up at a certain Mr. Lal's—I beg his pardon, Mr. La's—no on looking upon the sign I find his name is Faw. Jeffersontown has 6 or 8 houses—dwelling houses—rather shabby. Mr. Mitchell² is gone out to electioneer at a muster, seven miles according to one informant; 12 to another. I thought at first of getting upon a horse and riding out, but finally gave it out under the idea that the people would be dispersing, if not dispersed, before I should arrive. Instead of doing that I ascended the highest

¹A religious sect, which had its origin in Germany: sometimes called Tunkers; fr. tunken, to dip, on account of their mode of baptism.

²Anderson Mitchell, late tutor at U. N. C. Then a lawyer and Commoner in Legislature. He afterwards moved to Statesville and became a judge.

of the mountains in the neighborhood along with Mr. Faw, and a rugged ascent it was. Saw a good many plants that were new to me, dug a root of ginseng for you, a small one with my own hands. The air being clear, the prospect was delightful. The Pilot could be distinguished clearly, probably at the distance of near a hundred miles. It appeared to be almost exactly east. The Grandfather, or the mountain which we supposed to be the one bearing that name, bore S. 40 West. We had a clear view of the country lying down the New River in Virginia, and also of the part of Surry, Wilkes, etc, lying near the Blue Ridge, for the point on which we were standing was high enough to overlook the Blue Ridge. Nearly the whole county of Ashe lay at our feet, the Merry-Anders' of the river could be traced as on a map. Some of the plantation in view also presented a noble appearance, but oh, what an ocean of mountains. That spoken of is called the Negro Mountain, the rocks of it are almost hornblende slate, or gneissoid hornblende rock. I have yet seen none of the rock which I supposed from the representation of McClure to underlie the whole county. I start on now today to ascertain if possible when the strata changes, and this leads me to speak of the future. I have been as good a correspondent as possible. This letter will leave here tomorrow morning before it is light and will reach you, as I hope, on Thursday next. I assure you that all is well hitherto, and encourages the hope that it will continue so hereafter. But on Monday I shall probably start on horseback and not be near my writing apparatus for a week, and then perhaps not under circumstances that will permit me to use them. With what you now receive therefore you must rest contented for some time, perhaps till my return, though I will write if I can. I propose as I have already mentioned to start on Monday and travel the northern or lower part of the county and be back to the upper part to be present at a muster next Saturday. The ruggedness of the country renders it necessary I should go on

¹A jocular way of writing "meanders,"

horse-back. In about a fortnight I hope to pass over into Wilkes again and cruise about there and to be home again in five weeks from today. With regard to things at home, push the girls along in their learning—which I acknowledge you are ready to do. But becoming convinced, as I do, as I travel the country, of the importance of education, I can not help feeling a degree of impatience to have that of my daughters effected as rapidly as possible. Endeavor to make Sumner do his duty in the field.

Tell Mr Hentz¹ I have collected two bugs for him, both, as I believe, are common at Chapel Hill, and that I hope to collect at the same rate all the time during the whole time of my absence, so that he shall have to be extremely obliged to me. Tell Messrs. Hooper and Phillips that having been two such [torn] as to come to Jeffersonton and not ascend the high mountains in the neighborhood, and enjoy the fine prospects, the best thing they can do in order to prevent themselves from becoming infamous in all after ages, is to mount their horses and make the same trip again; taking in the mountains. If you write after the receipt of this direct to Wilkesboro, Wilkes Co. I have had some thoughts of writing an acrostic on a certain young lady, being allured thereto chiefly by the beauty of her name, Miss Peggy Baggy², of Salem. I hope you will excuse me if I do. If an opportunity offers write to

¹Nicholas Marcellus Hentz, Professor of French and German in U. N. C. 1826-'31; immigrant from France; afterwards Principal of schools in Ohio, Alabama, and Florida; author of a valuable monograph on the *Arachnidae*. His wife, Mrs Caroline Lee Hentz, of Massachusetts, wrote novels, popular in their day, the best being probably Aunt Patty's Scrap Bag.

²The oldest inhabitant does not recall the name of Peggy Baggy. There were in 1828 four *Bagge* ladies in Salem, Mrs. Christine, wife of Charles F. Bagge (sometimes called "Daddy Baggy"), and three daughters, Antoinette Louisa, Rebecca Matilda and Lucinda Frederica. Neither of these is ordinarily changed into Peggy; Probably it was a childish nickname.

Williams and Fawe to send up whatever shall come to hand, or at least write and advise me of its arrival.

From your Affectionate Husband,

E. MITCHELL.

Mrs. Sybil¹ M. Mitchell.

Jefferson, July 9th, 1828, Wedns. Morning.

My Dear and Good Wife:

In my letter of Saturday evening last, I gave you an account of my movements up to that time. After sealing this letter I saw Mr. Mitchell. Sunday, I ought, perhaps, to have collected the people of this little village (there are but eight families of them), and preached them a sermon, but I did not. I read, talked, walked, and a man came to see me about minerals, whom I found it a difficulty to get clear of.

Monday Morning. Started on horse-back with Mr. Mitchell to find where the western transition of Triassic succeeds to the primitive rocks of this place. Passed along the great western road, down Beaver Creek between the ends of Plum Top and Phoenix Mountain to the North fork of N. River, over gneissoid, Hornblende rock and Hornblende slate, altogether for about seven miles. Visited the forge² 8 miles from town. Rocks here show characteristic gneiss. Forge gets its ore from two places, one about 4 or 5 miles above King's Bank, the other a similar distance below. The former one poor, as I was told, but makes good iron, and is necessary to flux the latter. The latter highly magnetic and appears to consist of sulphuret. Forge makes 200 lbs per day, which sells at 5 cents at the forge, but Sidney Maxwell³ told me he got it from the workmen at 3 and 4, and that he had had the

¹Dr. Mitchell often gave jocular names to members of his family. Sybil was no part of his wife's name.

²Forge long ago abandoned.

³Maxwell was one of the wealthiest men in the county, left many descendents. He lived at mouth of Richkill Creek.

iron of Carter County delivered at 4: got our dinner at Johnstons¹ and at Maxwells struck the first rocks respecting which there could be any question that they were approaching to transition, Shining Argilite. That was at 12 miles but 2 miles further on at ————— there was well characterised, gneiss. After this the rocks were not distinctly characterized, assumed a more earthy appearance and had a little clay slate mixed with them. Called upon Col. Gideon Lewis who told us of some interesting appearances at the Bull Ruffin². Arrived at the top of the Stone mountain where a post indicated the Tennessee line, and had a pleasant view of the mountains of Carter county of Tennessee. Over the Tennessee side found rocks which are an imperfect granite and might be referred to the primitive with as much propriety as to the transition. In returning saw plenty of the Magnetic ancient slate. Fell in with William Gray who lives at the last house on New River, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles from the top of Stone mountain, who told us the lead mine which lies under so much soil in this part of the country, is within a mile of his house. Agreed to stop and see it, and stayed all night, climbed a high ridge and travelled, I should judge, two miles to the mine. Tis a small vein of Specular Oxide of Iron in a half baked granite rock. Found the same granitic rock elsewhere on the top of the ridge, and Gray told me they were going to cut a pair of millstones from it. Slept all night somewhat thicker than three in a bed.

Tuesday Morning. A tremendous rain which cleared off when the sun was about two hours high, and we started. Visited the ore³ Bank (King's) which is on the side of Plum Top Mountain. The bed is in Hornblende Slate, the ore poor and in small quantity.

Breakfasted at Maxwell's and arrived here about the middle

¹Johnston was a farmer and miller.

²Bull Ruffin, said to be a distortion of Bellerophon, a spur of the Black mountain, now known as Elk.

³Not worked now.

of the afternoon. All the houses between here and Tennessee are log huts. The North Fork winds amongst the high steep mountains and along its banks on the little arable land there is, the inhabitants are settled. They depend a good deal upon their cattle which look well. They are fertile quite to their tops and though they are covered with timbers—large chestnuts, oaks, etc, afford a good deal of pasturage. They will afford much more when the timbers come to be cut down. Started today on an excursion towards the Virginia line.

Jefferson, Friday Evening.

It is waxing late but the dread of your wrath being more potent than the desire to sleep, I proceed to give you the rest of these idle and unprofitable days. Major Finley¹, of Wilkes, came on Tuesday evening, and as he is going on a visit into a region which I wished to visit and offered me his company, I waited till the morning was far advanced before starting. Rode up through the gap between the Phoenix and little Phoenix Mountains. Crossed the North Fork. Gneiss, at about a distance of about nine miles from town, where a change in the country seemed to commence say 5 miles from the Virginia line. Stopped at Timothy Perkins² on Helton's Creek, where there was an army of maidens. I proposed pushing on up Helton but was advised to stay and get information at a Methodist meeting which was to be held close by at 12. It being the middle of the harvest, but few people attended, and if they had staid away it had, as it seems to me, been as well. After service a classmeeting. I staid and heard a reasonable amount of female screaming and vociferation, returned to Perkins' determined some ores³ for Isaac McNab, dined rode up Helton 2 miles to William Per-

¹See note on Col. Finley in preceding letter.

²Ancestor of a number of Perkinses on Helton Creek. All wealthy.

³No mines of value on McNab's land.

⁴The Perkins are not only on Helton Creek but in Grayson Co., Va.

kins, then back and round to Stephen Perkins on little Helton within half a mile of the Virginia line. Found in the field two men from Wake cutting down the wheat. Steven Perkins' grandfather came from Connecticut. He is a shrewd, intelligent young man and appears fully sensible of the disadvantage his children would labor under for want of a good education. His wife, a wonderfully busy little woman told me that one boy and girl of them were twins, and that since their birth there had been three instances of the like amongst their cousins in the neighborhood. The country swarms with children. Was well bitten by the fleas at night. There are no ticks here but abundance of these their brethren.

Thursday Morning. John Weaver¹ came in before I was up to have me determine some ore for him, and agreed to go with me to the White top, an exceedingly high mountain, 3 miles north of the, say Northwesternmost corner of N.Ca. of course in Virginia. Went out to see Perkins' ore bank which is extensive and then while breakfast was getting ready heard an amusing account of an old man who determined the locality of ores by the mineral rod, and by his own account is very busy in digging for gold and silver taken from the Whites by the Indians, and laid up in "subteranium chambers." Said he greased his boots with dead men's tallow, and is prevented from getting the treasure out not by the little spirit with head no bigger than his two thumbs who come to blow the candle out, but by the great old two horned devil himself. After breakfast wound over the hills to William Perkins, then up Helton $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles along a new horse path and by an old plantation to John Weavers. He has a wonderfully romantic place by the side of the creek under the over-hanging rocks. He is a bachelor of 27. His sister keeps house for him. Another house appeared at the distance of two miles up the creek, and we were apprised of our approach by the rolling of drums which the boys keep to

¹John Weaver was a Representative in the Legislature in 1823. The ore is not worked.

frighten away the cattle that are driven in here in great numbers from Washington county, and eat up the range. Being very wild the drum scares them so that they go heels over head down the sides of the mountain; and a 4 year old ox will clear a 2 year old ox at a single jump. Two or three miles more another house, and then a mile brought us to the top. Here were a few trees (of Spruce I believe) but most of the top is fine pasture land covered with white clover and cattle, and commanding an extensive prospect of the mountains of Carolina and of the rich country west upon Holston in Washington county, and looking from the height at which we stood like a garden separated into its different compartments. This mountain is evidently in the transition formation. I found grey rocks and grey rock slate around its base. The summit rocks are rather flinty, and I did not understand them well. But for the bleakness and cloudiness of the situation one does not see why there might not be a plantation on the very summit of the mountain. The soil is black, moist and fertile. A copious spring bursts out within a stones throw of the summit. Here the strawberries are just ripe, and I gathered and ate a number. Saw a number of plants which were new to me, but had neither the time nor the means for examining them. The Grandfather mountain, as I supposed it to be, with a craggy and irregular summit was seen at the south, and the other ridges of Burke and Buncombe farther west and apparently as high as the Grandfather. Arrived at Weaver's again about the middle of the afternoon, exceedingly fatigued having walked according to Weaver, 10 but as I suppose 12 miles in my great heavy boots. Mounted my horse and rode to the north of Helton 10 miles, and fording that stream, as I was told, for I did not undertake to count, 32 times in the distance, and then down the North Fork to 'Col. Meredith Ballou's.

¹Meredith Ballou, a Frenchman, came to Ashe about A. D. 1860, and died in 1847, bought nearly all the valuable iron ore in the county. He was an influential man, a surveyor of note, and was for a while County

This ride was very pleasant. A craggy cliff occupied now one side, now the other side of the river, generally overhanging the stream. The other side presented a narrow strip of low ground, fertile, sometimes in a state of nature, sometimes cultivated—the cultivated land extending some distance up the hill side and sometimes an old field, but covered with clover, how different from the old fields of Lower Carolina. The soil of Ashe at least on this side of New river is certainly fertile as is proved by the size of the trees that spring up from it. A ride in the deep valleys of such a country with the blue tops of mountains appearing everywhere, then around a stream as clear as crystal dashing over its rocky bed close by you and reminding you of its existence, at least by its murmur, and a cloudless sky over-head, in a summer evening cannot be unpleasant except that those whom one loves may not be present to partake of the enjoyment. And it at least affords one an opportunity to fall into a reverie and think about them. The object of this day's labor was to ascertain the coming in of the transition rocks which I had supposed before I left home to occupy the whole of Ashe county, and which I soon find to occupy only a diminutive part of it. Near the Blue Ridge, as I travelled, the rocks appeared to be chiefly mica slate, about here they are Horneblende slate and Gneissoid Horneblende rocks. This is succeeded on the N. West by Gneiss proper and the gneiss gives place to an intermediate rock preparatory to the transition. The commencement of the change may be stated to occur at 9 miles north and 12 miles

Surveyor. He left sons and daughters, all of whom had families. Among his sons was Napoleon Ballou to whom he deeded all his mineral interests a year before he died and Napoleon endeavored by will to entail his property, but the will was broken. There was also litigation over the purchase of his interests at a Sheriff's sale. Many prominent lawyers were employed on one side or the other of the various Ballou suits, including two concerning the will of Meredith Ballou. It is said that Napoleon once refused \$50,000 cash for his interests. The old forge is not worked now and has not been for years. A grandson of the old Frenchman, Albert Lucien Ballou, was a law student of the University of N. C. in 1902.

West from here as the road runs, but I found Grey wracke only at the foot of the White Top Mountain, and within $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Stone Mountain in the ridge containing the bed ore (in ditches). I did not find it at all on the road leading to Perkin's.

Col. Meredith Ballou, at whose house I put up on Thursday, is of French extraction, a native of Amherst County in Virginia. He owns a forge—is a busy, active little man still, though 61 years of age, and the father of eleven sons and two daughters by a wife 13 years younger than himself, and looks as if she might still bear a number of children more. Between the ages of his oldest and youngest daughter there is a difference of 30 years. Fell into a dispute with him about an ore of iron (the micaceous oxide) which he asserted to contain lead. He tells me the first forge erected in this country was built on Helton creek a little above where he lives about 20 years ago by one Tarbert. Shortly after another was built still higher on the same creek; 14 years ago; that on Little River and 4 or 6 years ago that visited on Monday on the western road. Friday morning, rode down the river 3 or 4 miles to see his forge and the ore bank on Weaver's land, which has been taken by Zachariah Baker, the last year's representative from Ashe, for a silver mine from which he was to derive inexhaustible wealth. It proved to be a thin crust of Brown Hematite disseminated through a rock and in such small quantities that it can never be worth working. After dinner Ballou rode out with us two or three miles to see his ore banks which are numerous and rich. Indeed, I judge the range of gneiss heretofore spoken of to be full of ore. Ballou inquired whether I was a professor of religion—said he was not himself, but of the two sects into which the country was divided is most inclined to the Baptist. He spoke

¹Zachariah Baker was a Representative in the Legislature, 1826, 1827 and 1829. He was also Sheriff. His description of a bad season, "we have no weather but variatable weather, which is the d—t weather of all weathers," is still remembered.

of the Methodist camp meeting held annually near Timothy Perkins' where I attended meeting, said that at the last meeting two men, one of those a member of the Methodist church, were witnesses of the pranks of a distinguished preacher. He went into a hut in the dusk of the evening where there was a young woman, a sister in the Methodist communion. He threw one arm around her neck and put the other upon her bosom. She removed it and he replaced it. She removed it again and he replaced it again; then finding that he was observed he struck up a sort of Psalm "I wished to try her faith. Hallelujah praise the Lord." With this precious piece of scandal, I close my letter, observing only that I arrived here just at dark and have been eating, shaving and writing ever since.

Saturday Morning. Started after an early breakfast for the settlement of the Three-Forks 23 miles S. West of this where there is to be a muster to-day, along with 'Phillips—not the celebrated Irish orator but a constable of the county of Ashe. Passed some good plantations within the first six miles, then entered upon a district of mica slate and Magnesium rocks—Ridgy without being mountainous or picturesque—barren and uninhabited—this continued until I was within 4 miles of the Three-Forks settlement where the gneissoid Hornblende rock and good soil reappeared. Put up at 'Robert Sherer's, a Baptist and a worthy and intelligent man, a native of the N. Western part of Orange. Saw and became acquainted with a number of people—Dr. Reaser of Tennessee who brought me a number of specimens of ore—Mr. Calloway—Elijah Calloway³, Esq.; I beg his pardon, formerly a member

¹Caleb Phillips—killed by Federal bushwhackers near the close of the Civil war.

²Robert Shearer was a prominent man of his day. Left many descendants.

³Elijah Calloway was a representative in the Legislature six terms, 1812-17 and Senator five times, 1818, 1819, 1821, 1823, 1824. His son, James Calloway was Representative 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831. This family

of the legislature from this county and having a son not yet 21 a candidate. He is regarded here as a gentleman, and is a member of the Baptist church. He told me he and Dr. Caldwell were great friends, and that he was a great preacher—asked if he did not preach in the city of Lunnon, [London] and thought that he was a preacher there. Said he had always been a great friend of the University. Having obtained the leave of the candidates I explained in a stump speech to the people assembled the object of my visit to Ashe. Walked out towards night 3 miles to a spot on the west side of the S. Fork of North River on the lands of John Cook to see some asbestoid rocks. On my return found at Shearer's Mr. ²Smith who was at Chapel Hill last winter, who proposed to me to start today for Watauga and ascend the Grandfather tomorrow but as I excused myself to him on account of tomorrow's being Sunday, he stayed until I was ready—also a Mr. ³Farthing, son of Reverend Wm. Farthing of the Baptist Church in Wake county., who died last winter at his home at the foot of Stone Mountain—also Mr. Shearer's pretty daughter and her husband, a goodnatured sort of a fellow, not half good enough for her. This Glen Fork settlement is about 23 miles from Jefferson and is a considerable body of good land. A good road runs across the mountain here passing through the 'Deep Gap, and thence down within two or three miles of the Watauga river to the Tennessee line. A Baptist meeting house is only about 2 or 300 yards off at which by an appointment given out on the muster ground I am to preach tomorrow.

Sunday Morning. After breakfast as we were sitting in the Piazza, an old gander named Ellwood (I don't know how to spell his name.) called in with a keg in a bag in which he

was of long continued influence John Calloway was one of the first Representatives and Senators. In the early days also was Joseph and in more modern days Benjamin and B. C. Calloway.

²John C. Smith, of Cumberland county.

³Rev. Wm. Farthing left many descendants, many of them preachers of local reputation.

had brought whiskey to sell at the muster yesterday. Found abundance of fault with Mr. 'Mitchell the candidate, and also with 'Baker the other candidate. When about to go he was asked to stay for preaching—"No, he had said yesterday he was not going to hear him preach—no man never could attend to everything." I told him he seemed to be descended from Ishmael—his hand was against every man. I hoped that every man's hand is not against him. Smith tells me this same fellow raised a report on the muster ground yesterday—that I received from the state 9,000 dollars for passing through and looking at the rocks. Preached at 12 to a considerably attentive congregation. After dinner rode down 10 miles to Watauga. Smith purchased a bottle of brandy and put it in my saddlebags. Stopped at the distance of a mile at 'Hardin's (he is a candidate for a seat in the Senate.) to avoid a shower of rain and again at Council's store to collect our company, which finally amounted to 7—The two candidates, Mitchell and Calloway, Smith and Myself, Farthing, a person, name not known, and 'Noah Mast, to whose father's on Watauga we are going. The prospect in some places where the chestnuts now in bloom grow upon rich grounds on the declivities of the mountains, and are covered with a most luxuriant foliage, is enchanting. Council's store was open, some were hunting, a waggon hauling plank; Mitchell and Calloway electioneered by the way, and, as I was riding on Sunday, with what propriety could I reprehend these things. And yet it seemed necessary, on Mr. Smith's account, that I should ride. Passed from the deep gap road about 3 miles to

¹Anderson Mitchell, afterwards Judge. He was elected, was a Representative two years, then Senator.

²See note above.

³John Harden was elected. He had served previously in the lower House, was an influential man, was afterwards owner and operator of the Cranberry Iron Works.

⁴The Masts, and Henry Holtsclaw were good citizens, and left families—among them merchants, farmers and stock raisers, all successful and reliable. Noah Mast was afterwards State Senator.

Mr. Mast's and observed a discontinuance in the gneissoid horneblende rocks at this point and a commencement of others which appeared to be in [torn] of the transition. The low grounds on the Watauga above the Stone Mountains are wide, tho' they cease at the mountains or a *little* above, and on these low grounds Mr. Mast (a German) has a good plantation and a son settled both above and below him. Young Mast sent out for Henry Holtsclaw who agreed to accompany us to Grandfather tomorrow and then to go on with Mr. Smith to the old fields of Tow. We heard of a family in which was a young lady, apparently about 20, tolerably good looking, and who is the Grace or Goddess that Collin's speaks of in his ode to the Passions "with a bosom bare." There were two little children, the youngest of whom, Smith tells me, is the result of a "fox paw" [fauxpas] of Mademoiselles. She refused to tell who was its father, but his identity is well understood. I am told that when she found herself pregnant she asked him to marry her, telling him at the same time that if he did not take her then, but left her to bear the scandal alone, she never would have him—that he is willing to marry her now but cannot get her. Both the mother and the child seem to be treated with tenderness and affection by the family, and what is most strange her brother is said to be on the most intimate terms with his sister's seducer. The young woman appears to feel her situation. It appears at first sight very unreasonable that a transgression of this kind should be attended with such fatal consequences to the one party and, instead of being regarded as a disgrace, be sometimes almost gloried in by the other. And yet I think it is partly by the appointment of the Creator himself, and therefore, for good reasons, as well as by the custom and fashion of society, that it is so. Reference is evidently had in everything relating to these matters to the welfare of the children and to a provision for their sustenance and support. This demands affection on the part of both the parents. But in order that this should be strong and unswerving, it is needful

that there be no uncertainty about the parentage of the child—that neither husband nor wife may be in danger of bestowing their affection upon the offspring of others. But on the part of the wife there can be no doubt. She can never be in danger of nursing her husband's illegitimate children for her own. The only security a husband has is found in the purity of his wife's character before her marriage—an assurance that he possesses her affection now and an experience of her veracity. Hence, I am inclined to believe by the appointment of God, a man has a greater horror of sharing the person of the woman he loves with another man than a woman has of sharing with a woman, though the principle or feeling originally thus influenced is doubtless strengthened by the institutions of society. And hence incontinence before marriage by diminishing the security the husband should have of the fidelity of his wife after marriage sinks her value so much in the society of which she is a member, and is in fact a greater crime in a woman than in a man. If it be said that it is still *unreasonable* that she should suffer so much more, the truth of the assertion may be denied for whilst men have many hardships to undergo in the field and other places to which she is not called—her education points very much to one of the great objects of her existence, the continuance of the species. Man is tempted in the affairs of life in a thousand different ways. Nearly all her temptations have reference to one thing—unswerving virtue in regard to this one thing, and therefore with her one principal point of morality and religion, and if she falls here she is taught to expect that her fall will be great; it is reasonable that it should be great. I do not mean all the while to excuse the hard-hearted and unfeeling indifference with which a man will for a brief transport of passion sacrifice the happiness of a fellow being for months and years, and then look with a cold and indifferent eye upon the ruin of which he is the author. I wish it to be strongly emphasized upon my daughters that *where a woman*

is concerned, no man is to be trusted—every man is half a demon.

Monday Morning. Foggy, cloudy and rainy; purchased a small bear skin from Mr. Mast. At nine proceeded a small distance up the creek to where one of the young Masts keeps bachelor's hall, when a bad rain coming on we stopped and I agreed for a tickler of balsam, for which I afterwards paid a dollar. Started soon after, though it still rained and our guide was rather unwilling to proceed, and indeed, we were thoroughly wet when we got two or three miles up to Robert Barnhill's, originally from Mecklenburg. In the neighborhood is a hunter who has two women living with him; to one of them he owes and to the other he gratuitously discharges the duties of a husband; one has 3 children, and the other one and another near at hand. 'Tis a terrible region for these irregularities. The Leather Stocking of these regions, and whom we would have had as a pilot, but that he is in the woods, has a wife living on Sandy River in Kentucky, and the children of that wife and another woman living with him here on the Watauga. Another hunter, has a wife living in N. Ca., and supports or keeps the only daughter of a man who lives in Tennessee. In a rude hunter's state of society, the women become schquaws, very pretty ones, but schquaws notwithstanding. We had still 8 or 9 miles to go to the top of Grandfather. We passed on over one ridge after another, winding through the woods over logs and rocks, and through laurels, walking when we could not ride, passing some mountains and knobs with very indecent names, seeing only one small deer which we did not kill, crossing the head of Linville river which flows into the Catawba, and arrived at the foot of Grandfather, where we were obliged to leave our horses, about one o'clock. The Linville and Watauga head up under the mountain, and from the place, where we took our dinner, we could get water from either, within two or three hundred yards. Of course we were on the summit of the Blue Ridge. The ascent of the mountain is rough, thickety and disagree-

able. Steep, perpendicular cliffs in places but in general not very difficult. About half way up we met with a Fir-Balsam tree. It is sometimes a foot and a half in thickness and pretty tall. The balsam resides in small blisters or cavities in the substance of the bark which are cut out and the precious fluid passed into a vial. They say that the exudation obtained in the same way as common turpentine has not the same properties—but I have my doubts. It is the panacea or universal remedy of the mountains—cures wounds, rheumatism,¹ flux, et cetera. It grows quite to the top but it is stunted and smaller there, and along with one other tree occupies exclusively the highest points. The summit of the mountain is moist and wet, producing carexes which I wished to but could not study. Holtsclaw had been often upon it but only in search of bears of which it is the favorite winter retreat. They retire to dens in the cliffs in December and come out in February, passing the time in sleep. This is time for the hunters to find their retreats and take them out. They lose nothing of their fatness, and their flesh is thought to acquire additional delicacy: they have nothing in their bowels during their sleep—I write this at Jefferson, July 11, Friday. I leave today for the lower end of the county where I hope to go out to the Elkspur Gap on Saturday into Wilkes.

I thank you for your letter. I *may* write again from Wilkes.
Yours, E. MITCHELL.

Wilkesboro, July 20th. 1828. Sund. Eve.

My Dear and Good Wife:

In my last which leaves this tomorrow morning I informed you of all things whether good or ill that have befallen me down to Monday Evening the 14. when I am received in this place a second time and put up at Mr. Massey's where Messrs.²

¹Old name for dysentery.

²Rev. Wm. Hooper, Professor of Ancient Languages and Rev. James Phillips, Professor of Mathematics in the U. N. C. Both were afterward Doctors of Divinity.

Hooper and Phillips staid—to their great satisfaction last year. Wilkesboro lies near the Yadkin. The river makes something of a bend and approaches the town. From the water's edge a steep hill rises suddenly and it is on the south side of this hill (sloping gradually) that the town is built. It contains 19 dwelling houses; a new courthouse and goal. Massey's is a pleasant place to stay at when he is at home. He is of a quaker family but was led astray by the bright black eyes of a Moabitish or Presbyterian damsel. He married out of the society and of course ceased to be connected with it. His wife is really pretty, but what astonishes me is that she has found it out. Found out the man Mr. McKenzie¹ who sent me the specimens from Wilkes a year or two ago—Originally a tailor secondly an officer in the army—lieutenant—and thirdly doctor and mineralogist. He lives a little out of town and supports his large family with some difficulty.

Tuesday morning. Rode up the river to see Gen. Stokes and Col Wellborn. Their father-in-law Hugh Montgomery² owned one of the finest plantations on the river. They married sisters, and this plantation was divided among them. ³Stokes

¹Dr. McKenzie owned Flint Knob lead and silver mine about 15 miles west of Wilkesboro. It is now owned by Col Allen Brown and Mr. Samuel L. Patterson. Mr McKenzie mortgaged other land to raise money wherewith to operate his mine, but had little success. Hunters used to get lead here for their rifles.

²Hugh Montgomery lived at Salisbury; was the friend and champion of the Moravians, who owned large bodies of land where Wilkesboro and Moravian Falls are now located, and elsewhere. It was charged that they were not loyal during the Revolution, especially as their trustee, Frederick William von Marshall was out of the United States—Their lands were entered and claimed by others, and Montgomery caused suits to be brought for them and after long litigation won them. He had a large slice of the lands for his compensation. The attorney he employed had the odd name of B. Boothe Boot. He had two daughters who shared between them his estate.

³General Mountfort Stokes, born 1760, in Halifax, Virginia, county, served in the navy under Commodore Decatur, was captured and had much suffering as a prisoner; after the war settled in Salisbury and was

is considerably the oldest. They have not formerly agreed very well but are said to be on good terms now. 'Wellborn is nearest to town—only two miles off. Called on him. He offered me breakfast—whiskey and then feeding of my horse, but I declined them all. Showed me some minerals and I went on to Gen Stokes' two miles farther. What Wellborn's real character is I cannot make out. He has been a member of the Baptist church and will now allow of no swearing about him. He left the church under the idea that he was unfit to remain in it. He seems to have a religious paroxysm. He is a candidate, a furious Jacksonite and a prompt bold man. At Gen Stokes' I was treated with great kindness. I used to wonder why he was so much put forward in the state but it now appears. He is a very pleasant man of good sense. His wife appears much younger than himself. He was born 20 or 30 miles above Petersburg in Virginia and was a sailor in his youth. In his family he has been exceedingly unfortunate—perhaps this is not the proper word. He has been a great card player and is at present a great swearer himself so that we may conjecture what their education has been. In addition to this I suspect some defect in the moral and physical constitution of the young men themselves. One, Hugh M.

Clerk of the Superior Court; was then Principal Clerk of the Senate, and from 1815 to 1823 United States Senator and Representative in 1829 and 1830. He was then elected Governor twice 1830 and 1831. President Jackson then appointed him Indian Agent in Arkansas where he resided until his death in 1842. His first wife was sister of Captain Henry Irwin, who fell at Germantown. They had a daughter who, after the death of her first husband, Hugh Chambers, married Wm. B. Lewis, of Nashville, Tenn., a warm friend and adviser of President Jackson, the head of the "Kitchen Cabinet." By his Montgomery wife he had five sons and five daughters. His son, Montfort S. Stokes was a Major in the Mexican war and Colonel in our Civil war and was mortally wounded on the Chickahominy. Mr. C. V. Hunt and children are the only descendants of Governor Stokes.

Col. James Wellborn was often State Senator. He advocated ineffectually the construction by the state of a road from Beaufort to the mountains.

was educated at Chapel Hill and is now a lawyer in Morganton. He is said to possess respectable talents but is intemperate. I was told of his reformation as I passed through Morganton last year. As we were conversing freely about his children I told him I had understood that Hugh¹ had reformed. He said he had hoped so—had sent him on his circuit with Judge Donnell with high expectations but on his return he had staid at Morganton instead of coming home and he well knew but feared to ask for what. Another son is a midshipman in the navy and by the father's account will never be more than a midshipman, a third² is at West Point and I gathered from his father not succeeding very well, a fourth is at home. I told him I intended to give my children the best education in my power and then if they did not succeed, not to permit it to trouble me—he said I could not help it—and I suppose he was right. He gave me some information respecting the running the line first by Strother and Co. to painted rock and then by himself, Dr. Caldwell and others along the great Smoky mountains. After dinner rode out to

¹Hugh Montgomery Stokes graduated at our University in 1816, in the class among others of Dr. Francis L. Hawks and Senator Willie P. Mangum; was a Representative in the Legislature in 1819—died early. The Judge was John R. Donnell—first honor graduate at the U. N. C. in 1807.

²David, according to Wheeler, was dismissed from the navy and entered the revenue marine service.

³Thomas J. married on Wilkes county, and removed to Tennessee; did not graduate.

⁴Montford Sidney Stokes was for five years a midshipman in the U. S. navy, resigned and settled in Wilkes, was a major in the Mexican and a Colonel in the Civil war. He was mortally wounded at the battle of the Chichahominy.

⁵The commissioners appointed by the act of 1796 were Colonel Joseph McDowell, of Quaker Meadows, David Vance, grandfather of Z. B. Vance, and Mussendine Matthews, speaker of the House. Strother, who made a map of the State, was an assistant. According to the Act confirming their action they located the line to the Smoky—Under the Act of 1819 for continuing the location the Governor was authorized to appoint the commissioners and their names do not appear in the printed laws. John Steele,

see Michals Forge and Ore Bank; the Forge (not yet completed) is the only one in the county. The ore bank is 2 or 3 miles off; the ore appears to be tolerably good though not of the first quality and has been manufactured into iron pretty extensively at Beard's Forge in Burke. There seems to be a series of beds of iron, one lying on this side of the Brushey Mountains, on one of the spurs of which Michals ore Bank is extending like everything else in this country from N. E. to S. West—; returned to town—and took tea at Major Finley's where I saw 'Col. Patterson and his wife—granddaughter of Gen. Lenoir.

Wednesday Morning. The repairs of my wagon not being yet completed I did not start till about eleven. In the meantime walked out to see the Wilkesboro mineral spring. 'Tis only some water that oozes through some earth and leaves that has been brought down from the road, and that it contains perhaps a little iron has little to recommend it besides its dirty nauseous taste. Started at eleven with Dr. McKenzie and passed up the river, found the rocks mostly Gneiss the whole day and indeed throughout this whole excursion; found iron on the road 6 miles from town in white flint rock. Near Millers when we crossed the river McKenzie told me there was a bank of Porcelain clay; I did not visit it. Passed Stonecyplus an old bachelor who they say knows where there is lead in the mountain near but will give no account of it. Left my waggon at Dyck Jones, and went on a couple of miles further to John Lipps and then up the creek a mile and a half further to see some black lead. Found a little in the granite rocks but none of any value. Was told by Lipps

Montfort Stokes and Robert Burton were appointed in 1813, and the next year General Thomas Love, General Montfort Stokes and Colonel John Patten, to mark the boundary between North and South Carolina. President Caldwell assisted as astronomer.

¹General Samuel Finley Patterson, State Treasurer, 1835-'37; President Raleigh and Gaston Rail Road. State Senator, 1846-'50. His wife was daughter of Colonel Edmond Jones,

of the garnet on the lands of — Church, his father-in-law, who lives just under the Blue Ridge. Returned to Jones's and got an excellent cup of coffee. Anderson Mitchell and another Lipps came in with specimens chiefly from flat Knob amongst which I found rich characterized Sappare or Kyanite.

Thursday Morning Crossed over through a barren country to the river which we had left and then up the river to 'Gen. Jones where we arrived about noon or a little after. It is not difficult to account for the deterioration of the "Range" of which people are continually complaining in this part of the country. Two causes operate in the production of this effect. 1. Since the country has been cleared and plantations laid out it will not answer to burn the woods as formerly for fear of destroying the fences and the consequence is that the small undergrowth is not destroyed as it used to be—the woods become thicker and not like an orchard as they are in the indian country—and thus herbage of all kinds being shaded does not grow and flourish. 2. Of the different kinds of herbage those suited to the sustenance of cattle as the pea-vine and natural grasses are fast devoured and both become less vigorous in their growth and are prevented from going to seed whilst the contrary effect is produced upon the bitter unpalatable weeds. Thus our woods become thick also and shady and the little herbage they produce is not fitted to the sustenance of cattle. Passed Gen. Lenoir's—²(Old Fort Defiance) and stopped at the

¹The Jones family came from Culpepper County, Virginia. There were five brothers, Catlett, Thomas, George, Hugh and Edmund. Thomas and George lived in South Carolina. Edmund, known as General Edmund Jones, was often State Senator and Representative. He was father of Edmund W. Jones, State Senator and Member of the Convention of 1861, and grandfather of Edmund Jones, who was in the Confederate army, a Representative in the Legislature and a Trustee of the University.

²General Wm. Lenoir, Lieutenant in Rutherford's Expedition against the Cherokees; Captain at King's Mountain; 1st President of the Board of Trustees of U. N. C. President of the Senate, 1790-'94. Member of Constitutional Conventions of 1788 and 1789; Chairman of County Court of

house of his son-in-law Gen. Jones¹ to dinner. The Gen. out electioneering. A man of wealth—has two sons one² at Hillsboro with Mr. Bingham and the younger with Mr. Gay. His daughters all married, two of them at table—one recently wedded to Lawyer Henry of Greenville district S. Co. originally a Yankee? and a well enough man, the other—the youngest stole a march upon her parents and married her cousin Larkin Jones described to me by McKenzie as the smartest young man that has been raised in Wilkes. After his marriage was raised into favour and went on last winter to attend the medical lectures at Philadelphia and the agitation produced by the sudden and unexpected return of her husband at night caused a miscarriage from which she is still feeble. After a thunderstorm, occurring whilst we were at dinner, was over, obtained a horse and rode accompanied by a son of Catlett, the General's brother, to Gidding's old place to see some ore said to be there—the distance 10 miles. For two or three miles the country was tolerably open but the hills afterwards closed in upon us and we wound our way beneath them beside the river bank and were finally obliged to cross one or two pretty considerable ridges in order to reach our place of destination. A ride of this kind to one accustomed to the monotonous sameness of the Low Country is pleasant and agreeable and would have been highly so to me but for a

Wilkes. Major General of Militia. A street in Raleigh, a county and town are named in his honor. The plantation is now owned by Thomas B. Lenoir, a grandson over 80 years

There was a fort in the forks of Yadkin called Waddell in honor of General Hugh Waddell. Probably the name was changed to Fort Defiance, but there may have been two. Erected against the Indians.

¹Gen. Edmund Jones—see preceding note—The General was running for the Senate. Was beaten in 1828 by James Wellborn, but was successful two years afterward.

²Col. Edward Walter Jones, at Bingham's and Rufus at Gay's. Lawyer Henry was James Edward Jones of Spartanburg, S. C. His wife was Elizabeth. Larkin Jones, who with his cousin "stole a march" on the General, was a distinguished physician of Charlotte, N. C.

shower that fell. ¹Giddings old place, now occupied by three men of the name of Harrison—a father and his three sons, is a fine sample of what is called in the mountains a Cove. The Yadkin is here a brawling mountain stream and the mountain instead of coming up close to it recedes so as to leave a handsome plantation of level land along its banks. Here is a fine peach and apple orchard and as pleasant a spot but for its situation as is to be found in the country. But the only access to it is by a trail or foot-path leading over a mountain ridge. 'Tis a very valley of Wyoming—the place for a person to retire to, who has been illtreated by the world and is disgusted with it—the place for him to retire to and *not be happy*. I recommended it as a retreat to Lawyer Henry—telling him how finely he could shoot bears for his wife to eat and get fine skins to warm her—the orchard would also furnish fine whiskey for her as well as the field the best of wheat and he could present the whole to her as the product of his own labor and a testimonial of his love. But he did not seem to approve of the plan. We did not leave the place before sun-down and had then to wind our way over the hills and down the river ten miles but it was a fine moon-light night. We reached home after the family had all retired to rest but found a good supper ready for us.

Friday Morning. Started after breakfast and rode down to Catlett Jones's² [torn] took in Dr. McKenzie—rode down to Tommy Triplett's³ to dinner and then to Wilkesboro. This upper valley of the Yadkin is delightful. From half a mile to a mile broad—bounded by ranges of mountains of moderate elevation—the Brushey mountains on one side and a small chain parallel to the Blue Ridge on the other—the land is very fertile—pleasant to cultivate and produces im-

¹Probably a plantation called Goshen, eight miles above Wilkesboro now owned by Mr. Columbus Williams. It was once owned by "Tommy Triplett."

²See note about the Jones family.

³A substantial and good citizen.

mense quantities of corn. The river is here a stream of moderate size and rushes rapidly along over its gravelly bed—the air is salubrious and healthy and the soil occupied by very respectable farms, Col. Davenport¹, Gen. Jones, Gen. Lenoir, Major Witherspoon, Col. Catlett Jones, Capt. Dula and others—(it is not a war-like neighborhood these military titles to the contrary notwithstanding). They want only an evangelical clergyman of good abilities and learning and a respectable academy to make this valley a very desirable place of residence—but these important requisites I fear they will not soon have. Tommy Triplett is an unbeliever who cannot read and an honest kind man as Mr. Kenzie tells me. From him I had another edition of the story about lead found at the north of Stoney Fork within a mile of him, 12 miles from Wilkesboro. An old hunter parted from his company was scouring about and fell upon a place where the indians had cut lead from the bottom of the branch and a bag of their bullets was hanging from the tree, but he was never able (as he neglected to mark the spot) to find it again. Such in substance is the account that I have received in so many different places and from so many different persons that I am ready to knock down the man who shall tell the tale again. To compensate me however in part he told me of some passages between himself and a mineral-rod man, a race of vermin who infest this country and share the confidence of the people so that it is a constant question when they learn that I am concerned with the metals—whether I will undertake to find where those substances lie hid in the bowels of

¹In consequence of the war-like spirit engendered by the Revolutionary war and that of 1812 the militia was kept up in considerable efficiency. Military offices were evidence of high standing in the community. All these men were men of substance and of influence in the upper Yadkin country—called the Happy Valley. Col Wm. Davenport, Hon. James O. Harper, Gen. S. F. Patterson and Col. Edmund Jones in 1852 established the Yadkin Valley High School under Captain E. W. Faucette, an excellent teacher. Davenport Female College was established in 1855-'6 and named in honor of Colonel Davenport.

the earth. Triplett proposed to one of these gentry to find his lead mine at the mouth of Stoney Creek and promised a reward of one hundred dollars if he would do so. He readily engaged to undertake the task but said it might lie deep. No! said Triplett, it is within two feet of the surface. But the large body of the ore may lie deep and in that case my rods will be drawn to it notwithstanding this search for ore rising to the surface. Triplett appearing incredulous he said he would find any money about the house. He was told that 5 silver dollars should be hid in the field and he should deposit 5 more in the hands of a third person and if he could by his art find the five he should have the whole ten—if not he was to forfeit his own five. The smallness of the sum was an objection at first but he appeared equally backward when it was proposed to substitute 20 instead of five. The fellow in Ashe urged the strange objection to the mineral rod viz, that if the metals had any power of attracting the twigs all the branches would be stripped from the trees. Here at Triplett's there was an old Capt. Duncan from Milledgeville in Georgia who appeared to be a man of truth and told some stories of the revolution and the wars of which he had borne a part and of antecedent events, of Col. Morgan and Col. Cresap. According to him Mr. Jefferson's story of Logan, the indian chief, is extremely incorrect. The indians had been plundering the white settlements and Duncan and others went down to drive them off, falling upon their encampment. Duncan for the first time "burnt powder" at the human, fired the first gun and killed a large indian. Others were killed and a foolish Dutch-

¹Published in Notes on Virginia. Logan, or Tah-gah-jute, stated that "Colonel Cresap, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relatives of Logan, not even sparing women and children." His letter to the Peace Commission was very pathetic. Probably Captain Duncan gives the more correct account of the cause of the war. The war began in 1744 and was accompanied by fearful barbarities. Logan is said to have killed 30 with his own hand. He was killed after some years while attacking a relative in drunken frenzy. "Col. Morgan" was probably when Duncan knew him General ^{David} Morgan, the hero of Cowpens.

man levelled his gun at a squaw and though told not to shoot it was a white man's squaw he blazed away and killed her. This was the sister of Logan and her death was what roused him.

On my return to Wilkesboro walked down to examine the white spots in the bank below town, found them to be spots in the granite in which the Feldspar greatly predominated. Col. Waugh¹ offered me his horse to ride out to the Brushey mountains tomorrow and Dr. Satterwhite engaged to accompany me.

Saturday Morning. Started after breakfast for the Brushey Mountains Dr. Satterwhite and Dr. McKenzie and Mr. Moreau—called here Marou. Passed the vineyard which Moreau had planted on the mountain on land granted I believe by the state for this purpose. He is a native of Alsace, a tailor, and, as Gen. Stokes informs me, not much acquainted with the cultivation of the vine. The yard certainly presents but a sorry appearance which he attributed to the delay incident to the distance of Wilkesboro from the place where the shoots were cut in Pennsylvania. The vineyard is shortly (next year) to be removed to the top of the mountain and Moreau is to devote all his time to it. I believe he will be tired of it although he is spoken of as a very industrious and worthy man. The Brushey mountains are higher than I supposed—furnish some grand table land 3 or 4 miles across and some fine prospects. The black lead³ is on their southern side near the Iredell line—was recently discovered breaking from the ground by the

¹Colonel Wm. Waugh, emigrated from Pennsylvania; merchant; partner with Major Finley, had branch stores in Ashe, Caldwell, Cherokee and Jonesboro, Tennessee. Owned Moravian Falls where he had a handsome brick residence, flour mills, the best in the country, saw mill, &c. Never was married.

²A Frenchman. The vineyard was a failure. Some species of his grapes are still left in the community, said to be very fine,

³Now owned by Mr. John Love. Not worked;

side of a foot-path by a girl Miss —— . Her father has dug up a quantity but made only a small hole in so doing—so that it has been very little explored. It occurs in nodules in the soil and it is likely there is a good deal of it. It is on the land of a Mr. Davis. Returned by a different route—passed the grave of a negro who was whipped to death two or three years ago by his master and another man who took him from jail and left him dead in the road and [torn] . Passed the seat of Col. Waugh's saw Mill 5 or 6 miles from town. It is a wonderful seat formed by beds of gneiss rock crossing the Moravian creek. Supped at Dr. Satterwhites. He is a native of Granville—an alumnus of the University—Formerly a merchant, now a physician—not as I suspect a very scientific one—a farmer—married to a sister of Mr. Cowan, of Salisbury, has three children—one pretty daughter—more of a reader than any other one in Wilkes county. Unitarian in faith though a good deal shaken of late—has left off swearing since Mr. Gay came to Wilkesboro. Found ²James Norwood sick on my return.

Sunday Morning. Preached to a small congregation in the courthouse twice. Made out the worst when I had Gen Stokes and the largest and most respectable number of persons to hear me, this was not pleasant but must be submitted to.

Monday Morning. After packing my minerals—started for Surry. Dr. McKenzie in company for a few miles. Stopped at the house of John Bryant Esq. 8 miles from town and took dinner. Visited his gold mine. Whilst dinner was getting ready a man rode up and requested assistance for a woman who had fallen from a wagon and broken her arm. We went down and found her collar bone broken—got her into the nearest house. McKenzie adjusted it, made her as comfortable as we could. It is in such situations that riches are truly

¹Horace B. Satterwhite, entered the University from Salisbury in 1805,

²James Hogg Norwood—Graduated at the U. of N. C. in 1824; was then a Tutor, afterwards a lawyer.

valuable by enabling us to command every assistance and comfortable situation. Started from Bryants, called at his son-in-law's Col Jones Wrenton to see a rock resembling (undecipherable) of the Sandhills but uninteresting in any other point of view. How did it get (word undecipherable) easily formed and in many situations? I must examine its situation about Fayetteville. Rounded pebbles are abundant about here but do not extend as he informed me more than half a mile from the river from which they are evidently derived. Passed on and crossed the river at a ford where a Lawyer named¹ Hill was drowned during the last year and put up at ²Major Meredith Thurmonds. He has a beautiful situation—fine land—and a fine river road by him and the Pilot and Blue Ridge in view. Thurmond is not a very intellectual man but he treated me well. Showed me some blankets manufactured by his wife nearly equal to the rose blankets—made as Mrs Thurmond informed me by spinning the yarn very coarse—twisting it but little and carding it up. Also some paintings of his daughter's, some of them frightful enough, but displaying on the whole a good talent in a girl of 14 who had had no instructor. In the morning I encouraged the parents to cultivate the genius of their daughter and to give her a good education—Described the proficiency of my own daughter which I ascribed not to any superiority of talent but to the

¹I am unable to learn of the drowning of any lawyer whatever. Perhaps I mistake the name. But the name of a Hill appeared on the court docket prior to 1828 and disappeared about that time.

²Maj. Meredith Thurman or Thurmond an influential and wealthy man lived on Yadkin near where the village of Ronda is situated. His place is now owned by Dr. James Hickerson. He with Dr. John and Benjamin Martin attempted to dredge the Yadkin, so that boats could be run to Wilkesboro, and all lost heavily. Thurman then moved to Tennessee. According to one informant his oldest daughter, Julia, the pretty one referred to by Dr. Mitchell, probably, married James Dickerson and lived in the "Hollows of the Dan" in Surrey county. He had another pretty daughter, Mildred, who married Jesse Franklin of Surry. According to another informant, his daughter, Sally, married a Colonel Holt and moved to Mississippi.

diligent care of her excellent mother. As I am leaving Wilkes I may say that it appears to be deficient in mineral riches. A series of beds of iron ore not of the best quality appears to lie along the base of the Brushey Mountains and that is really all. The predominant rock is gneiss but there is a good deal of granite and mica slate. The good land lies along the river and is held by men whose wealth has given them an opportunity of acquiring intelligence and they have given to the county a respectability *abroad* not possessed by any of its neighbours.

Tuesday Morning. I had intended to pass from Col^r Thurmonds to Mr Franklin's in Surry but learn that that gentleman is gone from home to attend the meeting of the council of state convened on the 30th. to appoint a successor to the late attorney general J.F. Taylor. I determined to direct my course immediately to Rockford the Metropolis of Surry. Thurmond accompanied me some distance to see me over the ford and passing through Jonesville a town of 7 houses I arrived at Rockford about 3 in the afternoon without any particular incident. The country was only moderately fertile. I had some apprehensions respecting the depth of the Yadkin as the river was swollen with antecedent rains but passed it in safety and put up with Matthew Hughes Esq. one of the 5 inhabitants (masters of families) of the place, where I had an excellent cup of coffee poured out to me by his beautiful and pleasant daughter. Rode out with Matthew to see some iron ore and some of Mr. Olmsteads³ Lazulite (decomposed Chalcedony.) The ore is the magnetic oxide in gneiss, has been smelted is of a good quality—three miles from town but the vein appears to be feeble. Examined the rocks near the ford and found them to be Mica Slate. Mrs Hughes is of the Martin family and connected with Mrs Ham Jones who has

¹Iron ore beds on the Brushey not worked.

²Rockford has about 100 inhabitants, The Act authorizing removal of the county seat to Dobson was passed in 1848.

³Dr. Mitchell is ridiculing Dr. Olmstead here.

been staying here¹ for some weeks and left these parts to go down to Mrs William's near the shallow ford only this morning. She is here to keep her children who are sickly from the pestilential air of Salisbury and talks of going to Chapel Hill.

Wednesday Morning. Started very early and went down to Major ²William's 3 miles with the double, triple, purpose of getting my horse shod—some breakfast and seeing his limestone quarry. He is the brother of Lewis the Congressman and the father of the fellow who gave us so much trouble at the last session. He is a widower and has been so many years. His oldest daughter is married to a Mr. Dodge³ a Northern man a lawyer living in Huntsville and gone on with her husband and sister to see his friends. Another daughter is at Salem and there is only one child a tolerably pretty little daughter at home. He treated me very well took me to see his quarries and kiln. Shod my horse (had him shod) gave me a breakfast and would have nothing in return. Also sent down a boy with me to Haynes' and Hutchins's ore banks.

¹Col. James Martin, of the Revolution, married for his second wife the mother of Hamilton C. Jones, the lawyer of Salisbury. Jones married the daughter of Major Pleasant Henderson, of Chapel Hill, whose wife was a daughter of Col. Martin. Matthew M. Hughes was a relative of the Dobsons and a man of wealth, who moved to Tennessee. He and Judge Martin owned⁴ about 40,000 acres in one tract in Surry county. Part of it was lost from uncertain description of the land in the deed: "40,000 acres between Dobson and the Blue Ridge."

²Nicholas Williams. father of the late Nicholas L. Williams and great grandfather of N Glenn Williams. There were two of the name at the University in 1827 from Surry County, John F. and Joseph Williams. John F. was the culprit. His offence was visiting Hillsboro without permission and staying a day or two. He agreed to obey the law and was pardoned.

³James R. Dodge, a nephew of Washington Irving, Solicitor of the Judicial Circuit. It was about him that Governor Swain quoted the English mock epitaph on one Dodge, to which he made the impromptu reply. The incident is narrated in Wheeler's History. Colonel Dodge had a son, a General in the Federal army, James Irwin Dodge. Governor Glenn is his grandson.

The former is in Mica Slate and a good deal worked out. The latter, Ben Hutchins's, is a recent discovery in gneiss and is used at Shepherds forge. Hutchins, is a quaker and his ore bank seems to be well wrought. Some of the ore is contaminated with soapstone and I found very good asbestus in the mica. There appeared to be a good deal of iron ore about this place, 6 or 7 miles from Rockford on the Huntsville road and some manganese. Got from Hutchins some 'seed of a vegetable I had never seen before called by him raising corn of which it is the quality to make bread rise rapidly as he said. I have not much faith in it but took some of the seed as a curiosity. Rode down to Joseph Thompson's—an 'old gander of a fellow.

[The letter ends here and is not signed.]

Elkspur Gap³, Wilkes Co. July, 20th, 1828.

My Dear and Good Wife:

Amongst the unpleasant circumstances with which my present occupation is attended is the inability under which I am laid of spending the Sabbath in a manner which my conscience approves. As I am laid up here for a day with no good books at hand and as your situation is desolate—and lonely, (but still how different from that of a widowed mother), I believe I may regard it as a duty as well as feel it a pleasure to resume my narrative at the point where it was broken off upon the summit of the Grandfather mountain and fill a sheet or half sheet (you cannot in conscience complain as I have nearly exhausted all the paper which you gave me) with

¹A correspondent in Surry says that the vegetable was hops. Dr. Mitchell was a skilled botanist, but it is no reflection on him that he could not identify the seed.

²Dr. Mitchell was fond of this term. It is not one of ridicule or reproach. He means that Thompson was of a solitary habit and odd, peculiar ways—like an old gander, who has lost his mate.

³Now called Deep Gap. It is a spur between Elk and Stoney Fork,

ulterior particulars. It is one of the pleasures of the relation in which we stand to each other that those trifles which to a third person would be intolerably wearisome have with us a deep as well as unfailing interest. You must excuse repetition if I should happen to fall into any.

The vegetation of the summit of the Grandfather is peculiar. Carexes (inhabitants of a moist soil) constitute the principal grasses, the trees are the Balsam Fir—and one or two others which I did not know. Does not Michaux assign to this mountain a peculiar species of Pine not found elsewhere upon the Mountain? I could see nothing of any such and Henry Holtsclaw denied that there was any. Saw a new (to me) species of sambucus with red berries which were already ripe and at the point where we enjoyed the first prospect a small shrub grew and interwove its branches so thick that we reposed upon the summit of its limbs as upon a carpet. The climate of the summit must be considerably colder than that of Chapel Hill as the Blackberry, which I found fully ripe in many places as I came along before I reached the foot of the Mountain and were decaying through excessive ripeness, was still green throughout Ashe at this time and near the summit of the Grandfather was either flowering or passing into the state of berry. Capt. Smith, who had worn his thin coat up, complained bitterly of the coldness of the wind and I felt it myself though less than he did. To enjoy the prospect in all its glory we climbed each a several balsam tree and the tree being stunted in its growth had a large trunk (comparatively) thickly beset with limbs so that we could easily place our heads higher than its top. The prospect was

¹There were two eminent botanists of this name, André Michaux, the father, and Francois André, the son. The first published "A Treatise on the Oaks of North America," 1801, and a "Flora Boreali-Americana," 1803. The son published "The Naturalization of American Forest Trees," 1805. A Journal of his travels, 1805, and "North American Sylva," 1810-1813, completed by Nuttall and others. He died in France in 1855. Both father and son were natives of France.

all but infinite. The day was fine—a few flying clouds and a thin haze or smoke only. The Pilot and several towns were distinctly visible, also endless ridges of Tennessee, the Black Mountain of Buncombe, the Yellow and Roan Mountains. The Table rock which appeared as a considerable eminence at Morganton was dwindled down to a Mole Hill. It was a question with us whether the Black and Roan Mountains were not higher than the Grandfather and we were all inclined to give them the palm and I very well recollect that when I was in Morganton last year a mountain lying towards the westward (the Black Mountain) appeared higher than it and the same impression was made by the Yellow and Roan mountains when I was upon the White Top. There can be no doubt that the country around the base of the Grandfather is higher than any other tract along these elevations but I suspect the Black and Roan to be higher peaks. The Grandfather appears to me to be *Grau Wacke* and to belong to the transition of Tennessee. Along the creek by which we ascended I found clay slate which appeared to be transition—also about the very head springs of Linnville and along the flank of the Grandfather. If I am correct I suspect that instead of there being a small strip of transition along the base of the Blue Ridge as represented by Maclure², that formation here occupies the whole breadth of the Mountains. If I were to spend another summer in these parts I would locate myself on the Old Fields of Toe River and investigate the district lying between and around these high mountains. When we had finished our examination we began to descend in a great hurry it being the object of the hunters to reach the cabin of Mr. Leather-

²Wm. Maclure, born in Scotland, emigrated to this country in 1796; formed project of a Geological Survey of the United States, crossed the Alleghanies fifty times, mostly on foot; published first Geological map of the United States and was called "Father of American Geology;" attempted but failed in establishing an Agricultural College, donated in his lifetime or by will \$20,000 and all his collections to the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia. Died in Mexico.

stocking Aldridge and feast upon Venison, Bear Meat and Honey. In the attempt to do this we failed and camped on the top of Haw Ridge three miles from Barnhills. A shelving rock projected over our heads and kept off the dew; my blanket, after it had served as a manger for my horse to eat his provender from, constituted a bed for Henry Holtsclaw and Robert Barnhill. My Buffalo skin served Capt. John Smith whilst my bearskin served Mr. Noah Mast and myself. Thus furnished I lying in the middle and with a blazing fire at our feet we passed a pleasanter night than I had expected. I looked at my watch a good many times to see if it was not nearly morning.

Tuesday morning—Cloudy—it rained considerably before night. We rose as soon as it was light. Holtsclaw and Smith parted from us to go to the Old Fields of Toe River. The rest of us passed down the side of the Mountain. Breakfasted and had a pretty good cup of coffee at Barnhills. Left Masts about 10, the old man consenting to receive 50 cents for the trouble I had given him, for the Tenn. line. Thinking I owed Noah Mast some expression of gratitude for his attentions to me over and above what he had received, I called at his brother's a couple of miles from his father's and left my pocket map, to which he seemed to take a fancy, with a few lines in it. This was on Cove creek. A mile or two further struck upon gneiss rock which continued with an exception of a small tract of granite to within 2 miles of the Tennessee line on the top of the stone mountain. Called at Mrs. Farthings' three miles from the top of the stone Mountain and got my dinner. Madam was sick as she supposed with St. Anthony's fire and had been for a month. She appeared to be a worthy woman. Her husband was from Wake; being sent on a missionary Tour to Ashe he fell in love with the mountains and removed hither about a year ago or a little more and soon died. She was well

¹See note to preceding letter,

acquainted with brother Patterson¹. After my return from the Mountains young Farthing rode with me a couple of miles on my road to George Wilsons² on the Fork Ridge between Cove Creek and Beaver dam. I also left with him some specimens of rock to be brought down when he comes to Wake in the Fall. George Wilson lives on an eminence so steep that my horse had difficulty in climbing up when I led him. Staid at Wilson's—a log house with fringes between the beams—Tapestried with 17 petticoats of domestic manufacture. Wilson was gone a hunting and soon came in, it being dark—wet and tired, having hunted two days with some of his neighbors on the stone mountain distant three miles and killed—*Nothing*. His wife said he never was as tired as when he came from hunting. Ashe was first occupied by hunters who came in search of game. When they reported the fertility of the soil to their neighbours—they came in but engaged also much in hunting—and the habits generated in those days still continue even after the game is gone. The people lack industry. Some parts of the country—for instance on the three forks and about the Court are as fine as the good parts of N. England and if the Inhabitants would be industrious and cultivate them in a similar manner they might have painted frame houses instead of the present unsightly log hovels. It is a favourite theory of mine that Ashe has greater facilities for maintaining its soil in a state of productiveness (by means of clover) than any other part of N. Ca. that all the forests will hereafter be cut down and converted into extensive pastures on which will be fed vast herds of cattle and flocks of sheep—that it will hereafter be abundantly more populous than at present and even sought to as an agreeable place of residence. George Wilson is a red haired

¹Rev. John Patterson, of Richmond County, who graduated from U. N. C. 1816, and was then for awhile tutor.

²Left a number of descendants living in the same settlement, among them "Lucky Joe Wilson."

sort of a fellow with a wife looking much better than he does. His wife is better looking and the only objection I had to her was: the fleas in the beds and that after wiping her soiled fingers upon her apron she proceeded directly to wet the meal for the corn bread which along with some milk constituted my supper. A man who was in, complaining of the difficulty of getting corn, I observed to him that now the rye crops had come in, his family could turn upon that instead of corn. He replied that he did not like rye, it was fit only for *horses*; so tastes differ. I could not help noticing the difference in point of intelligence between Wilson's children and mine attributing it to the better education mine had received from an attentive mother. By the way I forgot to mention that when on the balsam tree on the top of the grandfather I picked one of the cones or burrs for my wife—one for Mary one for Ellen—one for Margaret and a little 'tiny one besides.

Wednesday morning.—My feet being still sore with the peeling they had got in the ascent of the Grandfather I only hobbled up the ridge over some very rich soil with corn growing upon it to see the ore which I found to be Iron ore in small quantity apparently but of good quality and took some specimens along with me. Rode to ²Mr. Shearer's to dinner beating the rocks as I went, calling upon ³David Dagget—who told me he knew where there was cotton stone—(Asbestos or Amaranthus) two miles from his house in the rich mountain and was glad to find he was neither at home nor likely to be in two days. Called at ⁴Council's store (he keeps a post-office) and took a letter for a person in Wake and obtained leave to write to him if I should have occasion for information res-

¹ The "tiny one" was destined, as fate would have it, for another daughter, Eliza North.

² See note on preceding letter.

³ Daggett used to attend Boon Court and teach a whistling school. Each pupil paid ten cents and he who whistled loudest "took the pile".

⁴ Jordan Council, a very noted man; grandfather of Judge W. B. Council. His son, Dr. W. B. Council, was State Senator,

pecting Ashe County. Rode from Shearer's down to ¹David Sands, Esqr., a bachelor with three or four sisters, and his mother with him. He showed me some ore from Tennessee which he supposed to be Antimony but which proved to be micaceous oxide of Iron. Walked with him to see a white substance in the creek on his land. It was the ²Porcelain clay. Sands rode down with me to ³Esquire Miller's. We passed through a meadow—beautiful like those of Yankee land. Miller treated me kindly, would take nothing, is a busy little man of some sense; has been a member of the legislature. He showed us some Iron ore obtained from his land. It is the magnetic oxide enveloped in a stone (Magnesium rock) which would always prevent its being worked to advantage even if it were a rich ore and in great quantity. Walked up to where a son in law (Joel Bingham) has been begetting him a whole house full of grandchildren. In return he has allowed him the use of the land where he lives but has not made him a title to it. Joel had found or obtained ore from which lead had been run out and 'twas said he got it, but Joel was not communicative upon the subject, from the rocks above the house but they contained no ore. Joel said nothing so we returned after it was dark. Slept in a chamber with lads—two occupied a second bed in second corner of the chamber and two grown up girls a third.

Thursday morning.—Made rather a late start. Sands rode down with me to the Bull Ruffin. We had Hornblende Rock to the north of Elk, then up Elk by Farmers three miles to the Bull Ruffin. We ascended first the ridge opposite the Bull Ruffin to an ancient excavation; I pronounced it at once the work of aborigines searching for mica, large plates and masses of which lay scattered over the surface similar to what I had seen two or three miles from Rutherfordton and

¹ Neither Sands nor his sisters ever married.

² Has never been worked.

³ David Miller was a member of the Legislature in 1800, 1811 and 1813.

as many from Franklin on the Tennessee. The Bull Ruffin itself is a curious collection of Magnesium rocks containing octahedral crystals of iron ore disseminate but not abundant enough in any place seen by me to be wrought to advantage and the gangue too is an insuperable objection. Found a piece of chalcedony. Parted with Sands; returned to Farmer's quite chap-fallen, having gone up with the expectation of finding this a rich and valuable bed of ore. Farmer appeared to be an industrious worthy man—removed from Iredell and bettered his condition. Rode down to Jefferson. They were making hay by the way side. The pleasant smell of the hay—the sight of the rows of cocks in the beautiful green meadows such as I had been accustomed to in my childhood—the delicious coolness of the air—the shadows of the mountains and the luxuriant foliage and blocks of the chestnuts extending up their sides made the ride delightful—and to crown all on my arrival I found a letter from my dear wife informing me of the welfare of herself and children. I spent the evening in finishing a letter to her I had begun some time before.

Friday morning:—Was engaged till half past 10 in preparing to leave Ashe county. Dislodged the crackers from the tin trunk into an old stocking and supplied their place with 7 lb. Maple Sugar, boxed my minerals and engaged to have them sent to Wilkesboro the next day; paid Jonathen Faw, Esqr., a heavy bill and after a tremendous quarrel with Fox, who had become active with the fortnights repose I had given him to recover from his bruises, started for the lower end of the county and the Elkspur gap. Packed up specimens of what I suppose to be specular oxide of Iron at intervals. At about 6 or 7 miles left the hornblende rock pretty much and passed into mica slate—the country became poorer. Broke one of the (Thills?, vide Walker) of my wagon in passing the south Fork of N. River and was obliged to draw up at Joshua

¹ Was Register of deeds, afterwards Sheriff, a very influential man.

Coxes 11 miles from town where I met with a very kind reception and ate the first fresh venison I have seen in the county. Coxe is a man of more sense I believe than he is generally taken for, a pious Baptist and a genuine enemy to General Jackson, whom he terms without scruple a murderer. Coxe undertook to tinker my waggon and having told me of good specimens of rock crystals at 'James Mulkeys I went down thither accompanied by Coxes son—the distance a mile and the river to cross. This is below the mouth of Cranberry. Found magnificent specimens of mineral that never possesses any beauty—the Staurotide.—Mulkey's crystalis ploughed up in the side a hill. There is probably a vein under the spot. The largest fragment on hand weighs 4lb. and was employed by his wife as a weight. I was obliged to give him the price of 4lb of lead, 50 cents for it. Returned and went out to Caneda Richardsons to see if I could find any of the garnets of which I had seen a fine specimen in the hands of Mr. Mitchell at Jefferson. Found Madam and one man and two daughters, one with a child in her arms. The old woman is Coxes sister. She brushed about, found me some garnets along with onions and several (torn) in an old Bec-gum went out——

[The remainder of this letter is lost.]

Lincolnton, July 22d, 1827.

Dear Marie:

It is perhaps hardly in accordance with the plans we have formed for the regulation of our future expedition, that I should write you two letters from this place, but as my last, from want of time. was rather brief, I perhaps owe to our love for each other to send you what you now receive. It is Sabbath evening and I have a couple of hours to devote to you. I would it were in my power to speak instead

¹Mulkey's crystal bed not worked. A Ford on New Run bearing his name,

of writing to you. You recollect that I left Chapel Hill on Wednesday the 4th. I passed on without accident to Hillsboro where I called on Mr. Witherspoon¹ to see what good word he had to send to his brethren in the west. He said he had none. I called also on Barringer² and Graham, former students in the University, and obtained from them letters to gentlemen in the West. Passed on to Mr. Mebane³, and after dinner had a long stroll with Alexander northward of the road to see the rocks. After returning from that went out by myself and strolled to Father Curries⁴. The Father was gone to hold a preaching at the Canby's⁵ tavern, and had not returned. Took my tea with the wife and daughter, and met the Father himself as I started back for Mr. Mebane's. Mr. Mebane told me that the granite north of the slate comes within 4 or 5 miles of him, is abundant at the Cross Roads church and Mr. Canby's. Thursday, started for Greensboro with the horse, Mike, in exchange for Dick, and Alexander Mebane along. The ride possessed no great interest. We passed over slaty rocks and over green, but not proper greenstone, rocks till we were some distance, passed Dick's in Guilford and 9 miles from Greensboro or thereabouts entered upon the granite country which continued to Greensboro. Seven miles west of the river (Haw) we appeared also to pass over a narrow tongue of granite having talc substituted for mica. Got our dinner at a Mr. Gibson's where I saw some

¹Rev. John Witherspoon, Pastor of Presbyterian church.

²Daniel M. Barringer of Concord, and Wm. A. Graham of Lincoln.

³James Mebane. Speaker of the House of Commons, a student of the University in 1795. Alexander, graduated 1831.

⁴Rev Currie, Presbyterian preacher.

⁵Canby's Tavern, at a place now called Boone's Station.

⁶Son of James Mebane, afterwards a Presbyterian preacher.

⁷Joseph Gibson. Gave his name to Gibson Station, lived one mile N. E. of Whitsett; dwelling house still standing. He is buried near by in a rural cemetery and a stately stone gives the facts of his life. No living heirs.

tombstones made of the Randolph soapstone. When we came to Greensboro, Mr. Mebane drove to Mr. Paisleys¹ and I went to Moorings² and got my supper, and then walked up to Mr. Paisleys and staid all night. Mr. Paisley showed me some specimens of porous, half-decomposed granite which it was supposed might answer for mill stone, but they are neither hard nor tough enough. Friday, started early for Jamestown distant ten miles, passed over granite and hornblende rock of the same age with the granite and having the crystals of hornblende along—giving to the rock a black color till we came to Deep River hard by Jamestown—the ascent of the hills seemed an imperfect slate rock. Saw here window sills at Mendenhalls³ taken from a soapstone ridge a few miles below. Three miles before I came to Jamestown found good specimens of Epidote, imperfectly crystalized. From Jamestown to within miles of Lexington passed over a tolerably fertile, but geologically speaking uninteresting country. After passing the creek miles east of Lexington the country seemed to change, the soil became red and there is a narrow strip of slate, as I am well satisfied thrown in, but of its extent I know nothing. Put up at Rounsavilles⁴ in Lexington. He was from Samson; his wife is a pleasant, free spoken, sensible woman, who if she had been a man could have been an orator. Called on Mr. Allen the preacher. He has refused to take charge of the school, and so starves with his wife on 200 dollars. I think he is wrong. He could be more useful with the school. People who know nothing of the matter will say he sits still all the week and

¹Rev. Wm. D. Paisley, organizer of the Presbyterian church at Greensboro. Principal of a school for girls and one for boys.

²Christopher Mooring kept a hotel on what is now corner of Davie and East Market Streets. He was an elder in the Presbyterian church, died about 1836 and his widow continued the business for some time.

³Richard Mendenhall, a highly etseemed Quaker.

⁴Benjamin Dusenberry Rounsaville; Graduated at U. of N. C. 1808,

preaches on Sunday. Called on Dr. Holt¹ who showed me some gold from David Coxe's mine in the lower end of the county, told me the soil in the northern part was grey granite and gave me an account of the Jersey farms of which I could make but little. Saw at Rounsaville some specimens of agate which his wife believed were from Baird's store or its neighborhood in Anson. Saturday, passed on to Salisbury over a country that puzzled me and which I was prevented from examining fully by the rains; the soil is red; there is much black sand from hornblende where the water has washed. Towards the bridge the country became decidedly granitic. I believe this red soil to be produced by decomposition of hornblende rock. Not far from the river saw a pile of rounded pebbles which I then believed to be derived from the river, but which I now believe to be derived from the alluvial many miles below. The country between the bridge and Salisbury, and around the latter place I do not fully understand. It may be genuine granite. Got my dinner, and saw and conversed with various persons—Alfred McKay² the candidate. He was very cheerful and friendly, but has now killed himself with laudanum. Saw Bosworth the superintendent of the gold washing establishment in Montgomery. The affair has blown out as I always knew it would. Bosworth has been running up a tavern bill at Slaughter³ because he had no money to pay for some time. Slaughter dunned him and offered to take gold, but he said he had none. Sunday, preached after having staid over night with Mr. Rankin⁴,

¹Wm. Rainey Holt, M.D., farmer and stock-raiser—a pioneer in this business. President of the North Carolina Agricultural Society. Uncle of Governor Thomas M. Holt.

²At U. N. C. in 1811. Was candidate for the Legislature but failed. Was a son of Judge Spruce McKay.

³Slaughter's Tavern was on the S. E. side of Main (or Corbyn) Street, almost opposite the present Central Hotel (formerly Boyden House), was an inn of great repute.

⁴Rev. Jesse Rankin, pastor of the Presbyterian church, and principal

two sermons in the courthouse to a tolerable congregation. Dined with Mr. Cowen¹, and took tea with Dr Long², who is a worthy man. Monday, obtained specimens of the granite they use in building in Salisbury, obtained from Dunn's Mountain 3 miles east, and also from a place 4 miles north. Started to find where the dividing line betwixt the slate and granite crossed the Yadkin, which I did not find after all. Went down the river 8 1-2 miles, and then turned across the country, and put up with an old Dutch Blacksmith, named Stirewalt on the West bank of the Dutch Buffaloe and a little North of the Cabarrus line. Stirewalt told us respecting his son that he had been engaged in his studies all his life time; was now 25 years of age and had lately started for an institution in Virginia, where he was to pursue his education. Tuesday, started early for Concord in Cabarrus, passed over a country exhibiting few rocks, and the geological character of which I was not quite sure of till we came within 3 or 4 miles of Concord, where it was evidently granitic. Got a tolerable breakfast, and only a tolerable one, with a fractious old Dutchman named Klutts³ who let us know before we had been half an hour in his house that he had once been a member of the Legislature, said that gold had been found at Concord in the branches about it which I do not believe. Harris⁵ of the next session fell in with us here. Passed over granite and hornblende rock seven miles to Poplar Tent church; did

of the Academy, left Salisbury about the close [of the year; of great reputation as teacher and preacher.

¹Thomas S. Cowen, wealthy, elder in the Presbyterian church. Judge Armistead Burwell, Dr. John H. McAden and Mr. E. Nye Hutchison married granddaughters. There was a contest over his will, but it was sustained.

²Dr. Alexander Long, of great repute in his profession, very popular.

³George Klutts, Commoner in 1817, Senator 1833 and again 1834.

⁴Edwin Robert Harris, who graduated in 1828, nephew of Charles W. Harris, first Professor of Mathematics in U. N. C.

not find Parson Robinson¹ at home, but got our dinner, and as we were about starting he arrived. After leaving his house fell into a tract of country I did not understand, which continued with some variation till we were some miles west of Rocky river. I know now that it belongs to a peculiar formation, containing gold, lying about Charlotte. Turned aside to see a recently opened gold mine on Mrs. Alexander's² land. Traveled west until we came to the Statesville road, down which we turned towards Charlotte, and were very hospitably entertained by Dr. Alexander³, living ten miles from Charlotte, from whom I received much valuable information. Wednesday, started after a very early breakfast and beat the rocks into Charlotte. They were tolerably uniform. Got our breakfast in Charlotte, found Smith⁴ of the next Junior here who introduced me to Maj. McCombe⁵. Visited the Myers'⁶ gold mine hard by Charlotte, then started down the Providence road for the southern boundary of Mecklenburg, stopped at Fosters⁷. He is an elder in the church at Providence, asked me whether I was engaged in my Theological survey, but is nevertheless a sensible man. Between his house and the Providence Church passed out of the gold country, say 9 miles from Charlotte⁸, at about 17, for there being no rock but white flint upon the ground, I could not tell exactly when passed the bound-

¹Rev. John Robinson, D. D. Pastor of Poplar Tent Presbyterian church and Principal of its classical school. A very eminent man.

²Widow of Dr. Moses Winston Alexander, sister of Governor Wm. A. Graham.

³Joseph McSmith Alexander—died in 1841.

⁴Franklin Lafayette Smith, of Charlotte, took first honor in the class of 1829 in U. N. C. Very promising but died young.

⁵Major McCombe married a Brandon. His daughter married Robert Davidson.

⁶Myers' Gold mine tract is the site of Biddle University, given by Col. W. R. Myers. Was not profitable as a mine.

⁷Foster lived in Providence, S. W. of Charlotte.

⁸This is as Dr. Mitchell wrote,

aries of the Slate, and took up at McCorkles, on the bank of Twelve Mile creek. Thursday, went out early to see some whin near McKorkles, and where he had been digging for gold, then started and passed over to Rocky River road, and was then 9 miles from the South Carolina line, travelled up the road all day on slate, saw a wonderfully fat gal, where we stopped for dinner, put up for the night at Weddington's, a little below Rocky River in Cabarrus. Friday, started early, crossed Rocky River, and found Read's about a mile from it, got breakfast, saw the stream in which they get the gold. The metal is evidently derived from a conglomerate rock like that at Chisholm's and Parker's. It forms generally the bed of the creek, and is abundant about the house, crossed the Dutch Buffaloe, still over slate and got our dinner at ¹Gen. Barringer's, where there is a wonderfully pretty widow, Mrs. Boyd, and an unmarried daughter. Started for Concord and crossed the edges of the slate 9 miles from Concord, then had granite through the city. Met Gen. Barringer on the road, put up at Klutts'. Saturday, started early on the great road for Charlotte, passed over granite and hornblende, got our breakfast at Orr's, still on granite, 8 miles from Charlotte. About 7 miles from the same entered the gold region, passed Hopewell Meeting House, a handsome brick building, and found Mr. ²Morrison beginning a settlement in the woods. If I had known how little he was prepared to receive company, I should not perhaps have called on him. His little daughter was sick with a swelling. After dinner Mr. Mebane took the horse and wagon and went over to see ³Charles Alexander, and Mr.

¹General Paul Barringer, often Commoner and State Senator; father of Daniel M. Member of Congress and Minister to Spain, Rufus, Brigadier-General under Hampton, and Victor C. Judge of the International Court in Egypt. The pretty widow was his daughter, Margaret, afterwards Mrs. Grier. The other daughter married General W. C. Means.

²Robert Hall Morrison, D.D., Graduated at U. N. C. in 1818, in President Polk's class. Was 1st President of Davidson College. Stonewall Jackson married his daughter.

³Charles Alexander—old bachelor; lived three miles east of Charlotte,

Morrison and myself went out to see 'Capp's gold mine. sheeking fellows about it, drinking and fighting. The vein of quartz containing gold was nearly north and south with a dip to the west, about 75 degrees. 5 miles from Charlotte, west of the Beattys Ferry road. Sunday preached twice for Mr. Morrison, once with, and once without notes. They practice the half way covenants. There was a question about the Baptism of a child. It was objected that the father was intemperate, but it appearing that the parents were professors of religion, all difficulties were cleared away.

Monday, borrowed Mr. Morrison's horse and rode down to the slate, 14 miles; gold country all or nearly all the way; returned and dined at Mrs. Alexander's, went to see the curiously veined compact feldspar by the mill near Charlotte. Passed in and put up at ²Dinkin's, borrowed Mr. Smith's horse and rode down to the border of the gold region about 6 miles towards ————— Ferry. Took tea at Mrs. Smith's, called on Mr. Davidson's, and learned from him that there is red land of the gold region on the Waxhaw Creek, below Mr. McKorkles where I struck the slate. Tuesday, started after breakfast, passed Mr. Morrison's, found he had gone to Concord to court, left my minerals, having made arrangement for having them boxed up. Left the gold region apparently about a mile short of the Hopewell Meeting House, turned down over horneblende rock to ³Tooles ford, near which I found Robert Davidson, where I got the grandest dinner. ⁴Capt.

¹Capp's Gold Mine, now owned by Mr. John Wilkes. Over \$1,000,000 of gold said to have been taken out of it.

²Dinkin's Hotel was where the Central now stands, kept by Watson Hayes and then by Moses Alexander, (not Moses Winslow Alexander.)

³Toole's ford, four miles below Cowan's, on the plantation of Robert Davidson. He was son of Major John Davidson, signer of the Mecklenburg Declaration. Name of Toole probably came from Matthew Toole, an Indian interpreter, mentioned in Colonial Records V. pp 141.

⁴Captain Samuel Caldwell, who fought at King's Mountain, Cowpens and Guilford Court House; father of Green W. Caldwell, Member of Congress, 1841-'43. Belmont and St. Mary's college are on his home place.

Caldwell went with us over the ford. The river is wide, and carries as much water as the Haw at Jones' Ferry. Went down to Mr. Johnston's, looked over his minerals—no great affair after all—walked out with him and found that the water-worn pebbles around him are from the sandhills, as is proved by their being associated with the peculiar conglomerate rock of the sand hills. There is certainly some curious mica near him which expands in a candle, the phenomenon, which I believe to be electrical. Wednesday, started for Lincolnton, I forgot to mention pretty Mrs. Johnston. Passed up the river to the Beatty's ford road, and fell in with the peculiar primitive granite mica slate formation of Lincoln county, about a mile east of the ³Catawba springs. Drank of the water of those celebrated springs, now kept by M. Jugnot or Juggernaut as they call him, went on to Gen. Graham's 2½ miles. Gen. not at home. Saw the famous King's Creek limestone and ore which last looks like mica slate. A peculiar porphyritic schistose granite without much mica about Gen. Grahams. Rode to Lincolnton over granite and mica and chlorite slate. A storm of rain. At Lincolnton found the court sitting and saw Gen. Graham and others. Thurs-

¹Col. James Johnston. His son Robert lived at the same place; having married Mary Reid daughter of Captain John Reid, a Revolutionary soldier. Among their children was Col. Wm Johnston, of Charlotte, and other prominent men. Another son, Dr William, married Nancy, daughter of Gen. Peter Forney. Gen. Robert D. Johnston, formerly of Charlotte, was one of their sons.

²Pretty Mrs. Johnston was either Mrs. Mary (born Reid), wife of Robert Johnston, or Nancy (born Forney), wife of Dr. William Johnston.

³Not "Sparkling Catawba Springs." Catawba Springs are in East Lincoln. They were much frequented in ante bellum days, but the buildings have gone to decay and the water is little used.

⁴General Joseph Graham, who fought gallantly in the Revolution, was a Brigadier General in the War of 1812, and Major General of Militia. He was for seven terms State Senator from Mecklenburg. He then was a successful manufacturer of iron in Lincoln Co. at Vesuvius Furnace. He died November 12. 1836, aged 77 years. He was father of the eminent William A. Graham and others.

day. Mr. Mebane concluded to stay and visit the girls with Mr. Henderson. After breakfast I started for the Rutherford line which I reached after travelling along a ridge road most of the way so that I saw but few rocks. Those appearing were Gneiss, Hornblende rock and granite. Got my dinner at old Lewis's in Rutherford, went out to see Mr. Boggs's gold mine which furnishes nothing but mica, then rode down the county line to ²Jacob Fullen wider where I was hospitably entertained. After examining his forge on Friday morning started with him for his ore bank or rather for Fall's Lime kiln on Kings Creek where ³William Wilson has engaged to meet me. Country Granite. Did not find Wilson, examined the ore bank then started on foot for King's Mountain about 5 or 6 miles below, towards this I travelled for 4 miles and understanding it was within the limits of S. Ca. returned. I however discovered a gold region along the Creek. Wilson not being come on my return to the ore bank, I started for his house but he soon overtook me and told me gold had actually been found on this formation—He conducted me between King's and Crowder's Mountains along a very bad road to his house—we turned aside to see the sulphate of Barytes. He lives in a large brick house, four rooms to a floor. He is a plain man—said nothing of his return, but sent word to his wife by one of his sons that we should want some supper and nodded to her in a very kindly way when we descended into the underground room to our repast. Saturday morning, Mr.

¹Lawson F. Henderson, who graduated at U. N. C. in 1827.

²Jacob Fullenwider was son of John F. who operated iron works at the High Shoals, has many descendants, among them Dr. J. F. Miller, Supt. of the State Hospital at Goldsboro. Judge R. H. Burton married his sister, hence he was great uncle of Gen. R. F. Hoke. It was his furnace that gave point to the old preachers description of the infernal regions: "Take a sinner out of hell and put him into Jacob Fullenwider's furnace, heated seven times, and he will freeze solid in five minutes."

³Wm. J. Wilson—Register of Deeds, a prominent and useful man. The site of his home is in Gaston Co.

Wilson accompanied me some miles. We rode near the line—sometimes in N. and sometimes S. Ca. 5 miles west of the Catawba according to Mr. Wilsons estimate, fell in with the gold country, and Wilson soon left me. Travelled up towards the Tuckasege Ford.¹ Crossed the S. Fork at Armstrongs Ford. Got my dinner at Capt. Caldwell's. Took the Tuckasege Ford to Lincolnton. Called at ²Dr. Hunter's to see his son's collection of minerals—a poor one—he was a better botanist—passed on to ³Peter Smith's—a good natured old Dutchman, and put up for the night. 9 miles from Lincolnton. Left the gold country about 4 miles from the Tuckasege. Sunday started early rode to Mr. ⁴Williamson's and got breakfast, went on to Lincolnton and preached in the morning, rode in the evening as far as the ⁵cross. Went to hear Mr. Plum-

¹Tuckasege Ford is on the Great Catawba, about three miles below Mount Holly. The Tuckasege Manufacturing Co. has built a cotton mill there and the Ford is not much used. It gets its name from the Cherokee Indian trail which led to it. The neighborhood joke that it received its name from some saying "it tuck a siege to get across" is an after invention. The road from the ford to Lincolnton was along the old trail and hence is called the Tuckasege road. Armstrong's Ford is on the South Fork of the Catawba about seven miles above its junction with the Great Catawba.

²It is probable that the home of Rev. Humphrey Hunter, an active Revolutionary soldier and divine is meant. I do not find that he was a D.D., but his celebrity may have given him the title. He died in August, 1827. As he married in 1739 the son who made the collections, may well have been Dr. Cyrus L. Hunter, an enlightened man, author of *Sketches of Western North Carolina*.

³Peter Smith lived on the Tuckasege road about eleven miles from Lincolnton. It was on his place that the Broad-leaved Umbrella tree, a variety of magnolia, rare in these parts, was found, mentioned by Dr. Curtis and other botanists. Mr. John B. Smith, grandson of Peter, has a grove of them on his place.

⁴Robert Williamson, whose place is now the Lithia Springs property, owned by Gen. R. F. Hoke.

⁵The cross is where an old road from Tryon old court house to Beattie's Ford crossed the Tuckasege road. Mr. John B. Smith lives there. This is the site of the "Magnolia Grove" above mentioned.

sten,¹ a dissenting Presbyterian Preacher in the evening. Monday morning went down to ²Major Henderson's before breakfast with the purpose of examining some clays Elective in his neighborhood. Examined them, had a long talk with him about the University, came back and packed my minerals and started after dinner for Gen. Graham's but finally took a different route, passed over [illegible] Mica Slate, by the quartz rock quarries from which they get hearths for their furnaces till we came to the state Road to one Sink's. It not being quite night when I got there I stripped off my coat and started back to get a glance at the ore bank—distance 3 or 4 miles—descended into one. Was overtaken by a thunder storm on my return and got completely lost in the woods—but eventually made my way to Sinks very wet and tired after all the family were abed. Tuesday started along the state road for Maxwell Wilson's,³ a poor country till within 3 or 4 miles of his house when the soil became red and much better. Got our breakfast at Wilson's and he rode with us 8 or ten miles in a northerly direction till we crossed Henrys River. Country lies well, soil good, Hornblende rock. Population mostly dutch. Got a good dinner at ⁴Abel Shuffords, saw some specimens of Black lead from Burke with which he has been painting his house. Started for ⁵Carpenter's in Rutherford. Crossed Jacobs River⁶ entered the state road again but soon turned off

¹The Associate Reformed Presbyterians refused to sing in their services any hymns not translations of the Psalms in the Bible. They have a college for males and females at Due West, South Carolina.

²John Lawson Henderson.

³Maxwell Wilson lived in what is now Catawba County, on the public road between Lincolnton and Newton.

⁴Abel Shuford also lived in what is now Catawba County' was a good citizen, probably a brother of Martin Shuford.

⁵The Rutherford Carpenters moved from near Lincolnton. A descendant, Rev. J. B. Carpenter, called Bate Carpenter, is a Methodist minister, and was a Representative in the Legislature in 1862.

⁶Jacob and Henry rivers are said to have been named after Jacob and Henry Whitener who lived on them.

to the west. Wandered from our road and got completely lost in a tremendous thunderstorm. Craved to know of a man, whom I met, the name of the state and county I was in and which way was North. He put us into our road and after travelling over an exceedingly sterile country, affording some indications of interesting minerals, arrived after dusk at Carpenter's two miles within the N. E. corner of Rutherford County. Carpenter knew of no mines in his neighborhood. Started with the intention of breakfasting at 'Martin Shuford's from whom, he having been a member of the Legislature, we hoped to get valuable information but not finding him at home we passed on to one Morings, on the Main Lincolnton and Rutherford road. The journey to the latter place had little interest—the rock gneiss, and granite, we saw a collection of Rutherfordtonians on Sandy River 14 miles from town who told us of Copperas rocks below—had rain and arrived a little before sundown, put up at Twitty's—nephew to the celebrated counterfeiter and formed an acquaintance with Mr. ³Hall and Col. Burchette and Crayton. Thursday started for the ⁴Whiteside settlement with Col. Burchette. It was said gold had been found there. Passed through a broken but tolerably fertile country of Hornblend, rock and climbed over a ridge of mountains into a basin containing the sources of first Broad River which contains the Whiteside settlement. Look it out on the map. Adam Beatty found gold, 3 small particles by washing, 5 times, in the creek so that gold is certainly there. Passed on to Pelets and got a miserable dinner—appetite not good. Mr. Mebane was taken quite unwell so that instead of passing down the Eastern side of the county I was obliged to set out with him on my return to Rutherford-

¹Senator 1825, 1826, '27. Succeeded by Martin P. Shuford.

²Russell Twitty.

³Col. Burchette was Clerk and Master in Equity. Weldon Hall, a lawyer. Isaac Craton, long Clerk of Superior Court, father of Marshall Craton, the first Colonel of the 50th N. C. Regiment.

⁴Now Golden Valley Township in north end of Rutherford Co.

ton. Clambered out of the valley by a different route. Passed through a corner of Burke and had a glorious view of the mountains, put up for the night at a Mr. 'Pattens on Cane Creek 15 miles from town. Patten is a very grave looking fellow—has been a member and I believe an elder in Mr.²Kerr's church; his wife is the most masculine woman I ever saw—fit to command a regiment of grenadiers. Friday after breakfast returned to town—Called at the post office for a letter from my wife—which I had desired Mr. Reinhardt to forward from Lincolnton to this place but of course did not get it. Mr. Mebane appearing much better, started in the evening in company with Dr. Ossomy Irving for the S. Eastern part of the county—Passed down the Yorkville road, visited a ³copperas rock on the land of Samuel Harvie on a small branch ————. It is a Mica slate rock with sulphate of Iron disseminated through it, Passed on with the intention of staying over-night at Mrs. 'Hamilton's but hearing when near the house that the family were gone to the camp-meeting turned aside to Esqr Moore's and put up at Esquire Moore's—a good deal unwell—as indeed I had been for 24 hours. Saturday, started after breakfast and rode down to Mrs. Irvine's. Got fresh horses and rode over to see the copperas rocks where William Beatty used to live—Dined at Mrs. Irvine's on our return. She gave us a good dinner—is tolerably good looking—buxom woman. Started after dinner for the Camp Meeting. Crossed second Broad river at the high Shoal where there is a forge—where they get mill-stones and where I obtained specimens of red ore of this country. Passed, on and after riding till it was late in the rain, put up at Mr. Twitty's

¹Father-in-law of Col. M. C. Dickerson, long Clerk of the Superior Court and father of the present clerk, M. O. Dickerson.

²"Kerr's Church" was called Little Brittain. He was a Presbyterian minister.

³No copperas rocks worked now in Rutherford.

⁴There are many Hamiltons in the county.

tent on the 'Camping ground. Learned that Mr. Mebane had been more unwell after I left him. Sunday Morning, were ordered out early by Mr. Moore who married Mr. Twittys sister and was with him, lest we should be excommunicated. It rained and there was preaching in the tents at the 4 corners of the camping grounds. Saw ²Mr. Carson the late and would-be member of Congress for this district, and others. Was introduced to the ruling elder by Mr. Twitty and by the elder to the other preachers. In the evening took in Mrs. Bowen, Alex Twitty's niece, and her two children and returned to Rutherford. Found Mr. Mebane had been quite sick on Saturday morning but was now better though he still complained of a head ache. Monday. Mr. Mebane having eaten large quantities of green corn on Sunday passed a restless night and was taken with vomiting in the morning; called in the doctor—concluded I must submit to have my plans broken up. Rode out 3 miles with ³Esquire Dickey and Dr. Torrey to see the 'isin-glass hill in the neighborhood and on my return called on Allen Twitty to learn the facts respecting a piece of gold said to have been found there. Tuesday. I rode out to examine a place on Tollivan ⁵—— land, 15 miles return—God willing, tomorrow and start for Asheville on Thursday if Mr. Mebane's health will admit of it. If Mr. Mebane had not been taken sick I suppose I should have been at home by Saturday after the beginning of the session. Being delayed now—a little longer—say to Mr. Andrews that if

¹The Twittys, as a rule, were, and are, very good people. The camp-meetings have been abandoned for many years, except Rock Spring, kept up the last year or two because the site was given on condition that they should be continued.

²Samuel Price Carson, of Burke, Representative in Congress, 1825-1833, had the misfortune to kill Dr. Robert B. Vance in a duel; member of the Convention of 1835; removed to Texas in 1835 and was Secretary of State; died in 1840.

³Esquire Dickey, a good citizen, lived eight miles from Rutherfordton.

⁴The isinglass (mica) hill is now worked profitably.

⁵Illegible—looks like Creiss'.

Osborn¹ can come into the Sophomore class the feelings of people in the Upper country and the circumstances of the case are such as to render it very desirable he should do so. The cry is against the hardness of our conditions and this case will render it much louder.

This little margin the rest of the letter being occupied with my travels I will devote to love and expressions of affections for my Maria and my sweet babies. That I should doat on them is a natural consequence of the relation of parent in which I stand to them—towards yourself I have never been lavish of soft words and epithets of endearment. Not as lavish as I should have been had I always loved you as I do now. When I shall next press you to my bosom will your heart be as full of tender and strong attachment as my own?

Rutherfordton, Aug. 3,—Friday.

Mr. Mebane has a settled fever which may last two or three weeks. The physician does not consider him in danger. When I shall be able to come home is altogether uncertain. Mention these things to the ²doctor in excuse for my absence but with provision that it do not come abroad so that the Mebane family generally shall be distressed. I write to his father today. My own health is perfectly good. Mr. Osborne must stay with you until my return.

I hope he enters college. Farewell my dearest, well beloved and only beloved wife.

E. MITCHELL.

¹James Walker Osborne, was admitted, graduated with honor in 1830; was afterward State Representative and Senator; Member of Convention of 1861, and Superior Court Judge.

²President Joseph Caldwell.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

In addition to those on page 6. I am grateful for valuable information to Hon. M. H. Justice, of Rutherfordton, Col. Paul B. Means, of Concord, and Professor Collier Cobb, of the University of North Carolina.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA. 1

James Sprunt Historical Monograph

No. 7.



William Richardson Davie: A Memoir

By

J. G. de Rouillac Hamilton, Ph.D.

Followed by His Letters with Notes

By

Kemp P. Battle, LL.D.

CHAPEL HILL
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ERRATA.

- Page 5, line 22, for 1876 *read* 1776.
- Page 6, line 5, for 1878 *read* 1778.
- Page 7, line 19, for succesfful *read* successful.
- Page 8, line 17, for 1870 *read* 1780.
- Page 9, line 12, for 1872 *read* 1782.
- Page 17, note 2, for popular *read* poplar.
- Page 24, note 3, for Blouut *read* Blount.
- Page 24, note 3, for cemetary *read* cemetery.
- Page 33, note 1, for Touqsaint *read* Toussaint.
- Page 33, note 1, for S. Overture *read* L'Ouverture.
- Page 35, notes should be numbered 1 to 4 instead of 3 to 6.
- Page 37, note should be numbered 1.
- Page 44, first note should be numbered 1.
- Page 48, note 3, for Gothis *read* Gothic.
- Page 54, last note should be numbered 5 instead of 2.
- Page 63, last note should be numbered 3 instead of 1.
- Page 63, last note, for Trivoli *read* Tivoli.

PREFACE.

In view of Davie's distinguished public services and more particularly, because of his connection with the University of North Carolina, the following of his letters seem worthy of publication. So few of his letters have been preserved that those which remain have an additional value and interest to students of the character, life, and career of "The Father of the University", who is also one of the most distinguished figures in North Carolina history. The letters are annotated carefully and freely wherever they are not self-explanatory.

As an introduction to the letters, there is a sketch of General Davie's life. With Dr. Hubbard's volume in the Sparks Biographies, and Hon. Walter Clark's address at Guilford Battle Ground already in existence and covering the field so ably, the author of this sketch felt some hesitation in undertaking to write another, but as some new facts in regard to Davie had come to light in his investigations, it was thought best that it should be done. He wishes, however, to acknowledge his great indebtedness to both of these writers above mentioned. So constantly have they been used in preparing this sketch that it was impossible to refer to them in the notes. He also wishes to express his grateful acknowledgements to his colleague, Dr. Kemp P. Battle, for much information in regard to Davie and for many helpful suggestions as to the sketch.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE.

As in the case of many others of the Revolutionary characters of North Carolina, we lack many facts that would be of interest and value in regard to the life and ancestry of General Davie. At his death he left more of the material from which history is written than most Southern men, but nearly all of this disappeared in the wholesale robbery and destruction that accompanied Sherman's march through South Carolina. Thus many documents that would throw much light on his early life and that would give a clear idea of his character, are missing.

He was the son of Archibald Davie and was born at Egremont, Cumberland county, England, on June 20th, 1756.¹ His mother, whose maiden name was Richardson, named him for her brother, the Rev. William Richardson, at that time a Presbyterian clergyman in South Carolina.

In 1763 the Treaty of Paris put an end to the Seven Years' War, or, as it was known in America, the French and Indian War. Mr. Davie then visited America, and among other places went to the Waxhaw settlement on the Catawba river, where Mr. Richardson was living. There he left the son under the uncle's care. The latter had no children and, becoming very fond of his nephew, he adopted him as his son and heir. From this time on, nothing is known of the boy's relations with his father or the rest of his immediate family. The elder Davie was in South Carolina during the Revolution,² however, and it is probable that he and his son were in touch with each other.

¹ Some authorities give the date as 1759.

² State Records XIV., p. 760.

Davie's early education was received from his uncle, but he was later sent to Queen's College, an academy in Charlotte. About 1772 he entered Nassau Hall at Princeton. Dr. John Witherspoon was at this time president of the college and was famous for his patriotic ideas. A native of Scotland, he was fond of saying that he had become an American the moment he landed. He had great influence with his students and they imbibed from him much loyalty to the cause of their country which they would scarcely have received from the surrounding population. Nor was his influence confined to his students, for he was an influential member of the New Jersey constitutional convention and of the Provincial Congress. He was later a member of the Continental Congress and signed the Declaration of Independence. In this body he was prominent and his associates found him "as profound a civilian as he was before known as a philosopher and divine." He always wore clerical dress, and when an allusion was made to it, said that he was "God's minister in a sacred and in a civil sense."

The first service that Davie rendered to the patriot cause and his first military service was before his graduation in the summer of 1776, when, with the full approval of Dr. Witherspoon, a party of students, of whom he was one, volunteered for service in New York and were in the army for several months. In the autumn, upon his return to Princeton, he took his examinations and was granted the degree of Master of Arts with first honor.

Before he could reach South Carolina, his adopted father died and Davie was thus left practically alone in the world. He had already settled upon the law as his profession and soon commenced the study of it in Salisbury. He was naturally suited to the profession both in mental equipment and in personality, and soon became much absorbed in his studies. But they were not to continue very long at this time, for in the early winter of 1777, Charleston was threatened by the British and he joined a detachment raised in North Carolina

and put under the command of General Allen Jones. The threatened attack being abandoned, the force only reached Camden and, after about three months of service, returned home. Davie then resumed his interrupted studies. But in the autumn of 1778, when it was discovered that the British were planning a Southern campaign, the Congress called upon North Carolina to furnish 2,000 additional troops, and early in 1779 a troop of cavalry was raised about Salisbury. William Barnett, who raised the troop¹ was made its captain and Davie became one of the lieutenants. He was commissioned by Governor Caswell, April 5th, 1779, and immediately put in command of a detachment of 200 men and sent to quell a threatened uprising of the Tories probably in what is now Burke county. Before his arrival, however, it had been suppressed. Barnett's troop, upon joining the Southern army under the command of General Lincoln, was attached to Pulaski's Legion, and Barnett resigning soon after, Davie succeeded him as captain and in a short time received his majority.

His first active service was in the battle of Stono, near Charleston, on June 20th, 1779. Davie was seriously wounded and dismounted but he was saved from certain capture and possible death by an unknown soldier who, at the risk of his own life, carried him off the field. For some time Davie was in a hospital in Charleston and his wound refusing to heal he found that military service would be an impossibility for a considerable period. Thereupon he returned to his legal study in Salisbury.

In September he received his license to practice before the county courts, it being given him, it is said, at the request of Nash who at once sent him to attend the courts on Holston River, then in the western part of the State, in order to find out the sentiment of the people. In the following spring he was admitted to practice in the Superior courts.

¹ Davie is said to have suggested to Barnett that he should raise the troop and to have done most of the necessary work himself.

But Davie was too full of enthusiasm and patriotism to be content with the business of civil courts when the cause of his country was being tried in the supreme test of arms, and sometime in the spring of 1780 he received authority to raise a troop of cavalry and two companies of mounted infantry. To equip these Major Davie sold his inheritance from his uncle and used the proceeds.

During the summer he and his men took a notable part in the operations on the South Carolina line. After several skirmishes in which he showed great daring and military skill, he took part in the engagement at Hanging Rock and after carrying his prisoners to Charlotte, turned South again, passed Gates retreating from Camdem, and in spite of the latter's wishes, went to the scene of the battle¹ and there saved a great quantity of stores. About this time he was appointed a colonel by Governor Nash and given authority to raise a regiment. While this was being done, Davie moved about the British army with a small force of horse and was succesfful in several minor engagements. His services were of great value, for while there was nothing decisive in the engagements, he succeeded in keeping the British in a constant state of unrest and uneasiness, and thus did much to destroy the morale of the enemy's force. For a time his was the only organized and armed body in the South in active opposition to the British. On September 26th, saying that he would give the British a taste of what Hornet's Nest would give them, he held the whole army of Cornwallis in check at Charlotte for several hours, and though compelled in the end to withdraw, did so in good order. The next day at Salisbury his force was increased to over three hundred men and for the next two weeks he occupied himself in cutting off supplies from Cornwallis, repressing Tories and inciting the patriots to increased efforts. During all this

¹ General Gates wished Davie to turn back with him, but Davie told him that he and his men were perfectly acquainted with Tarleton and not afraid of him at all.

time he showed his great qualities as a soldier and a commander. Bold and dashing, the ideal cavalry officer, he was ready on an instant to seize any advantage that might present itself and has been fittingly called the Hotspur of the Southern army. But with all his dash and impetuosity, he had great discretion and foresight, qualities for the lack of which many have failed who otherwise would have been great cavalry leaders.

The American success at King's Mountain caused Cornwallis to retreat into South Carolina and Davie followed close behind. But in November the term of service for which his men were enlisted, expired, and they returned home leaving Davie without a command. He was not willing to be idle if he could be of any service and, at General Smallwood's suggestion, considered raising a legion. To obtain the necessary authority he appealed to the Board of War at Halifax. This extraordinary body had been created in 1870 with powers that were in excess of those granted by the State constitution to the governor and commander-in-chief. The Board was composed of Alexander Martin, John Penn, and Oroondates Davis. Between them and Governor Nash there was open disagreement and this caused the latter to decline to stand for reelection. His successor, Thomas Burke, when he came into office, declared the powers granted the Board by the General Assembly unconstitutional and reduced its members to the authority of the governor by the threat of resignation. In the strained relations existing between Governor Nash and the Board, Davie's application was not considered and he abandoned his plan. His opinion of the Board of War has come down to us: "Nothing could be more ridiculous than the manner in which it was filled. Martin, being *a warrior of great fame*,¹ was placed at the head. Penn, who was only fit to amuse children, and Davis, who knew nothing but a game of whist, composed the rest of the Board."

¹ Davie like the other military men of the time made fun of Governor Martin at every opportunity for his alleged cowardice in battle.

But so valuable a servant was not long to be absent from important service. When General Nathaniel Greene succeeded Gates in the command of the Southern army, he met Davie and offered him the office of commissary from which Colonel Thomas Polk had just resigned, saying it was impossible to feed the army. It was not a position which appealed in any way to Davie whose tastes were all for active service in the field, and in addition, this position involved ceaseless activity, forethought, and responsibility with no hope of honor, reward, or excitement. But ambitious as he was, he never seems to have hesitated about its acceptance, and in January, 1782, entered upon the duties of the office. General Greene soon sent him to appeal to the legislature of North Carolina for men and means, and by that body he was made, first, superintendent of the Salisbury district, and later, Commissary General of the State. The position under Greene, difficult under the most favorable circumstances, was rendered doubly so by the condition of the country and the depreciation of currency, but Davie filled it with conspicuous success. Nor is it too much to say that he contributed as much, if not more, to the success of Greene's army as any man connected with it, not excepting even that gallant and skilful commander himself. He was with Greene for four months and was present at Guilford Court House, Hobkirk's Hill, the evacuation of Camden, and the siege of Ninety-Six. It was during this siege that he was made Commissary General of North Carolina.

Difficult as his position with Greene had been this proved even more so. Troops had to be equipped, supplies gathered and sent South, though the means of transportation were lacking, the people kept from discontent as much as possible, and, at the same time, he was compelled to deal with three governors of different types in one year.¹ At times he was obliged to have recourse to his own personal credit to pro-

¹ Governors Nash, Burke, and Martin, the latter filling Burke's place when he was captured by Fanning.

vide the supplies which were absolutely necessary for the army. His difficulties were increased by the tax which the legislature of 1781 laid. It was in brief:

"Each and every inhabitant of this State shall for every hundred pounds value of their taxable property (money and interest excepted) contribute and pay to the commissioner of his respective county one peck of corn, or half a peck of wheat, or one peck of rye or half a peck of clean rice or two and a half pounds of good fresh pork, or one and a half pounds of good salted pork, or four pounds of good fresh beef." The collecting officers were authorized to distrain double the amount in the case of a refusal or neglect to bring the specific article to the appointed places. The next year it was increased to one bushel of corn or ten pounds of pork. Like all taxes of the kind, it was doomed to failure in spite of strenuous efforts to collect it. Governor Johnston later said that it was "the most oppressive and least productive tax ever known in North Carolina." Davie was opposed to it, but it must be remembered that through this tax and the efforts of Davie in its collection, the State fed not only its own troops but also those of Virginia. And failure to procure supplies at this time would have probably meant the failure of the American cause. In 1782 the General Assembly abolished the offices of commissary and quartermaster. Governor Martin wrote Davie that he regretted that he found it his duty to dismiss them. Davie replied, "I am sorry your Excellency should feel a pang on that subject, as they have already dismissed themselves. No man would desire to continue in a service where they reap no recompense but reproach for their most active and zealous exertions." Davie continued in his office until the close of the war and then demanded a strict auditing of his accounts which, in spite of the great volume of business of the office, the difficulties in the way of business methods, and Davie's lack of preparation for such work, proved perfectly satisfactory.

Colonel Davie now resumed the practice of law and in 1783

went on his first circuit. About the same time he married Miss Sarah Jones, a daughter of General Allen Jones. He also fixed upon Halifax as his place of residence. This town was, at that time, one of the most important in the State and was more entitled to be considered the capital than any other, for the General Assembly met there frequently and it was the scene of nearly all executive business. Davie's practice soon became immense. He was a brilliant and forceful speaker and combined with this a capacity for hard work in preparing a case that made him a most effective and powerful advocate. Judge Murphey, who knew him and had heard him, said, "Davie took Lord Bolingbroke for his model, and applied himself with so much diligence to the study of his master that literary men could easily recognize his lofty and flowing style. He was a tall elegant man in person, graceful and condescending in his manners. His voice was mellow and adapted to the expression of every passion. His style was magnificent and flowing. He had a greatness of manner in public speaking which suited his style and gave his speeches an imposing effect. He was a laborious student and arranged his discourses with care, and, when the subject suited his genius, poured fourth a torrent of eloquence that astonished and delighted his audience. They looked upon him with delight, listened to his long, harmonious periods, caught his emotions, and indulged that ecstasy of feeling which fine speaking and powerful eloquence can alone produce. He is certainly to be ranked among the first orators whom the American nation has produced."

Davie by no means confined his practice to his own immediate section of the State. He was already well known in the West from his former residence in Salisbury and his later military service in that portion of the State, and to his military reputation he speedily added even a greater one in the law. His successful management of several important cases made his services in demand throughout the State and he

practiced in all of the seven judicial districts¹ except that of Morganton which was the most western of them and also the largest though most sparsely settled. In his practice Davie did not confine himself to either branch of law. In every civil case of importance he appeared, and it is said, probably with truth, that during the whole period he was at the bar, some fifteen years, not a capital case was tried in North Carolina in which he did not appear for the defence. His contemporaries, too, were far from being mediocre, for among them may be mentioned the names of James Iredell and Alfred Moore, both destined for the Supreme Bench of the United States, Francis Xavier Martin, later to be chief justice of Louisiana, Judge John Haywood, later of Tennessee, and for a short time, William Hooper and Archibald MacLaine. Of these the ablest and consequently Davie's chief rivals were Moore and Haywood. Judge Murphey says that the public could not reach any conclusion as to which was the abler—Davie or Moore.

Among the notable cases in which Davie appeared was that of Colonel Bryan, a Tory, who was tried for treason at Salisbury in 1782. Davie assisted in his defense at the risk of his own popularity, for it was no light thing to side with a Tory when public opinion was running so high as it was in North Carolina at that time. Bryan was convicted and sentenced to be hung but was later pardoned. It is also worthy of note that, in general, Davie was opposed to harsh measures against the Tories, but his opinions and advice were not heeded.

He also appeared in two other cases of such importance that they may be mentioned here. In the case of *Hamilton vs. Eaton* it was decided that the treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain repealed the North Carolina confiscation act, and in *Bayard vs. Singleton* it was held that the courts had the authority and at the same time the obli-

¹ The districts were as follows: Halifax, New Bern, Wilmington, Edenton, Hillsboro, Salisbury, and Morganton.

gation to declare acts of the legislature unconstitutional.¹

For some years Davie seems to have taken no part in politics, but in 1786 and again in 1787, he represented the borough of Halifax in the House of Commons. His reputation as a soldier and as a lawyer gave him great prominence from the first and he soon justified his reputation by the ability he displayed. In this first session he took a leading part in the debate on the charges brought against the three judges of the State, Williams, Spencer and Ashe.

Much dissatisfaction had been caused in the State by the conduct and decisions of the judges and many charges were brought against them. It was stated that they were constantly late at court and that Judges Ashe and Williams even failed altogether to attend certain courts. Disputes, too, between Judge Spencer and Judge Williams, and in fact, between all three, were said to have so delayed the business of the courts as to convince those having an interest in cases before them, that no judgment would ever be rendered. In regard to their official actions the chief things brought against them were in relation to the cases of Peter Mallet and of Francis Brice and Daniel McNeill, though there were many others. In 1783 Mallett had been accused of treason, but had exhibited a pardon from the governor, and the jury had decided that his rights as a citizen were thereby restored. But in 1784 the court at Hillsboro questioned his right to sue and stayed two suits that he had brought until they could decide the matter and then delayed nearly a year in coming to any conclusion. McNeil and Brice were indicted for returning to the State after leaving it to avoid punishment for treasonable acts. The court without a trial took action against them which practically amounted to a sentence of banishment.² After the charges had been made, the matter was referred to a committee on which, among others,

¹ These acts are to be found in 1 N. C. Reports, pp. 84 and 42.

² The details of this matter may be found in the State Records, xviii pp. 421-429, 477-483.

were Maclaine, Davie, Hooper, and Spaight. The report of the committee was adverse to the judges but the committee of the two houses decided that the judges had not been guilty of any malpractice in office and this report was concurred in by the Commons. Davie entered a protest against the concurrence but the sympathies of the House were with the judges and a resolution was passed which practically expressed full approval of their acts.

At this same session Davie was chosen a lieutenant colonel of the State militia, a position which he held for many years thereafter.

On January 6th, 1787, Caswell, Martin, Davie, Spaight, and Willie Jones were elected as delegates to the Philadelphia Convention of 1787. Of these, Caswell, Martin, and Jones were State Rights men. The language of the act of appointment, however, showed the influence of the conservatives. Jones declined to accept and Hugh Williamson replaced him by the governor's appointment. To fill his own place Caswell chose William Blount. This appointment changed the complexion of the delegation, for both Williamson and Blount were conservatives and Martin thus remained the only radical.

The Federal Convention opened May 25th. Four of the delegation, including Davie, were present. Blount, who was absent, soon appeared and completed the State's representation. Owing to the comparative lack of knowledge of the deliberations of the body, we know but little of Davie's part in its debates and workings. But from the debates as preserved by James Madison we find that he favored the President's being elected for a long term and then being ineligible for reelection, and when that failed, that he insisted upon his being liable to impeachment for misdemeanors in office. Through his influence North Carolina finally sided with the smaller States and gave the deciding vote for equal representation of the States in the Senate. He also brought his delegation to

his view that Senators should be elected by the State legislatures. The government was, he said, partly State and partly national and "ought in some respects to operate on the States, in others on the people." It is interesting to know that his first idea of the Senate was that it should represent property. When the debate on the basis of representation came, Davie saw that there was an effort to reduce the representation from the South and at once gave the Convention warning that North Carolina would never confederate on any terms that did not rate the slaves at least three-fifths of the federal population. He ended his speech as follows: "If the Eastern States therefore, mean to exclude them altogether, the business is at an end."

Just before the Convention adjourned, Davie went home to attend the fall courts and consequently did not sign the Constitution. Had he been there he would undoubtedly have done so, and in North Carolina he at once threw himself into the struggle to secure its ratification. With James Iredell he wrote a defence of the Constitution which was scattered over the State. The chief opponent of the new government was his wife's uncle, Willie Jones. The Federalists, as they were soon called, had but little hope of ratification at the time, but they hoped by the debates in the State convention to influence the people for the future in favor of the Constitution. It is to Iredell and Davie that the State owes the preservation of the debates at Hillsboro in 1788, for they prepared them for publication and bore the major part of the expense. But they thereby erected a lasting memorial of their ability and eloquence. If James Iredell was, as it is said, the most conspicuous figure in the body, Davie was a close second to him and of the latter much was expected by his opponents. Porter of Halifax, alluding to him, said, "I expect that very learned argument and powerful oratory will be displayed on this occasion. I expect that great cannon from Halifax will discharge great fireballs among us." Davie and Spaight as members of the Federal Convention

spoke frequently explaining and defending the Constitution. But their efforts were unavailing against the great State Rights majority, and ratification failed by a majority of one hundred.

The Federalists were not greatly discouraged and continued the struggle with such success that another convention of the State was called by the next General Assembly to meet in Fayetteville, though not until November, 1789. In spite of the great change of sentiment in the State since the last convention, we find Davie, at the time it met, seriously in doubt if ratification could be secured. But the Federalist leaders had shown that, while favoring the ratification of the Constitution, they regarded it as a compact between the States, and this had robbed the opposition leaders of their strongest argument. So the convention on Davie's motion promptly ratified the Constitution and adjourned.

Davie was not only a member of this body, but had, in the meantime, been elected to the House of Commons. This also met in Fayetteville in November and there, on November 12th, he introduced the bill for the establishment of the University of North Carolina. He was an earnest advocate of the education of the young and had already had much to do with the establishment of the Warrenton Academy and was at the head of its board of trustees. Through his influence the University bill was passed in December and he became one of the first board of trustees. Judge Murphey was present at the debate on the bill and says, "Though more than thirty years have since elapsed I have the most vivid recollection of the greatness of his manner and the power of his eloquence on that occasion." Not every able man seeing the greatness of the plan would have dared to urge it upon the legislature and secure its passage, for by many it was regarded as class legislation and there was great fear also of an increase in taxes. But so much the more honor to him, not only for his far-seeing vision, but also for his courage.

He was very active in the work which resulted in the site being chosen, endowment raised, professors elected, and a proper course of study being outlined. His plan of the course which was employed after some years was an elective system much like the one employed today. He was an early benefactor to the library, realizing the importance of that institution. On October 12th,¹ 1793, as Grand Master of Masons, which position, by the way, he held for seven consecutive years, from 1792 to 1799, he laid the cornerstone of the "Old East" building at Chapel Hill, and in 1798, in the same capacity, he laid the cornerstone for the South Building. In many ways, by numerous acts of service, did he show his deep interest in the young and struggling institution, and well does he deserve the title given him by the trustees as early as 1810, "The Father of the University."² In 1811 the University conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D., the first in its history.

Davie was again a member of the House of Commons in 1791, 1793, 1794, 1796, and 1798. When North Carolina ratified the Federal Constitution, President Washington offered him a position as district judge but he declined. He wrote Iredell that though he was anxious to escape from "our d-d Judges," the salary was so poor that he could not afford it.

In 1791 the legislature elected him as one of the commissioners to settle the boundary between North and South Carolina and he was chosen for the same purpose in 1796 and in 1803. But the question was not settled until some years later. He was during all this time taking an active and prominent part in State affairs. He proposed a digest of the State laws and James Iredell, at his suggestion, was appointed to do the work. It was through his influence, largely, that the territory forming the State of Tennessee was ceded by North Carolina to the United States. In the

¹ October 12th is observed by the University as "University Day."

² On the campus a fine old poplar, one of the original forest, is known as the "Davie Poplar."

meantime he did not neglect his law practice which was still great. Nor did he confine his attention exclusively to politics and the law, for he was always fond of agriculture and devoted much of his time to his fine plantation in Halifax county. He was instrumental in procuring a charter to drain Lake Scuppernong and his company was granted the title to all the land below low water mark. This plan, it is needless to say, failed.

He still had an active interest in military affairs and was still an officer in the militia. In 1794, when indications pointed to a war with France, Governor Spaight appointed him major general of the Third State Division. In 1797, when by order of Congress, North Carolina raised a force of 7,000 men, Governor Ashe put Davie in command. The next year the crisis had become so acute that the United States commenced the embodiment of an army and Washington was placed in command. President Adams appointed Davie a brigadier general and Washington left it to him to make appointment of officers for North Carolina. During this time Davie prepared a manual of cavalry tactics which were adopted by the State. These appointments show somewhat the light in which he was regarded as a soldier both at home and abroad.

In the winter of 1798 he returned to the General Assembly and was by that body elected governor of the State over Benjamin Williams. He did not serve out his term, however, for during the following summer, President Adams appointed him to replace Patrick Henry, who had declined on account of ill health,¹ as a member of the embassy to France then under the government of the Directory. In September he resigned the the office of Governor. Benjamin Williams was chosen at the next election and the State was thus thrown into the hands of the Republicans. While Davie was governor the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were adopted and copies were sent to all the States. Davie took the

¹ Patrick Henry died June 5th, 1799.

ground that the Union was more in danger than the rights of the States and used his influence successfully against any favorable action of the legislature upon them.¹

In November, with his colleagues William Vans Murray, the minister to the Hague, and Oliver Ellsworth, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, he sailed from Newport on the frigate *United States*.

After a long and roundabout voyage they arrived in France and reached Paris early in March. By this time the Consulate had come into power and Napoleon was First Consul. On April 8th he received them with great courtesy but negotiations were delayed by his going to Italy, and the treaty was not signed until the end of September. The envoys were entertained much during this time and were the objects of much attention from those in power. Davie's secretary, Mr. Littlejohn, in speaking of him, said, "A man of his imposing appearance and dignified deportment could not fail to attract especial attention and remark wherever he went. I could not but remark that Bonaparte, in addressing the American legation at his levees, seemed for a time to forget that Davie was *second* in the mission, his attention being more frequently directed to him." Davie found France agreeable to him in every way. He was a man of great culture and versatility, and was an accomplished linguist, so it can be readily understood that his stay in Paris was a charming experience.

At the close of the negotiations, he returned to North Carolina, and upon his arrival was urged to run for Congress. For business reasons he felt compelled to decline as did he when in 1801 Jefferson placed him at the head of a commission to negotiate with the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creek Indians. But in 1892, the President appointed him to negotiate with the Tuscaroras and he accepted and a treaty was concluded with them.

The next year his party again urged him to run for Con-

¹Wagstaff, *State Rights and Political Parties in North Carolina*, p. 37.

gress, Willis Alston, the sitting member, having deserted the the Federalist faith. Davie consented but refused to canvass the district, thus making a doubtful contest a certain one—of his own defeat. His unswerving Federalism, his opposition to Jefferson and his luxurious habits and leaning toward aristocracy, which was by no means the most ineffective argument against him, were brought forward with fatal effect and he was defeated. Disgusted with politics and his life saddened by the recent loss of his wife, he decided to leave North Carolina. In November, 1805, he removed to a "Tivoli," a large estate he owned on the Catawba River in South Carolina, where he spent the rest of his life in luxurious retirement, entertaining numerous friends and acquaintances and devoting much time to agriculture, and was the founder and first president of the South Carolina Agricultural Society.

In 1813, during the second war with Great Britain, President Madison appointed him a major general in the United States army and his nomination was confirmed by the Senate. But his taste for battle was past and he declined. His last years passing peacefully and happily, he died November 29th, 1820. He was buried at Waxhaw Church, Lancaster county, South Carolina, and above him cut deep in stone is the following well-deserved tribute:

In this grave are deposited the remains of
WILLIAM R. DAVIE,
The Soldier, Jurist, Statesman, and Patriot.
In the Glorious War for
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
He fought among the foremost of the Brave.
As an advocate of the Bar,
He was diligent, sagacious, zealous,
Incorruptibly Honest, of Commanding Eloquence.
In the Legislative Hall
He had no superior in enlarged vision
And profound plans of Policy.

Single in his ends, varied in his means, indefatigable
In his exertions,
Representing his Nation in an important Embassy,
He evinced his characteristic devotion to her interests
And manifested a peculiar fitness for Diplomacy.
Polished in manners, firm in action,
Candid without imprudence, wise above deceit,
A true lover of his Country,
Always preferring the People's good to the People's favor,
Though he disdained to fawn for office,
He filled most of the stations to which ambition might aspire,
And declining no Public Trust,
Ennobled whatever he accepted
By true Dignity and Talent
Which he brought into the discharge of its functions.
A Great Man in an age of Great Men,
In life he was admired and beloved by the virtuous and the wise
In death he has silenced calumny and caused envy to mourn.
He was born in Edinburg¹ 1756,
And died in South Carolina in 1820.

General Davie was survived by six children, three sons and three daughters, and through them he has numerous descendants.

In 1836 a new county, formed from Rowan, was named for him.

From the narration of the leading facts of his life, it is evident that he was a great man and that he was so regarded by his contemporaries. But the question arises, what of his personality? What sort of man was he in his private life? These questions are difficult to answer. Such letters of his as are preserved are utterly impersonal, and yet he seemed to be united by close ties of friendship with many of his associates. It is probable that as a rule he was very reserved even to his intimates, but it is doubtful if he was as cold in nature

¹ A mistake.

as he had the reputation of being. The fire of his oratory would contradict that. In appearance he was very tall with fine features and eyes full of fire. His voice was resonant, yet melodious and capable of every inflection, and his speeches were distinguished for their fiery eloquence. While he was an able debater, he won more through oratory than argument. In education and taste far above the generality of his hearers, he frequently talked "over their heads." This, however, did not prevent his speeches from always being enjoyed. To quote Judge Murphey again: "In the House of Commons he had no rival, and upon all great questions which came before that body, his eloquence was irresistible." He was very proud and would not consent to stoop to gain popular favor and he resented criticism of his tastes and habits as an infringement of his personal independence. Deeply infected with the infidelity prevalent at the time, he never was in any sense a religious man, but on the other hand his code of morals was very severe and no word was ever spoken against his private character. On all occasions he bore himself with dignity, tempered with cordiality to his friends and by them was greatly honored and beloved. The following extract from a letter to Dr. Burke in 1782 throws a little light on his tastes: "My happiness, though very complete on Thursday last, would have been more so by the presence of some of my absent friends. I should have felt a singular satisfaction in seeing you unlaced from the cares of State,

‘Mingling o’er the friendly bowl
The feast of reason and the flow of soul’.

His love of reading had caused him to collect a large library and his collection of letters and papers was very large. Some of these were destroyed by his son, but it remained for the devastating horde of Sherman to scatter the rest along the banks of the Catawba and add another chapter to their chronicle of destruction.

In a final estimate, Davie must rank well with all of his

contemporaries in America. In ability as a soldier, as a lawyer, and as a statesman, he may be placed very high. Also in the things he accomplished, he stands far above other North Carolinians of his time, and to many he would seem to be the greatest son, though an adopted one, of the State.

LETTERS.

HALIFAX, December 16, 1792.

My Dear Sir

I returned yesterday from Newbern, having deferred acknowledging your letters of the 6th and 20th of last month from that place, as you would hear as early from this.

When I got to Newbern the 30th of November I found your name standing on the list of candidates for the appointment of Senator.. ¹Martin, ²Leigh and ³Blount were also

John Steele, to whom this letter was written, was a citizen of Salisbury, son of Mrs. Elizabeth Steele, who aided General Greene in a perilous time by the gift of a bag of silver dollars. He was a Representative in Congress, Comptroller of the Treasury 1796-1802, State Senator and Commissioner for demarking the line between the two Carolinas.

¹Alexander Martin of Guilford, born in New Jersey, removed to Virginia, thence to Guilford County; member of the General Assembly 1774 and 1775. In 1776, was Colonel of a regiment, was at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown; was in the General Assembly 1779 to 1782 inclusive. He was Speaker of the Senate; Governor of the State 1782-84 and again 1789-93. He was a good patriotic man and a friend of the University, notwithstanding he wrote poetry which was doggerel. Although acquitted by Court Martial the Federalists continued to charge that he crept into a hollow log at Germantown.

²John Leigh, member of the House of Commons for years from Edgecombe.

³Thomas Blount, brother of Senator Wm. Blount and John Gray Blount; settled in Tarboro; Representative in Congress 1803-09, 1811-12 and 1821-23. He married the daughter of General Jethro Sumner, whose name, Jacky Sullivan, she changed to Mary Sumner. Blount died at Washington and is buried in the Congressional Cemetery. He was a Commissioner to locate the Capital and Blount street is named for him.

announced, 'Lenoir was put up for *Chief* Magistrate, and when I arrived, a strange coalition had taken place between the friends of Lenoir and Leigh, with the heterogeneous assistance of Martin's; the object of all was to diminish your strength—The first ballot was a mere essay; the two Districts of Cape Fear voting intentionally for none of the candidates;—on the 2nd and third ballots these two Districts voted generally for you with Halifax District, and a few friends about Salisbury. Leigh withdrew his name and Mr. Blount then engrossed his 32 votes, this carried him a little ahead; he had 31 before you stood 49 and 52—during this time nothing could equal the activity and scandalous behavior of several of Martin's friends (as was reported to me) not willing to step-forward openly themselves. He found a proper *tool* in your friend ²M. Stokes, you know his talents and principles. He first secretly, than as it became necessary, openly charged you with *deception* and *duplicity* in your public character, supporting it by the relation of what he called a *fact* viz. "the writing of two letters to two different men, containing different principles and contradictory assertions, fashioning yourself on the political complexion of your correspondents. There was nobody who could contradict it, and be asserted it with a degree of confidence which gave it credit and currency. He declared himself the confidential depository of your political views and principles, that they were all aristocratical, etc., etc., nay that you was

¹William Lenoir. Born in Virginia, 20th of May, 1751 (O. S.), raised in Edgecombe Co., N. C. Lientenant in Rutherford's expedition against the Cherokees; Captain at King's Mountain; Major General of Militia after the Revolution; President of the State Senate; First President of the Board of Trustees of the University; last survivor of the Charter Trustees; died 1839. A county and town are named for him.

²Montford Stokes, of Wilkes Co.; Superior Court Clerk of Rowan County; Principal Clerk of the Senate; Senator of the United States, 1816-23; State Senator and Commoner; Governor of the State, 1830-31 Indian Agent in Arkansas, died 1842.

the devoted ——— of 'Hamilton. Martin's friends made a most illiberal use of these reports, and every ballot gained more or less ground; so completely had that wretch poisoned the minds of the Edenton members, that they could not be gotten even to examine them with any patience; (he lodged in the same house with them). Between the 4th and last ballot, the Cape Fear people were shaken by the threats of Martin's party with respect to the interest of Fayette, a meeting took place among the Western Members, in which this threat had its effect, and Martin prevailed. Your friends the made their last effort to serve you, that was by keeping Martin out, he was however elected by a small majority.

²Caldwell, ³Dixon and ⁴Beard were zealous and active in your interest, old ⁵Matthews I believe dealt doubly by you, the Salisbury and Morgan votes for you would not have exceeded 8 or 9. They left no stone unturned, ——— urged your want of age, not being 30—your *resignation* as they called it, was blazoned into a crime and made great use of—they bestowed upon it the epithets of "vain, pompous, arrogant," etc., etc. Altho' my friend these things *are false*, I know they will be unpleasant, yet it is essential that you should know them. I have therefore detailed them in their original form. I did not hear Stokes assert these things for he carefully *avoided me* every where, but every person men-

¹Alexander Hamilton, an ardent advocate of a strong government and very unpopular with the Jeffersonian Republicans of North Carolina.

²David Caldwell, Senator from Iredell County, probably an uncle of Judge David F. Caldwell, whose father's name was Andrew.

³Joseph Dixon, Senator from Lincoln: Major at King's Mountain, afterwards Colonel. After the war General of Militia and Representative in Congress.

⁴Lewis Beard, often Commoner from the borough of Salisbury and afterwards Senator from Rowan. The name is probably the same as Baird.

⁵Musentine (or Mussendine) Matthews, eleven times a Commoner from Iredell; was Speaker of the House; was also a Commissioner to run the dividing line between North Carolina and Tennessee.

fioned them, and he was publicly taxed with them as falsehoods by your friends.

Edenton becoming entirely detached from you, in the manner I have stated, Mr. Blount taking of course Newbern and a part of Halifax Districts, while Martin remained so powerful in the West-country, and Cape Fear ready to sacrifice everything for Fayette, it became utterly impossible to effect your election. Mr. Blount and his friends behaved toward you with great decency and candor, for this reason and the purpose I mentioned 16 of your friends voted for him on the last ballot. I was damnably mortified it is true, on seeing that despicable creature prevail over you, and I felt for the disgrace and degradation of my country, but every thing is not possible at all times in politics. I am strongly inclined to fatalism of late, and have believed for some time that God almighty made *that man* on purpose to disgrace his country.

As to the business of the ²Electors it was done among the members of Assembly and nearly settled when I got down, The manner of doing business in the Senate would make men suspect the Messiah. They will never trust any man there twice if they can help it.

The last term of our Federal Circuit Court was lost by the non-attendance of any of the Associate Justices. This circumstance gave considerable dissatisfaction, and has brought the Court into some discredit.

We suffer very much here by the quantity of ³clip'd gold in

¹Fayette, or Fayetteville, worked strenuously to secure the location of the Capital. The Cape Fear valley and the country west of it favored Fayetteville, but the valleys of the Roanoke, Tar and Neuse won the prize.

²As North Carolina did not join the Union until November 1789 she did not participate in the first election for President. For the second election the General Assembly directed the members of that body from the counties comprising each judicial district to choose the Presidential electors.

³Davie speaks of foreign coins. Our coinage began in 1792.

circulation, every man who takes it by tale is obliged to be cheated. I hope some measures will be taken to remedy this evil.

I hope it will not be forgotten that we have a great quantity of paper afloat, ¹Haywoods, the late emission etc., etc.

Mr. ²Taylor had introduced a resolution to instruct you not to assume our paper money. I have not heard its fate.

Adieu my friend, let hear from you soon.

I am with great respect
and attachment

My best respects to Yours, etc.

Mr. Macon and Mr. ³G—— WILLIAM R. DAVIE.

To Honorable John Steele, Esq.,
Philadelphia.

⁴MR. BENNEHAN'S, July 22nd, '95

My Dear Sir,

I regret exceedingly the various causes which produced

¹John Haywood was Treasurer of North Carolina, 1787 to 1827. The State paper, called bills of credit, issued during the Revolutionary war, was virtually repudiated, as only \$1.00 in good money was offered for \$800 in bills. After the war new issues were voted from time to time. The Constitution of the United States forbids such issues by the States.

²John Taylor was United States Senator from Virginia, Caroline County.

³Mr. G. was Wm. Barry Grove, of Fayetteville, Member of Congress.

⁴Mr. Bennehan (Richard), of Petersburg, was selected by Mr. Wm. Johnston, a rich merchant of Hillsboro, to take charge of his country store on Flat River. By strict integrity, intelligence and good management, as well as by marriage, he accumulated a large estate, which descended to his son, Thomas D. and daughter Rebecca, who married Judge Duncan Cameron. As Thomas D. never married, Mrs. Cameron ultimately inherited the whole. Richard Bennehan, and after him, Thomas D., lived on the road between Hillsboro and Raleigh and dispensed a bountiful hospitality. Both were Trustees and benefactors of the University.

'your absence from the board. However as the Arabs say "God would have it so and man must submit", under misfortunes like yours there is no comfort, because nothing can be substituted, the only resource for the human mind in such cases is in a kind of philosophic fortitude, the calm result of time, reason and reflection.

The Business which occupied the board, exclusively of the Examination, I suppose ²Glasgow has shown you, and also deposited with you the Journal—some of the objects of your letter were acted upon as you will perceive by those papers—the Board of Trustees sat so constantly that the building Com. could do no business.

³Patterson became extremely clamorous to be paid for his extra work, the Board being pressed on this Head took it up; but his charges were found so excessively exorbitant, and his work so infamously done, that they referred it again to the Commissioners, I verily believe he has charged six or seven prices for the painting, the rest of the work is on the same ratio.

⁴Mr. Hopkin's bill to my astonishment was almost as bad, so nothing was done in that either.

I am very desirous that we should close our accounts before the meeting of the next board, at least so far as regards the

¹This letter was written to Treasurer John Haywood, who was one of the Commissioners to select the site of the University. He was a Trustee and on the Building Committee. He had recently lost his first wife, and it is interesting to see what consolation a free-thinker could offer.

²Glasgow, who acted as Secretary at the meeting of the Board, was Secretary of State, having held the office since 1776 by elections. He was a militia officer in the Revolutionary war, and so popular that a county was named in his honor. He was found to have been engaged with others in defrauding the State in the issue of land warrants, was tried and convicted, then settled in Tennessee. The county's name was changed to Greene in 1799.

³Patterson (James) was a Chatham man. He built the Old East and the President's house, now Prof. Gore's.

⁴Hopkins (Samuel) built Person Hall.

principal building, the President's House and the Steward's—and hope it will be in your power to have our journal brought up and an account stated.

Serious and I believe well-grounded complaints are made against the conduct of the ¹Steward; I have written fully to ²Mr. Kerr and also to ³Harris on this subject, whether this will have any effect I know not; these Gentlemen did not think proper to mention it when the board was sitting altho' they had given assurance to the students that they would certainly do so.

The students, every thing considered, acquitted themselves well, but the next examination will be a better test of the capacity and the attention of the professors. They will soon suffer very much for want of rooms and an expedient was adopted to give temporary relief from this mischief; by building a house for a ⁴grammar school with three or four lodging rooms.

¹The Steward, John Taylor, (called Buck T.), was a Revolutionary soldier, a plain farmer. It was natural that his culinary knowledge was limited, and not suited to the tastes of Allen and Hyder Ali Davie, whose father's wealth could command the best cooks in the land.

²David Ker (as he wrote his name) was the Presiding Professor, a Scotch Irishman, educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He was a Presbyterian preacher at Fayetteville, when elected—was very capable but imbibed infidel notions and lost his place, became a Judge in the Mississippi Territory, by appointment of Jefferson.

³Charles Wilson Harris was a native of Cabarrus, graduate with high honors at Princeton, was first Tutor, then Professor of Mathematics in the University of North Carolina, then Presiding Professor. He settled at Halifax, had promise of an eminent career, but died of consumption at an early age.

⁴The grammar school was in what was then woods, to the north of the village, not far from the Foxhall (Vauxhall) Spring. It was abandoned by the University about 1820. A squatter, Peyton Clements, the last of the old time hunters, took possession of it and held it with his family about twenty years, when it went into ruins. The school was once well patronized. Some of the best men of the State were prepared by it for the University.

The papers you enclosed to me I lodged with 'Mr. Alves so that they can be had at any time.

Please let me know whether a receipt is necessary to you for Preand's money forwarded with your last letter.

Adieu, let me hear from you, and be assured no man has a more sincere interest in your happiness than

Yours

W. R. DAVIE.

P. S. I set out for Halifax tomorrow.

HALIFAX, Febry. 26th, '97

Dear Sir,

I feel myself greatly indebted to you for your obliging attention to my boys, and beg you to accept my thanks.

The subject of conferring ³degrees has been attended with

¹Alves (Walter) was Treasurer of the University. He was a son of James Hogg, who had the names of his boys changed to their mother's by legislative enactment. He married Amelia Johnston, daughter of a Hillsboro merchant, who owned shares in the Transylvania Company. Hence Alves removed to Henderson in Kentucky, the chief settlement of the colony.

²The chief business transacted by the Board of Trustees at this meeting was the adoption of regulations for the government of attorneys and for collecting the dues of those who had bought confiscated land on credit. This proved to be a source of odium to the institution.

The completion of the buildings began and the erection of the Grammar School were provided for. Apparatus and books were ordered to be purchased.

Advertisement in the North Carolina Gazette for a Steward was ordered. Other business of a routine character was transacted.

⁴From 1876 the University conferred the degree of Artium Baccalaureus (A.B.) for a course including both Latin and Greek; Philosophiae Baccalaureus (Ph B.) for one including Latin or Greek; and Bachelor of Science (B.S.) where neither classic was studied. Recently the faculty decided to grant A.B. for every course. From 1804 to 1876 this degree was granted only when both classics were studied. In 1854 the degree of B.S. was added but not Ph.B. It is remarkable that Davie's Plan of Education should have been so far ahead of his time.

some difficulty, and difference of opinion, and this difficulty has been occasioned principally by the variation of our plan of education from that of other colleges or Universities. A Bachelor's degree generally imports a knowledge of the learned languages as well as the sciences, to confer such a degree upon a person who understood neither Latin or Greek does not appear to be proper. The ruling or leading principle in our plan of education is, that the student may apply himself to those branches of learning and science alone which are absolutely necessary to fit him for his destined profession or occupation in life, that as you observe "one study does not imply the necessity of any other, unless of one which is necessary to make it intelligible:" but I am well convinced of the utility and policy of conferring degrees, and granting special certificates as soon as a general plan can be adopted; which I think may be done at the next meeting; so that those entitled to a degree or diploma at the November examination might receive them soon afterwards.

My own mind has not been perfectly made up on this subject but I will be obliged to you for your opinion upon the following plan.

That every student who should stand an approved examination upon the English language, and such of the Latin or Greek classics as are directed to be studied, and the sciences, shall receive a Bachelor's degree in the usual form conferred, by a diploma in the Latin language, making a knowledge of one of the dead languages necessary.

That the student who shall pass an approved examination upon the English language, and the sciences as taught at the University should receive a diploma in English certifying his knowledge and progress of the arts and sciences.

That those diplomas should be signed by the President and some members of the Trustees, as well as the certificate of Masters degree, and distinguished as diplomas; that in all other cases certificates should be granted by the Principal of

the University, especially stating the progress of the student on application made.

I am very anxious that my sons should be taught to dance well, if you approve of the Master who now offers to teach, I wish my sons to be entered by the quarter. There are some French Gentlemen at Newbern who teach dancing in the most elegant stile, they are really Gentlemen and unfortunate refugees from 'St. Domingo, and I intended upon going to Newbern to see if one of them could be induced to come up and teach the boys, I hope therefore the students will only engage with the present master by the quarter.

I am respectfully yours

W. R. DAVIE.

To Joseph Caldwell, Esquire,
University of North Carolina.

Mr. James Hogg, to General Davie.

June, 1797.

Sir,

In my letter by ²Dr. Hall I acquainted you that all the classes under Mr. Caldwell and Mr. ³Holmes had acquitted themselves well, and I think I made particular mention of each class: I was not particular I believe about the classes

¹The insurrection in San Domingo against the French was in 1791 and 1792. Many wealthy and cultivated planters fled to the United States. Afterwards General LeClere was sent to reconquer the island. His army was nearly ruined by disease. Napoleon obtained possession of the rebel leader, Toussaint S. Overture, by fraud it is charged, and imprisoned him for life in France. General Davie's sons turned out to be elegant men.

²Dr. Hall was probably Thomas H. Hall, M.D., of Tarboro, afterwards a Representative in Congress.

³Notes in regard to Hogg, Delvaux and Richards have already been given, also about Caldwell. Holmes (Samuel A.) was first Tutor and then Professor of Ancient Languages in this University 1796-'98. He then became a lawyer and soon afterwards died.

in the preparatory school. My attendance that morning on a Board of Trustees and attendance thereafter to the concluding examination, from neither of which I could properly absent myself, obliged me to break off my writing abruptly and Dr. Hall went off immediately when the examination was over. I have now set down to make up the defect.

Mr. Delvaux's classes on Sallust, Caesar, Cor. Nepos, Eutropius, and 2 classes on Corderius, seemed to me to be taught with accuracy: It is true they had been prepared but each student drew by lot, the chapter or section which was read. His students also in the French Grammar gave satisfaction. He has a class in the Latin Grammar which was not examined.

Mr. Richard's classes on Telemachus and Gil Blas French Exercises and Fables and in French Grammar made a satisfactory examination. A large class on the common rules of Arithmetic and Practice and a large class in English Grammar in general performed well.—2 classes of Readers and Spellers were examined together, on the forenoon of the 5 day, when every body had made ready to start as soon as it was over. The examination was very superficial, and from it I could not form any certain judgment of the care of the master or proficiency of the students. Some pieces of their writing were also there exhibited.

From several complaints I have heard and some observations of my own, I have been long apprehensive that Reading, spelling and writing have not been attended to with such care as to give general satisfaction. At the same time it will be allowed that some boys have made reasonable proficiency in their studies. Few men that can do these things will submit to the drudgery of teaching reading and spelling.

There were 62 or 63 boys in the Preparatory School, about 20 of whom had for some time past, been taught reading and spelling by Mr. Caldwell and Mr. Holmes, to give time to Mr. Richards to attend to the new French class.

After having taken under consideration the memorial of

Mr. Caldwell relating to the misunderstanding between Mr. Delvaux and Mr. Richards, the Board authorized the Faculty to find an assistant to them till next meeting. They have in view 'Robt. Moore who it is thought, will give the necessary assistance for the benefit of free education.—Mr. Caldwell has mentioned to me, a Mr. Murphy from Caswell County, I think, as properly qualified to fill Mr. Delvaux's place, in teaching the preparatory latin classes. I have a great opinion of Delvaux's grammatical accuracy. I am afraid it will be difficult to meet with his equal in that respect.

The more I know Mr. Caldwell the more I am pleased with him. I think him a respectable character and well qualified to fill the Mathematical and Philosophical Chair.—Perhaps he has not studied as attentively Moral Philosophy and the Belles-lettres, but I believe him possessed of talents sufficient to attain to any proficiency in any science that may be necessary, and I am very sorry that he has notified his determination to leave us. He seems to think that his constitution is too weak, to undergo the anxiety and fatigue of the President's place. At the same time he seems disposed to give us time to lookout and provide a successor.

Mr. ²Jones told me that he had information from Mr. ³Collins in Edenton, that our seminary was under disrepute there and Mr. ⁴Watters just arrived from the North East, says that the same opinion prevailed there, and that it was mere necessity, made them send their children from that place. It

³Mr. Moore (Robert) of Rowan County, stood high in his classes.

⁴"Mr. Jones" is Willie Jones of Halifax, one of the committee to select the site of the University. He wielded a wide influence—was a member of the Revolutionary Congresses and General Assembly, Chairman of the Committee of Safety, Member of the Continental Congress and of the State Convention to adopt the Constitution of the United States.

⁵Collins (Josiah) was a wealthy citizen of Edenton.

⁶"Mr. Watters" (Henry) was a lawyer of Hillsboro, one of the attorneys of the University. The "North-east" was the Albemarle country.

seems that they think meanly of all our teachers. This seems to confirm Dr. 'McCorkle's observation.

Mr. Jones was much pleased with our examination and in a short but comprehensive speech, highly complimented the Teachers and Students.

He promised to have a publication in the Halifax paper, to make known, the great proficiency of the students and the promising aspects of our seminary, which I hope has been done. All the papers in the State should be requested to republish it.

HALIFAX, July 19th, '97.

²Dear Sir,

I received by the last post your letter of the 29th ulto. it is necessary for me to mention here, how much and how sincerely I regret the resolution you have taken, I had hoped that your situation would become as agreeable to you as it was important to the State. We are all, however, in pursuit of happiness, and it is not for me either to judge for you, or call upon you to make sacrifices which perhaps nothing could compensate; you will observe by the laws it will be necessary to notify the President.

¹Dr. McCorkle (Samuel E.) was a Presbyterian minister, who had a school called Zion-Parnassus six miles west of Salisbury. He was an active Trustee, delivered the address at the laying of the corner-stone and prepared the first "Plan of Studies." He was elected to but declined the office of Presiding Professor.

²Joseph Caldwell was born in New Jersey, April 21, 1773, educated at Princeton; Professor of Mathematics in the University of North Carolina 1796; Presiding Professor for the next year; spoke of resigning but was induced to remain on Gillaspie's becoming Presiding Professor; resumed that office in 1799; was made President in 1804; exchanged that office for the Chair of Mathematics in 1812; again President in 1816; died January 24, 1835; was author of a text-book of Geometry, "Letters of Carlton," advocating the building of railroads, and other pamphlets, especially one in favor of Public Schools.

I am very sorry that a proper spirit of accommodation does not appear to exist between Mr. ²Richards and Mr. ²Delvaux, it seems to me, that in this I may be mistaken, that two Tutors are sufficient for the preparatory school without exposing the scholars to any disadvantage; if assistance is necessary the mode proposed by Mr. Hogg is certainly the most eligible that can be adopted, you can judge with justice and precision what these Gentlemen can and ought to do, and I beg you to give me your opinion.—In the mean time, as no Board has met, we must leave it to the Faculty to manage the matter in the best manner they are able.

I was in great hopes that the Board would have met on the 11th of July so that an ordinance could have passed respecting the manner of conferring degrees, and I intended to have transmitted the draft of an ordinance for that purpose.—Should any of the students be prepared to take their degrees at the annual Examination, proper measures will be taken to remedy any inconvenience that may arise from the want of an ordinance to regulate that matter at present, the Committee and Faculty will be requested to make the proper entry on a Journal for that purpose and grant the candidate a certificate accordingly. The Board will take the business up the moment they meet, and Diplomas will then be issued to those Gentlemen who are entitled to them, this if you please you can make known to the Gentlemen of the Senior Class.

I have conversed with several of the Trustees on this subject, and they generally concur in the principles I once stated to you on this subject, which you can also mention if you deem it proper.

²Richards came to America as a sailor, deserted, joined a strolling players' company. At Warrenton he was employed as an assistant in the school of Rev. Marcus George. Then came to the University as Tutor. He was highly regarded. Delvaux seems to have been a good man. Nothing is known of him. He was probably a refugee from San Domingo or a French emigré.

I am sorry that any mistake should have happened respecting the money paid for the board of the boys; it shall be immediately rectified upon my coming up in October, in the mean time please to complete the payment to the steward or arrange it with him that he may have no complaint.—You will remember the money was in different papers; and I thought that I had recd. eight pounds from Col. Whitaker of Raleigh, and added forty shillings myself to make up the ten pounds; in this however I suppose there must have been some mistake.

I am extremely anxious to hear of the result of the Examination. Believe me with great respect

Your mt. obt.

W. R. DAVIE.

To

Joseph Caldwell, Esquire,
University of North Carolina.

HALIFAX Nov. 14th '97.

Dear Sir,

I received yesterday your letter of the 31st ulto. It is not in my power to give you all the satisfaction I wish in regard to ¹Mr. George; I expected to have received an answer from him before this time in writing but none has come to hand, on my return we had some desultory conversation respecting the business, but he had positively concluded upon nothing, and appeared rather unwilling to leave Warrenton.

A ²Mr. Rhea of Virginia, to whom perhaps you was introduced by Mr. Jones in July last, will be at Raleigh with the

¹Rev. Marcus George, a noted classical teacher in Warrenton. He declined to accept a chair in the University.

²What is here said of Mr. Rhea is about all we know of him. He became professor of Ancient Languages in the University 1806 1814.

intention of offering for a professorship. I am told he is a man about middle age, has been teaching about six years, has a family, and is highly spoken of where he resides.—I have never seen him—I have not a word from Gillespie, every effort will be made to procure a proper character, and a man who could be a considerable addition to your society.

Be so good, if I should not have the pleasure of seeing you here before I set out for the federal Court, to write to me by the 'boys.

I am very respt, yours,

W. R. DAVIE.

P. S. I shall leave this place on the 20th for the Federal Court, if you could so arrange your matters as to stay or spend that time with me here, I would endeavor to render the event agreeable to you.

To

Joseph Caldwell, Esquire,
University of North Carolina,

HALIFAX, AUG. 21st '96.

Dear Sir

I received by the last post your letter of the 19th with the enclosure and will proceed to prepare the answer upon these documents.

I should be very sorry should it be really the case that

¹General Davie had two sons in the University in 1795, Allen Jones and Hyder Ali, the latter being evidently in the Preparatory Department. Neither graduated and after long interruptions we find Hyder Ali a regular student as late as 1804. Allen was Major in the War of 1812, and his son, Dr. William R. Davie, a surgeon in the Florida war, 1838. His grand-daughter, Mary Fraser, was wife of the late Edward McCrady of Charleston, a sound lawyer and author of a valuable history of South Carolina. A son of Dr. William R. Davie, of the same name, was a Captain in the Confederate army. Hyder Ali left one daughter, who married a Bedon and left many descendants.

General Person lost his election owing to his donation to the University—but I am informed that his opponents succeeded against him on the charge of nonresidence, this fact was true, that his residence in Granville was merely nominal.

I am very happy that every thing goes on well at the University for a thousand reasons, and that certain croakers may be disappointed.

Make my respects to your family and believe me very sincerely

Yours

W. R. DAVIE.

²James Hogg, Esquire,

Hillsborough, North Carolina.

LANDSFORD, CATAWBA, JUNE 11th 1800.

Dr Sir,

We were so much engaged, when I had the pleasure of dining with you, that I forgot to give you the necessary directions how to find my house; the ³plantation being covered from any view from the great road by a skirt of woods. You will pass at the O.N. ford in preference to the ferry, as it is a good ford, 2 miles nearer, and the ferry is badly kept. If you cross at the ford get directions at Capt.

¹General Person (Thomas) was prominent as a General of Militia in the Revolution and as a member of State Congresses, was a member of the Committee that reported the State Constitution. He died at one of his plantations in Franklin County. His gift of \$1040 in silver dollars for finishing "Person Hall," or the "Old Chapel," could hardly have caused his defeat. History shows that no odium attached to those who helped the University.

²James Hogg was a Fayetteville merchant, afterwards moved to Hillsboro. He was a Commissioner to select the site, and then to locate the buildings, of the University. The Norwoods and Bingham of Orange and Huskes of Fayetteville are descended from him.

³General Davie called his plantation "Tivoli."

Heron's to the mill about a mile from the ford, where you will be directed as to the remainder of the road, which is easily found, after you pass two forks near the mill; the road then most deeply marked by the waggons will bring you to the Lands-ford. When you come within a mile and $\frac{1}{2}$ of my house you will probably observe a grave yard, and when you come nearly opposite my gate you will observe a road goes out to the left hand, which in 200 yards brings you to my gate; should you pass this fork, you will soon come to a place too remarkable to pass your notice, the road from Chester Ct.H. and the road from my house, come into the post road (which is the one you will travel) exactly at the same place on different hands. You have then nothing to do but to turn up the road leading to my House, the post is not 250 yds. from my gate: You may perhaps observe a good deal of timber has been cut nearly opposite to the plantation at different times.

My cotton is greatly improved since I left home, as well as the corn—rain however is wanting. You observe how strangely things are working in Spain. "The world was made for Caesar" — Voltaire, with his 'second causes, would smile at my superstition but I confess I have no other way of accounting for more than half the events within the last 15 years. Adieu my best regards to your family and believe we with great regards yours etc.

W. R. DAVIE.

General John Steele

Salisbury.

¹Professor H. H. Williams gives the following description of Voltaire's doctrine of "second causes."

"The theology of the 18th century is called Deism. And the principle in this is that God is not now in the affairs of the physical world.

"Then if this is so, any event is the result of inevitable law. And this idea applied to human life is Fatalism. Then we lose the great facts of Mercy and Personal Care from God.

"Fatalism appears now sporadically as Materialism."

In other words Creation is the first cause. All subsequent changes are from "second causes" over which we have no control.

CATAWBA, near Lancaster Ct.H.

September 20th 1800.

My Dear Sir,

When I wrote you last I had no certain advices from the Eastward, nothing but general hopes, etc., I am now informed that our Eastern brethren have decided, and 'General C. Pinckney has consented to become their candidate, Delaware comes in also, hope was once entertained from having Pennsylvania and Maryland; but on what grounds I know not, much is expected from South Carolina, but as this must depend on the combined and steady efforts of the friends of correct principles, all your aid will be wanting, and I am sure will not be withheld. Nothing can be done *here*, nor I suppose Georgia; and I confess that I do not yet see clearly how this important object can be effected. They seem however to be sanguine; and I will write you as I receive information.

I am afraid the eager vivacity of the federal printers will induce them to exaggerate and excite so much alarm as to produce a coalition of the shattered parties of the other side, would it not be possible to impose some discretion; some prudence upon these people, they are continually sounding the tocsin of alarm.

Adieu write me, and let me know what information you have; and your prospects.

Yours sincerely

W. R. DAVIE.

Genl. Steele
Salisbury.

¹Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, was Minister to France and author of the reply to the French Directory, "Millions for defence, not a cent for tribute." He was very popular but the Republicans carried the election. John Adams was the Federalist candidate for the Presidency and Pinckney for the Vice-Presidency. Adams had 65 votes in the Federal College and Pinckney 64, while Jefferson and Burr secured 73 each. The trouble following this tie led to a change of the Constitution.

HALIFAX,
Feby. 2nd 1801

John Steele Esq.

Dear Sir

I flattered myself with the hope of receiving a letter from you that would have developed some of the mysteries of the day, you will easily imagine how much a man as distant from information as I am must be astonished at some things, the impossibility of reconciling them with any fixed principles, with any connected system of procedure leaves every thing merely conjectural.

My last letters from Congress under date of the 23rd state that the Presidential election is as interesting and as doubtful as ever, that the Federalists own the destruction of the constitution as an event certain under the administration of Mr. Jefferson, and as to the administration of Mr. B., (Burr) altho' it may be energetic, *no man knows* what course it may take.

I have been visited by a great number of the most enlightened friends of government in this part of the country since my return, they all express an insuperable repugnance to the election of Burr, urging his want of character, etc., etc. 'In my own opinion it is a measure that will sink the federalists in the opinion of the majority, and in its operation effect the destruction of the Federal party, by becoming responsible for an administration they can *neither control nor influence*, and consecrating beyond all doubt Mr. Jefferson in the eyes of the people.

¹Notwithstanding the advice of Davie, the Federalists in the House of Representatives supported Burr. Eight states, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee voted for Jefferson. Six states, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware and South Carolina for Burr. Nine were necessary to a choice. Vermont and Maryland were divided, Jefferson was nominated on the 36th ballot. The Federalists from Vermont withdrew to allow that state to be counted for him. Four Federalists from Maryland and one from Delaware cast blank ballots.

The present crisis is peculiarly gloomy; under Mr. Jefferson, it is said, every institution must crumble to dust, in the administration of Mr. Burr, no man knows what to expect, of course *no man has confidence*, an alarming degree of discontent and disgust pervades every description of society, the public spirit appears to be destroyed by party rage, and the effects of these domestic evils are increased by party embarrassments; in this situation, where the most consummate prudence can only make a choice of evils, it appears to me that the true policy of the Federalists is to act an open, manly and decided part, by yielding at once to the public sentiment, with the best possible grace, and placing the painful responsibility of the *future* where it ought to be, on the *succeeding administration*.

The public mind in this quarter is haunted with apprehensions of dissolution of the Union, etc. pray let me know the state of things.

Enclosed with this is a small package for Mr. ¹Murray, which I would have troubled Mr. ²Marshall with, but not knowing how long he would Secy. of State, I have taken the liberty to trouble you with it, and beg you to forward it by the first safe conveyance.

Believe me with great respect and esteem your most obd.

³W. R. DAVIE.

HALIFAX Feby. 22d 1801.

Dear Sir

The last advices we had respecting the election of a Presi-

²Murray (William Van), of Maryland, was colleague of Davie in his mission to France.

²Marshall (John), continued to be Secretary of State until the close of John Adams' administration.

³The letter was addressed to General Steele while Comptroller at Washington, D. C. He was continued in the office by Jefferson, but resigned in 1802, giving as a reason that he did not wish to remove his family to Washington.

dent were under date of the 13th when it was said ¹19 ballotings had taken place without any variation or any prospect of a decision, the situation of suspense and incertitude has produced the most disagreeable effects in this quarter of the Country; the friends of government are seriously alarmed for the Union, and the violence of the antifederal party seems to have no bounds; resentments created and renewed by repeated conflicts have given a stability to certain opinions, and the wild frenzy of a demagogue is admired by the mass of the people as an effort of the sublimest patriotism and it would be difficult to say to what lengths this malignant influence would not carry them; I pray you to write to me and let me know the real state of things, that I may have it in my power to allay in some measure the inquietude of our friends.

I observe the Senate have passed the ²Judiciary bill, a great deal will depend on the appointment of these Judges; they ought to be men of known weight of character, and men of active and popular, as well as professional talents; on their exertion will depend in a great measure the cause of Federalism in the Southern States; several circumstances have, you know, given a decided bias to the people in favor of the other party, and much exertion and address too will be necessary to recover the ground the Federalists have unquestionably lost.

Do me the favor to appreciate my disappointment in not hearing from you by the two last posts, and believe me sincerely

Yours

W. R. DAVIE.

John Steele, Esquire,
City of Washington.

¹As to election, see preceding letter.

²The Judiciary Act, creating twenty-three new Judges, with clerks and other officers, was passed after it was ascertained that the Federalists were defeated in the Presidential election. This legislation was naturally regarded as an effort to perpetuate the power of the Federalists. There

HALIFAX, Aug. 3rd 1801

My dear Sir.

I received by the post on Saturday your favor of the 26th ult., and congratulate you upon being again "once more under your own *humble* roof", which, by the by, is the most decent chateau in the neighborhood, ornamented too with no little taste, enough I am afraid to mark you soon as an Aristocrat: if I had attended the 'treaty in Tennessee, I should unquestionably have had the pleasure of paying my respects to you on my way; but this commission, which would have furnished such a feast for a philosophic traveller, I was obliged to decline.

While I was engaged in the business of my profession my time and attention were exclusively devoted to that business, and my own affairs altogether neglected; my property it is true increased but it was not only unproductive but even expensive to me; under the pressure of professional business I had scarcely time to perceive this circumstance, and it was an object to be felt, some unexpected accounts and charges from my plantations now and then put me in ill humor, but they were paid and forgotten—When I was appointed Governor of the State, I supposed that the usual course of office of three years would give me time enough to

was also much animosity against certain Federal Judges because of their overbearing conduct in the prosecutions under the Alien and Sedition laws. The first Congress under Jefferson repealed the Judiciary Act and the "midnight judges" lost their places.

¹General Davie, in June 1801, was appointed head of a Commission, the other members being General James Wilkinson and Benjamin Hawkins, once United States Senator, then Indian Agent, to negotiate with the Creeks and other Indians for cessions of land. This appointment was declined. In 1802 President Jefferson commissioned him to represent the United States in the negotiation for a treaty between North Carolina and the Tuscaroras for the disposal of the Indian Lands in Bertie County, which had been ceded to them for good conduct. In pursuance of a treaty made in 1802 the Indians then in that county removed to New York and became a part of the "Six Nations."

bestow order and arrangement on the affairs of my estate; however before any thing was affected, I was obliged to go to Europe, our mission was prolonged there far beyond my expectations, and my directions were not predicted on an absence of such length; my overseers, as is usual, were contented with having an excuse, and my affairs fell back into the same state of neglect and confusion that they were in when I quitted my profession: my time since my return or rather since the spring has been entirely devoted to this important object, my arrangements reached of course thro' the year, and then my personal engagements oblige me to be stationary here till the 15th of October, excepting a journey to Edenton and Petersburg, and from the 15th of October to the last of November, I had engaged to be in Chatham and South Carolina; so that it was impossible to attend any of the treaties for which I was appointed a Commissioner—as my affairs therefore would not admit of any arrangement that could enable me to be absent until December my acceptance was at once out of the question. This business being then decided by circumstances over which I had no control left my own judgment without any responsibility; there was however great difference of opinion among my friends with regard to the acceptance of the appointment; my Federal friends were generally violently opposed to my acceptance, while those who are attached to the present administration discovered great anxiety that I should accept the appointment and attend some of the treaties at least; it is unnecessary to trouble you with their reasons, you will not be mistaken in their substance, but I entreat you to give me your sincere opinion, you are sensible of the high esteem I have for your judgment, and the manner in which I appreciate your friendship. In cases of this kind it is a matter of mere chance, whether a man forms a correct judgment himself and therefore ought to rest implicitly on the judgment of his best informed friends.

You will have returned again to the seat of government before I shall pass thro' Salisbury in October, I wish most

sincerely you could return this way, we might have an opportunity of comparing our ideas respecting the present and future state of things, little can be done in the narrow range of a letter in taking views which at once must comprehend so many objects.

I am sorry to hear thro' judge Macay that your crops were nearly lost for want of rain, the seasons here have been remarkably favorable and crops never more promising—no never—. G. Britain seems to triumph every where, never has she displayed more vigor, never was she in a condition to make so honorable and advantageous a peace—The Judge tells me that you informed him that our affairs are likely to be settled here. My respects to Mrs. Steele and the family and believe me very sincerely and respectfully,

Yours,

W. R. DAVIE.

HALIFAX, DEC. 27th 1801.

Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge your letter of the 9th and thank you for the information it contained respecting the business of the Legislative session. I was not sanguine as to the passage of the bill repealing the ³Gothic law of the

¹In 1790 the state was divided into two Ridings, two Judges in each. Spruce Macay of Salisbury was added as the new Judge. Previous to 1790 there were only three Judges.

²Mrs. Steele was Mary Nesfield of Fayetteville. She had three daughters; Ann, wife of General Jesse A. Pearson, Margaret, who married Stephen L. Ferrand, M.D., and was grandmother of Hon. John Steele Henderson, and thirdly, Eliza, wife of Colonel Robert MacNamare.

³The Gothic law referred to was that repealing the grant of escheated lands to the University, and also balances due for confiscated lands. This was repealed in 1805, so far only as to escheats. The chief hope of the institution was escheated warrants, to be located in Tennessee, and hence General Davie's harsh word, Gothic, as expression of robbery. Public taste seems to have changed to Vandals, as representing the fierce plunderers of mediæval times.

proceeding session, but I considered the support it received as a proof of the condition of the public mind and the progress of reason; a sort of Gothic ignorance and political fanaticism are the fashionable order of the day; these infectious moral evils like the fellow fever and the plague have their limits, some invisible power has always said, "so far shalt thou go and no farther."—They interrupt for a time the progress of nature or society, after which they again resume their march, and become progressional; Every man really attached to the liberties of his Country, every sincere republican must sincerely lament this sort of suicide consummated by the Legislature, ignorance and despotism, are as certain contemporaries and relatives as light and Liberty.

I hope you had the pleasure to find Mrs. Eaton quite well and that you enjoy all the pleasures of the season, you have yet no cases to trouble you—enjoy while you may, "to enjoy is to obey."

Our respects to Mrs. Eaton and believe me very sincerely
and respectfully
Yours

W. R. DAVIE.

M Maj. John R. Eaton,
Granville, N. C.

HALIFAX, Jany. 7th 1802.

My Dear Sir,

I am very much obliged to you for your letter of the 22nd of November and the inclosure since; I am not surprised that a mind accustomed to look forward should feel a little gloomy on reviewing the prospect before us, the mind is no doubt

¹Major John R. Eaton was son of Colonel Charles R. Eaton, a militia officer of the Revolution. Major Eaton was a wealthy and hospitable citizen, repeatedly a member of the General Assembly from Granville. He was a breeder of fine horses, one of them, Columbus, at the sale after his death, bringing \$10,000.

invariably affected by the state of things around it, "a snowy day," an easterly wind, cannot fail to have their effect; without these physical aids our political hemisphere is always sufficiently charged with chilling and gloomy matter to excite the most unpleasant sensations.

You know my temperament is not of the melancholy kind, and you will not suspect me of being hypochondrical, when I say that *we shall never see one clear day*; and the highest graduation of our happiness will be marked by the observations, that "there are flying clouds."—The last violent struggle between the parties left the public Nerves in a state of morbid irritation and it will be long before they will again resume a firm and healthy tone.

A correspondent of mine who belongs to the corps diplomatique writes to me that it is positively asserted by some, who have good means of knowing and no motives to mislead that Louisiana has been ceded by Spain to France, that this measure cannot fail to connect with it that train of policy, and views you mention, for my own part I would have risked a great deal to secure the Floridas, or the Eastern bank to the mouth, it was not long ago an easy affair, and the irregular conduct of Spain furnished the fairest pretence for doing ourselves justice in the modern style.

The affection of attachment to the 2nd article of the convention by the ²French Government was nothing but *une*

¹New Orleans is on the east bank of the Mississippi. Owing to the difficulties of long hauls by land, especially over mountains, it was necessary for the Western people to have the navigation of the Mississippi free. As the transports on the river and its tributaries were not built of sufficient strength to go to sea, Spain had granted for three years, continued afterward without special agreement, the right of deposit at New Orleans of merchandise *in transitu*. The news that France had obtained the rights of Spain in the Louisiana Territory, coupled with the boundless ambition of Napoleon, stirred our people very deeply. It made the purchase by the United States very popular in most quarters.

²The Convention mentioned was that with France in 1800. France, it appears, wished not to surrender her rights under former treaties, begin-

ruse diplomatique; all they urged that had the semblance of argument, resolved itself simply into this, that if they agreed to our form of ratification *purement et simplement* they would absolutely and forever abandon their claim to treaties, while we would reserve our claim to indemnities. The seeming force of this argument is derived from the false ground that the claims and disputes of Nations are settled by judicial maxims; the truth is they saw the awkward situation into which the business was cast, and wished to make the most of its retrenchment. As the latter part of that article stipulated "that the treaties should cease to operate until the two nations had agreed to those points deferred," it removed all objections to the operation of the British treaty as to an asylum for privateers and prizes, and in fact contained the consent of France to the contingent operations of those articles then becoming absolute; it was their part of that article which was unpleasant to them, and it formed unquestionably a very natural ground of objection.

Pray let me know something about the proposed financial reforms—is everything to be reduced to the simple trash!! Where will this business end. I will be greatly obliged to you, when you have it in your power, such documents as may be seen by the sovereign people, and which might enable me to form some judgment whereabouts we are.—Make my best respects to your daughter and believe me very sincerely and respectfully

Yours

W. R. DAVIE.

N. B. Be assured of my discretion,
nothing you write shall ever be put into the press.
John Steele, Esquire.

ning with that of 1778, which had been the subject of dispute between the nations for years. The indemnities we claimed were for spoliations of our commerce.

The British Treaty referred to was Jay's Treaty of 1794.

¹Retrenchment seems to mean suppression or curtailment.

I beg your attention to an alteration proposed by the Postmaster General in carrying from here the western mail, it is perhaps an inadvertence perhaps worse, I do not know Mr. Murray's residence, pray direct the enclosed for me.

HALIFAX March 13th 1802.

My Dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for your favor of the 30th of Jany. I had the pleasure of writing to you some time ago, and committing to your patronage two Gentlemen whose claims upon our Government must be acknowledged by every impartial man, having no means of serving them myself, I felt a pleasure in leaving in your hands the agreeable office of relieving and rewarding suffering merit.

As to the metallic substances left by my *ci-devant* Colleague in you care, I will be obliged to you to give them to Mr. ¹Alston our member of Congress when he is coming home, he will be kind enough to take charge of them, as I have the honor to be one of his constituents, and one of the sovereign people.

The Bill repealing the judiciary law of the last session, I am informed, has passed, and will no doubt receive the sanction of the President; as the avowed object of this man is to effectuate the removal of the Judges, the Constitution is no longer considered by Congress in any other light, than that in which Doctor Swift represents the Holy Scriptures, when he likens them to a loose pair of trousers, which any man with a little tugging may draw over his backside: indeed all Constitutions are useless, if the doctrines of Mr. ²Brecken-

¹Philip Alston, of Halifax, repeatedly member of the State Senate and House of Commons; was a Representative in Congress, 1803-1815, and 1825-1831. Davie opposed him in 1803, without success.

²John Breckenridge, member of the Kentucky Legislature, and Senator of the United States, 1801-1805; Attorney General, 1805-1806. With Jefferson and Nicholas he draughted the "Kentucky Resolutions" and was the introducer of them into the legislature.

ridge are to be supported by the ruling party; and that celebrated 'instrument' vaunted as "the world's best hope" is no more than an old woman's story.—What course will things take? How long will the Lilliputian ties of the public debt etc. etc. hold us together?—Pray let me hear from you and believe me with great respect, sincerely yours

W. R. DAVIE.

John Steele, Esquire.

HALIFAX, Aug. 20th 1802.

My Dear Sir

I have to acknowledge not only the receipt of your letter of the 21st ulto., but the pleasure it gave me also, the appointment of Mr. ²Burnett to the Consulate of Antwerp is a reparation which Administrations seldom make either for their injustice or mistakes; and I now flatter myself with a hope that you will be able to offer something for the ²Quondam Major—Poor fellow Providence seems determined that he shall have occasion for all the resources nature has furnished him with, or that he has acquired by experience.

We have been so long in the habit of contemplating or expecting great events, deciding the fate of nations; that it is almost impossible to avoid feeling some *ennui* amidst the present calm—a friend said to me the other day "our situa-

¹The public men in the early days of the Union were continually having visions of the extreme sickness and even death of the Constitution. Nathaniel Macon was firmly persuaded of its untimely demise before he left the Senate. Such gloomy forebodings can be found in letters of many others.

²I have been unable to discover the facts concerning "Mr. Burnett" or the "quondam Major." The short description by Davie of the latter suits many men of his period—and our own.

tion would be really insupportable if it was not for ¹Duane, ²Callender, and the ³President."

Our Government from certain constitutional causes will never do what it ought, *at the time* it ought to be done; the complaints we had against Spain were sufficient to have warranted any measures that our Government might have taken to secure to us the mouth of the Mississippi; and the Floridas ought now to be purchased at any price.

I have long observed your reserve in writing, and supposed there existed objections as you say beyond the mere drudgery—I have regretted it, and did not doubt as to the motives being prudential—I set out for ⁴Bethlehem with one of my daughters about the first of October and hope either going or returning to have the pleasure of seeing you at Washington. The death of Mrs. ⁵Davie has devolved upon me the whole

¹Duane (William) was editor of the *Aurora* in Philadelphia, a Republican paper; a man with a sharp, abusive and able pen. When the militia was called out to suppress the Fries riots he criticised their conduct so severely that he was whipped by some officers. He was indicted under the Sedition Act, but not convicted. He accused the United States Senate of the attempt to frustrate the popular will of Pennsylvania. For this he was brought before the bar of the Senate for a "false, defamatory, scandalous and Malicious publication," and "a high breach of its privileges." He refused to appear. His arrest was ordered, but he secreted himself and the close of the session ended the case.

²Callender (Thomas) published a pamphlet called the "Prospect Before Us." Judge Samuel Chase by harsh means procured his indictment for a seditious publication. The Judge was so domineering that the prisoner's counsel abandoned the case. He was convicted and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, a fine of \$200 and to give security for good behavior.

³It is impossible for us at this day to realize the hatred the Federalists had for President Jefferson, and their fear of his radicalism.

⁴Bethlehem, on Lehigh river in Pennsylvania, was settled by the Moravians in 1741. It has long had a school for females of great reputation. Lehigh University was located there in 1865.

²General Davie married Sarah Jones, daughter of General Allen Jones, niece of Willie Jones, and granddaughter of Robin Jones, Attorney-General prior to the Revolution. She is buried at Halifax in the village cem-

care of my children; I am therefore at present confined to this spot, and my health has been bad ever since my return from So. Carolina in the spring.

My best respects to your family, and believe me very sincerely and respectfully

Yours,

W. R. DAVIE.

General John Steele, Esquire.

HALIFAX, May 2, 1803.

SIR,

BEING informed that it is the wish of the Citizens of this District, that I would offer as a Candidate at the approaching Election for a Representative in Congress, I beg the favour of you to inform your neighbors that I am willing to serve them in that capacity, if they should think proper to elect me.

I desire that it may be clearly understood, that I never have, and that I never will, surrender my 'principles to opinions of any man, or description of men, either in or out of power; and that I wish no man to vote for me, who is not willing to leave me free to pursue the good of my Country according to the best of my judgment, without respect either to party men or party views.

I am very respectfully,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

W. R. DAVIE.

etery. She had three daughters, Mary Hayne, who married ——— Crockett of Texas; Sarah Jones, wife of William F. DeSaussure, United States Senator; and Martha Rebecca, who married Dr. C. B. Jones of South Carolina.

1Notwithstanding his high standing Jeffersonian Republicanism was too strong for him. There are traditions that the canvass against him was conducted on a despicably low plane, principally against his alleged

To this a 'postscript was afterwards added.....
to the charge that I was attempting a monarchical form of
Government.

HALIFAX June 9th 1805.

Dear Sir

I returned here from So. Carolina on the 5th and had the pleasure to find your letter of the 16th of April and thank you for your kind concern respecting my Health. I have now again been two weeks on the road, and return perfectly worn down: my constitution cannot bear that degree of suffering, privation and incessant toil, which when I enjoyed youth and health only gave me spirits and pleasure. — Everything must yield to Time, and I have submitted with as good a grace as possible. My Plan of life is to be completely changed, and those measures which are to lead me to a *Repose* I have long sighed for, and which is becoming every day more necessary for me are to commence this fall.— This plan involves some painful sacrifices, but they are necessary and indispensable.— A separation from friends to whom my Heart has been tenderly attached for many years is among the most painful of all these; I anticipate it, I feel it as a prelude to that last separation to which the laws of our Nature compel us to submit. About the 1st of November I propose to set out for South Carolina with a view to reside permanently on my Estate there; whether I shall pass through Raleigh or go by the ²Ridge, is not yet decided. If I

aristocratic habits at his home and elsewhere. It was charged that his dress and ways were acquired in his recent trip abroad and showed that he was under "foreign influence."

¹We have not the words of this postscript.

²The road by "the ridge," went through Granville County, then along the present route of the North Carolina Railroad. It "headed" many of the streams and was probably a more eligible route than that through Raleigh.

take the former route I shall have the pleasure of seeing you *once more*.

I expected to be at the University at Commencement, but I am obliged to carry my second daughter to Salem about the 25th of July, the time the Superintendent has fixed for her reception and in my situation, you will easily perceive, two journeys cannot be made. The situation of the University is a distressing one, and the more so, as it is not likely to be soon capable of any Remedy, being the necessary consequence of Legislative hostility to the Institution. The friends of science in other States regard the people of North Carolina as a sort of Semi-Barbarians, among whom neither learning, virtue nor men of Science possess any Estimation. The conduct of the Legislature for several years past has stamped this character on the State, and it will take a long course of time, and contrary conduct and policy to efface the impression.

In South Carolina a Professorship is more eagerly canvassed for than a Secretaryship in the Government of the U. S., the consequence of that liberal spirit which has been displayed by their Assembly; after a handsome and permanent endowment of the offices of the Institution, they voted \$10,000., to purchase a Library and Philosophical apparatus — What a contrast!! Poor No. Carolina!

As to procuring a professor of languages, I can only advise that the Enquiry be kept up, and as much of this as possible thrown on the President, who indeed is the proper person to make the choice of inferior officers, as the whole responsibility of the management of the Institution turns personally upon him.

I wrote to you last about the 9th of February, I don't

¹The excellent School for Females at Salem under the charge of the Moravians was opened in 1802.

The "second daughter" was Sarah Jones, who married Hon. Wm. F. DeSaussure, and left many descendants through her daughters, Mrs. Boykin and Mrs. Burroughs of S. C.

know whether you rec'd the letter, it was intended to go with Mr. Craven, and missed that conveyance, and was I believe put into the post-office. Adieu my dear friend, and be assured you possess the warmest affections of my Heart.

Yours,

W. R. DAVIE.

P. S. The above letter contained ²Genl. Jones rects. for you. Write me if you got it.

To

JOHN HAYWOOD, Esq.,
Raleigh.

HALIFAX, Sept. 22nd 1805.

My Dear Sir

I had the pleasure to receive by the last post your letter of the 10th inst. and those of the 26th of June and 1st of July in the course of conveyance, these two last I should have answered sooner, but I wished to decide, before I wrote, whether I should pass through Raleigh on my way to So. Carolina as you had kindly proposed to meet me somewhere if I did not.—My arrangements are now made to pass thro' Raleigh about the 7th or 8th of November when I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you.

The late unfortunate occurrence at the University is much to be lamented on many accounts, and most of all for the ill-advised measure of the ³ordinance which gave birth to the

¹John Craven, of Halifax, was State Comptroller, 1783-1808.

²Allen Jones and Willie Jones were brothers. Allen was a militia General in the Revolution. He was Davie's father-in-law. Willie held high position in the State and Confederation. His public views were those of Jefferson.

³This ordinance, which forced a majority of the best students to leave the institution, required the Faculty to appoint a Monitor from each class, who should take an oath before a judicial officer to report every infraction

conduct adopted by the students. You will remember, no doubt, that an ordinance of this kind was rejected several years ago on a full consideration by the Board, on the ground that the principle was improper. These Monitors under the ordinance are not a species of Magistrates, but *real spies*, and human nature revolts from the principle of Espionage in every shape: the corruption and depravity of London, Paris, and other large cities renders its adoption necessary by the police, but the most degraded wretch in these sinks of Depravity could not be induced to accept it as a public office, and always stipulates for the most part profound secrecy with regard to his employment. I do not believe that the duty of Monitors or Censors has ever been carried further in any literary Institution, than to note the absences from prescribed duties such as attendance on recitations prayers Church etc.

With regard to my advice as to this unhappy occurrence itself, I should have advised that the ordinance should have been suspended as to its operation till the annual meeting of the Board, when it will probably be repealed altogether. And with regard to the students whose conduct in this instance forms a most dangerous precedent; I think, with proper deference to the late act of the Trustees, that discriminations with regard to readmission, should have been adopted on some principle, such as the degree of guilt, or the age, or the standing of the student.

I have reflected much and seriously since this event on the causes of this spirit of insubordination and the means of preventing it.—It has always existed in a considerable degree, the ordinance may be considered as only an accidental cause, I think the real causes may be found in the defects of domestic education in the So. States, the weakness of parental authority, the spirit of the Times, the arrangement as to

of the by-laws and species of misconduct among the students. The Trustees, when this ordinance was resisted, modified it by substituting a pledge of honor for the oath, but the students refused to accept the change,

vacation, and some errors of the Board which I will notice hereafter.

Every man of discernment who has lived 40 or 50 years must have observed and lamented the general decay of parental authority, and the consequent presumption and loose manners of young men, Boys of 16 or 17 years, without judgment, without experience or almost any knowledge of any kind arrogantly affect to judge for themselves, their teachers and their parents in matters of morality, of Government, of Education, in fact in every thing. The effect of the other general cause is visible throughout the whole of their remonstrance.—Nothing can be more ridiculous than *Boys at school* talking of “sacred regard to their rights,” “the high and imposing duty of resistance,” and of “denouncing laws”, etc. etc., the general Slang of the times culled from the columns of Newspapers, yet these very words are attended with the most mischievous consequences. Over all these causes however the Board of Trustees have no power or influence, but they must be considered to be counteracted as far as possible.

I have understood and observed ever since the establishment of the University that the disturbances have generally manifested themselves about this period of the second session, and that when a general resistance to authority did not take place, a spirit of Insubordination always showed itself more or less at this season. This I attribute to the great length of time the students have been confined at Colledge; they become tired and disgusted with study, their minds generally acquire a sour gloomy and restive temperament, producing a general predisposition to any measure that may break up the session, or interrupt business and distress the Faculty. Two or three fellows more daring and unprincipled than the rest seize on this Disposition, and artfully turn it into the channel of a general revolt against all authority: To Remedy this Evil I would earnestly recommend that an ordinance should be passed at the next annual meeting estab-

lishing the vacations exactly on the same footing as they are at Princeton whatever they may be, and Mr. Caldwell can give the necessary information, they are the result of Experience and have been found to answer the purpose, if you approve of this I would advise that President Caldwell should be requested to prepare so much of the ordinance as may relate to any alterations in the division of the courses of studies, Examinations, etc.

The difficulty we have continually experienced in the management of youth at this Institution has often obliged me to reflect on the means we have used, and the nature of the Government of such Institutions——. I am now fully convinced the best governed Colleges are those which have the most respectable Faculties, and the fewest *written* laws, and that we have committed a serious error in making an ordinance for *every thing*, or in other words legislating too much. ——It is now my opinion, that after describing the kind of punishment to be used in the Establishment, and reserving in all cases the punishment of *Expulsion* to be confirmed by the Board, all the rest should be left to the *discretion* of the Faculty. It may perhaps require some reflection to see the justice of this remark, and I will only add, that the principles of the parental Government are the true model for that of literary Institutions for youth of all kinds from the University down to the common school. The parental Government has no written laws, and I would observe, that no mortal man could govern his family if he adopted that mode—— If he did, his whole household would become, like these students,

¹General Davie's advice to trust little to by-laws, and leave the discipline to the Faculty was far ahead of his time. We now practically go still further. The regulation of the conduct of students is left to the President and Dean, with power to consult an Executive Committee, or the Faculty when they deem best.

This letter has a pathetic interest as being the last word spoken by General Davie—the legacy of his experience and good-will. His labors were greatly appreciated and the title, "Father of the University," given by the Board, was in recognition of them.

lawyers and legislators, discussing his ordinances, chattering about "their rights", "despotism", "duty of resistance", etc. etc. They would form themselves into revolutionary committees, and be always deliberating, remonstrating, and revolting.

I have been led to doubt whether our practice of publishing in the newspapers annually the distinctions made at examinations may not be attended with consequences which if not the immediate causes, operate at least powerfully with other remote causes to produce many difficulties we have experienced. The objects of this measure were to excite emulation among the students, gratify the parents and attract public attention to the Institution, but I apprehend that it has also had the effect of filling the young men with presumption, and a vain imaginary consequence, which had an ill effect upon their own conduct afterwards, and gave them a pernicious influence among their fellow students; and then the mischief it produces greatly overbalances any good to be expected from it: and perhaps it would be better to adopt hereafter the practice of other Colleges who notice in the papers the commencement honors only: and other reasons of considerable weight might be given for this measure. That it is dangerous to depart from the paths of Experience is a Truth I am more and more convinced of every day I live.

I was sorry to see a long piece in the

(Unable to make out rest of letter)

To John Haywood, Esquire,
Raleigh, No. Carolina.

P. S.

It will be much time before I can sell the land of Mr. Jones. I went to see General Jones after receipt of your letter but he was too sick to discuss it. I will write to you in a few days.

LANDSFORD, near Lancaster Ct. House,
Jany. 22nd 1806.

Dear Sir

Since Colonel Moore departed from here on Sunday last I have found another file of the papers relative to the subject of the boundary, they consist principally of the representations of the Assembly to Governor Martin relative to the Extension of the line under the order of June 1771; and altho' the dissatisfaction shown by these documents on the part of No. Carolina might not now vary the legal merits of the case yet I regret very much that I had not laid my hands upon them before Col. Moore set out.

I wish you may be fortunate enough to terminate this affair to the satisfaction of both States, and beg you to present my respects to the other Commissioners, and accept of the assurances of the esteem and regards

of your most ob. &

W. R. DAVIE

General John Steele,
Charlotte, N. C.

LANDSFORD Nov. 25th, '07.

Dear Sir,

Mr. Caldwell informs me that you propose going to Columbia on his return to Salisbury; I should be extremely happy to see you at my House, and it is as direct a route as you can

¹Col. Moore was probably Roger Moore, who was in the House of Commons from New Hanover in 1806. He was a scion of the family descended from Governor Yeamans, Governor James Moore, Colonel Maurice Moore, Judge Maurice Moore, and Judge Alfred Moore

²The Commissioners on the part of North Carolina were General Steele, Montford Stokes and Robert Burton. Stokes became Senator of the United States and Governor of the State. Burton had been a member of the Congress of the Confederation. The scientific expert was President Joseph Caldwell of the University.

³General Davie's country place was called Trivoli.

take. I shall flatter myself with the expectation of seeing you, the direct way is to cross at the old nation ford.

Make my best respects to your family and believe me with great respect,

Yours,

W. R. Davie.

General Steele,

Salisbury, N. C.

LANDS-FORD Jany. 4th, 1810.

Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge your letter of the 26th Novm., the anxious hope I entertained that some light would be thrown upon the gloomy circumstances to which it refers by the communications to Congress or their discussions induced me to defer answering it. I was too remote from Head-quarters to possess a sufficient knowledge of the particular views and opinions of the men who now hold the destiny of our Country in their Hands, and the whims and prejudices of politicians so often influence their public conduct and are so generally the real springs which actuate them that it is extremely difficult, as you know, to form any judgment of the course and direction they may give to public affairs, which are eternally more or less mingled with their private views.

The late discourse of the views of the 'British Cabinet and the foolish conduct of Jackson has again aroused the war party into activity; whether they will be successfully opposed by the torpor, into which the national feeling seems to have sunk, the determination imputed to the President, and the efforts of the remaining friends of Peace, I know not—War speeches have now in a great measure lost their effect, they are like "a tale that has been told"; the People are smarting under the effects of the embargo and non-

¹See note to letter of Feby' 10, 1812.

intercourse policy, and dread War as still a worse evil, they must always feel before they will begin to think: and most of us have had our pecuniary sensibilities considerably excited.

As to the two Great Belligerent Powers, I see no hope of any radical or material change of policy to be expected from either of them with regard to the U. States. On an *entire* change of the B. Ministry some modification of their orders might be expected, but their principle will be maintained, and I think the Emperor will adhere to his "Text" till he can find a more successful mode of carrying on the War against Congress.

My hope rests upon the President, I sincerely believe he is a man of great virtue, we all know he has sense and the experience of many years in public life, and *they now* say he has more promptitude and decision than any man who ever filled the Presidential Chair; May God grant that this may be true; Our affairs may yet do well—and this pause operate no injury.

Enclosed I forward to you the proceedings of our Legislature with regard to the boundary—Tell me what you will do—.

Write to me—I am sorry we are so far from each other—and believe me with great regard and esteem

Your friend

W. R. DAVIE.

General John Steele

Salisbury, N. C.

LANDSFORD, Catawba.

Jany. 10th 1812.

Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge your letter of the 25th of November, and beg you to present my thanks to the

President, Faculty and Trustees of the University of North Carolina for this mark of their polite attention, and to assure them of the high sense I entertain of the honor they have been pleased to confer upon me, with my warmest wishes for the success of the institution.

I pray you Sir, also to accept my thanks for the polite manner in which you have been pleased to communicate this act of the Board.

I am very respectfully

Sir

Your Most Obt.,

W. R. DAVIE.

²Robt. Williams, Esq.,

Secretary of the Board of Trustees,

University of North Carolina.

CATAWBA near Lancaster Ct. House, Aug. 15, '08.

My Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure to receive by the last post yours of the 8th and congratulate you on your narrow and providential escape from such imminent danger, I know no situation in which a man may more easily lose a limb or his life than that in which you was exposed.

I regret exceedingly the arrangement which prevented your spending a day with me, during which I had promised myself the pleasure of comparing our views of the various

¹The letter of Davie is in acknowledgement of the degree of Doctor of Laws (LL.D.) granted in 1812. He was the first on whom this degree was conferred. The like degree was conferred on Ashbel Green, D.D. in 1812, and next honored was in 1825, Nathaniel Macon—only three Doctorates of Laws in the first thirty years of the existence of the University.

²General Robert Williams was Secretary and Treasurer of the University from 1809 to 1821. He was brother of Congressman Lewis Williams, "Father of the House" of Representatives of the United States. He was Adjutant General of this State.

aspects of the political horizon; never in my opinion was the situation of the country more critical, or our prospects more pregnant with danger: 'Negotiation leads every where into difficulties, war points to incalculable evils, and the Embargo, as terrapin-hostilities, to the depression of the public mind and the gradual but certain ruin of our financial resources.

What have we to hope from a feeble and timid administration? Providence has stamped a kind of awful character on the events of the present times, which seems to have appalled the firmest minds, and chained the energies of the nations; neither the government nor the people of Europe appear to have had any adequate ideas of the terrible destiny which awaited them, until their fate was irrevocably fixed: in this fatality, if there is such a thing, it is eminently conspicuous in the conduct and destruction of ²Prussia and ³Spain: but without resorting to the mysterious workings of a chastising Providence to explain the errors and misfortunes of men; may not the calamities of these kingdoms be fairly attributed to the imbecility and ignorance of their princes, and the timidity and corruption of their ministers; observe the devious temporising policy of Prussia since '95, and the abject slavish condescension of Spain—. Prussia never thought of assistance till it was useless, when it resembled the instinctive efforts of despair, and the government of Spain had submitted, till it knew not how to resist.— Now compare the policy of the United States since 1800 with the course pursued by these

¹General Davie's comparison of the United States making war on England and France by shutting up her ports and cutting off intercourse, to a terrapin, is obvious to one who has witnessed that interesting animal withdrawing head, feet and tail within its shell.

²By the Peace of Tilsit in 1807 Prussia's territory was reduced from 89,120 to 46,032 square miles and she was made to pay an indemnity of \$28,000,000. Until payment was made she had to support 150,000 French troops

³In May, 1808, Napoleon forced the King and heir of the Spanish monarchy to cede their rights to Joseph, his brother. He sent a great army into the country.

unfortunate Monarchies, mark their character and analogies look at our interior arrangements, examine the course of our negotiations, and the state of our foreign relations, and observe the presiding spirit of our government, and tell me frankly if we are not directed in the same perilous track, by the same means, to the same dreadful destiny. Has not 'war with France been a probable event for some time past, is it not *now* inevitable, has it not been the policy of our government to lull us to sleep with regard to the designs of this formidable Power, is it wise to wait with folded arms to see what good or rather *evil* time may bring forth, or has not the crisis arrived which demands decision, and when the worst part we could take would be that of not taking any?—I have fallen insensibly into the train of reflection upon which I wished we should have occupied the day you promised me.

As to the Presidency Madison will certainly be elected, and he is the best choice that could be made among the present ²candidates.— Mr. Jefferson will assuredly leave our affairs involved in the utmost confusion and difficulty: it is therefore of great importance, that the President should be the person whose measures would recieve the most general support. No effort will be made in this State to counteract the Congressional nomination, nor I think in Georgia. As to the V. P. (Vice President) the ³Demo'cts are not satisfied with Gov. Clinton, if they knew how they might decently, or rather *safely* shake him off; there will be some intriguing on the meeting of Congress; but Madison's friends are committed

¹In a private letter Jeffsrson said, "England seems to have become a den of pirates and France a den of thieves "

²When the electoral votes were counted Madison received 122, George Clinton 6, and C. C Pinckney 47. George Clinton for Vice President had 113, Rufus King 47, and 15 were scattering.

³By Democrats Davie means Republicans. The original name of the party was Democratic-Republican. When the Democrats of France went into the Reign of Terror and became odious, for policy's sake the name Republican was adopted by Jefferson and other leaders.

and they will risk nothing. I think 'Mr. K—— in any event stands no chance; the ²P——, with everything that is virtuous and valuable have sunk below the political horizon.

I am happy that you have settled the disputes about the Boundray, the ³Convention is not to be published till the Legislature meets, when I will write you how it is received. We have been extremely dry since I saw you, and crops are greatly injured, the cotton especially has suffered. Write to me, and may God take care of you, these evil times, and believe me sincerely yours,

W. R. DAVIE.

General John Steele,
Salisbury.

LANDS-FORD, Catawba.

Feby. 10th 1812.

Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure to receive your letter from Raleigh, and begin to believe with you that we shall be plunged in war, the discussions with the 'British minister, the message of the

¹"Mr. K." is probably Rufus King. The "P" is probably Charles Ootesworth Pinckney.

²Pinckney and his brother, Thomas Pinckney, and their cousin, Charles Pinckney—all "virtuous and valuable."

³Acts were passed and Commissioners appointed to run the dividing line between North Carolina on one part and South Carolina and Georgia on the other in 1803, again in 1804, 1806, 1808, 1813, 1814, and as to South Carolina, settled in 1815. As to Georgia the final settlement was in 1819.

⁴David Montague Erskine, British Minister, more friendly to the United States, perhaps, because his wife was an American, had promised the President that his country would repeal the "Orders in Council" which bore so heavily on our commerce, if the United States would suspend as to England the Non-intercourse act. The offer was accepted and there was great rejoicing. Erskine's action was disavowed by the British Ministry and Charles James Jackson was sent in his stead. The Orders in Council were renewed and Jackson contradicted the Secretary of State so rudely and pointedly that Congress requested by resolution the President to recognize him no longer. He is the minister alluded to in this letter.

President and the report of the Committee of Foreign relations, have placed the Government in a situation from which it cannot retreat, without absolute disgrace; they are exactly in the condition of Macbeth, there is more personal danger in going back than marching on—I mean to their *popularity*. If we can steer clear of an alliance with France, upon the whole, perhaps it will be better, two or three rattling fights, 30 or 40,000 thousand men killed, and a debt of as many million will bring us all to our senses—You will remember some years ago giving me your serious opinion that we must touch the extreme point of public wretchedness before the people could be set right.

There was really no difference of opinion on the subject you mention, you extend your views further as to our administration than I did, because you know them personally and perfectly, and I know nothing about them—I still consider the British orders a part of their system of 'blockade, no more than the extension of the same principle, the mode only was suggested by Bonaparte, whose Genius is a little bolder than that of the British Ministry.

We poor planters are much "bothered" here to know what to do, we depend entirely on foreign commerce and are now perfectly at a loss. What are you going to plant this year, what can we best do—Present my best respects to the fam-

¹The blockades of the Napoleonic wars would be considered illegal now. France and Great Britain both declared the coasts of each other in a state of blockade, and neutral vessels, bound for their respective ports, were liable to capture. This action worked peculiar hardships on the United States, large numbers of whose vessels were seized and condemned with their cargoes. At the present time a blockade is not lawful unless a sufficient force is stationed at the blockaded port to capture under ordinary circumstances vessels seeking to enter.

²Napoleon in 1806 by the Berlin Decree prohibited trade with Great Britain. The next year by Order in Council, (the Privy Council), Great Britain prohibited direct trade with any country under the control of France.

ily and let me hear from you, and believe me with the warmest attachment and respects yours, etc.,

W. R. DAVIE.

We have now a post-office at this place; and I seldom send to Lancaster.

To General John Steele.

LANDS-FORD, Nov. 29th '14.

My dear Sir,

I have had the intention of writing to you for two or three weeks past on the subject of the communications from our Commissioners at 'Ghent, but the alarming proceedings at home, the ²movements in the New England States, and the monstrous strides towards despotism made by the party in power have absolutely so stunned and astonished me that I know not what to say or write. After the best reflections I could make on the views and measures of our Eastern brethren I came to the conclusion, that weary of the tyranny of the Virginia Administrations, seeing no possibility of change, and disgusted with a government in which they had no practical share, and of course no influence, they had been wrought up to the determination to secede from the Union. And I now think that the immense army to be raised, the heavy taxes proposed, the vast and profligate expenditure of public money, followed up by the conscriptions will confirm any resolutions

¹The Commissioners of Peace at Ghent were: Henry Clay, of Kentucky, John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, James A. Bayard, of Delaware, and Jonathan Russell, of Massachusetts.

²The blockading of all our coasts, but New England, by Great Britain, the mysterious secrecy of the Hartford Convention, the refusal of the Governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut to allow their militia to go outside their states, together with the general hostility to the war in New England, gave the impression that Secession was to be attempted. Then too the feeling against the Federalists was intensified by the story that they burned blue lights at night as signals to the British vessels.

of this kind that they may have taken. It really appears to me that the present confederacy will not last two years more and that Mr. Madison will finish his career amidst the ruins of his Country. Perhaps these views of the subject may have preyed too much upon my mind, and by that process have assumed an aspect more gloomy than it should be, I should be happy however to have your opinion.

As to the 'Conscription proposed I feel no hesitation in pronouncing it unconstitutional, and that such a power in the General Government must soon crush the State sovereignties to atoms, and annihilate the Liberties of the people: and I am certain, I hazard nothing in saying that had the constitution contained a plain clause conferring such a power on the General Government, that it would not have been adopted by a single state in the Union.

The vassals of Virginia may perhaps quietly submit their necks to the yoke, but it will certainly be resisted in every other part of the U. States.

Let me know what you think of these things and believe me with respect and regard yours

W. R. DAVIE.

LAND-FORD Octo. 15th 1812.

Dear Sir,

I suppose that the melancholy issue of the invasion of upper Canada, and the prospects of a disastrous war, connected with the pressure of private difficulties must have commenced a change of opinion among many of the democratic party in No. Carolina, the people must feel before they will think or reflect, or endeavor to trace public calamities to their real causes,

¹There was no Conscription Act passed, though a draft from the militia was proposed. The forcing of citizens into the army was done by both the Union and Confederate Congresses during the Civil War and the question of constitutionality is settled.

but under circumstances like the present, when a change does commence its progress will be rapid and its effects decisive: whether the short period between this time and the Presidential election will be sufficient to enable the friends of peace and commerce in No. Cara. to avail themselves of its full effect I know not; much however will depend on exertion, and the dissemination of information; you have long known my opinion, that nothing is done while Virginia maintains her present ascendancy in the confederacy, and that our political liberties and our prosperity depend upon our raising up a competent rival to her ambitious pretensions.

The present moment is in many respects highly favorable, and I sincerely hope you will give your aid to organize the means of effecting this great object, which in my opinion would insure us peace, commerce and prosperity—The war however to be lamented was the only cure for our domestic evils; if they levy money sufficient to carry it on with vigor to ensure even partial success, the taxes will do the business, if they permit the war to languish for want of means, disaster and disgrace must be the consequence and an accumulated debt without any equivalent, the people will be disgusted and general dissatisfaction will ensue; any way the party in power must be ruined: but it would shorten the period of our sufferings if 'Clinton could now be elected, in that case I have no doubt, Peace would immediately take place, the Union be preserved, and the towering pretensions of Virginia be repressed perhaps forever; pray write me what are your pros-

¹During the War of 1812 the Americans lost Detroit and Chicago and failed in an invasion of Canada by way of Niagara. Davie was not, however, a true prophet. Madison was reelected by a vote of 131 over 89 for De Witt Clinton and Eldridge Gerry obtained the Vice-Presidency by 128 over 89 for Jared Ingersoll. If the Republicans made mistakes the Federalists made greater. The people were persuaded that they mourned over our victories and rejoiced over our defeats, and that they contributed to those defeats by factious opposition to the Government.

pects, and what are the views of the Federalists in No. Carolina, and believe me with great respect

sincerely yours

W. R. DAVIE.

We have a post-office at this place direct to

LAND-FORDS, Catawba, via Camden.

LANDS-FORD, Feby. 4th 1814.

My Dear Sir,

I am anxious to hear your opinion of the prospect before us, and whether you think the Administration are seriously desirous of peace, and have made up their minds to adopt the basis proposed by the British Government in their late overture: the late addition to the Mission augurs illy I think of its result; Clay is a clamorous advocate for the continuance of the war and the conquest of the Canadas. Russell is a time-serving wretch, added in my opinion to affect the secret views of the Cabinet, by dividing the vote of the Commission, whenever it may be necessary for that purpose; thus it is true he may neutralize the violence and policy of Clay, if the Cabinet are really determined upon peace, but a mission thus constituted will move awkwardly and always with embarrassment, there will be no affinity of principle or accordance of views, and of course no mutual confidence.

The terrible military and political reverses which Bonaparte has experienced during the last year, cannot fail to have a salutary influence upon our Cabinet, and their tone in negotiating will rise or fall with the prospect of his fortunes.

I have been greatly surprised that no motion has been made by the minority in Congress to promote an enquiry into the abuses of expenditure in the army departments, they have cer-

¹Notwithstanding Davie's fears the Treaty of Peace was signed December 24th, 1814.

tainly been enormous, and such an enquiry is necessary to prevent their continuance, and would have the effect of attracting the attention, and opening the eyes of the people — I wish you would write to Pearson or some of your friends on this head——*This is the moment*——for every beneficial purpose——.

A peace at this time would save the party from ruin—If Mr. Madison views it in this light, Peace we shall certainly have, so infatuated are the people it is astonishing how little popularity they have lost, by all their ²mismanagement and blunders.

Let me hear from you soon, and believe me with great respect and regard

Yours

W. R. DAVIE.

Address to this place via Camden.

To General John Steele,

Salisbury.

P. S.

We have heard much of some ³salt-works somewhere in Rowan County, the accounts are extremely contradictory, and as it is now a very interesting thing, I would be much obliged to you to give me an account of them, their progress and prospects, we are told they already sell salt at two dollars and are able to make immense quantities every day.

¹Joseph Pearson was a lawyer at Salisbury; Representative in Congress 1806-1815; fought a duel while a member with J. C. Jackson; was uncle of Chief Justice R. M. Pearson.

²That the Republican Party came out of the war, retaining its hold on the favor of the people, seems strange. It was saved by the naval victories, by that of New Orleans, and other engagements of a minor nature, and especially by the glaring blunders of Federalists leaders. Instead of holding up the hands of the administration they indulged in sharp denunciations and perpetual fault-finding. By many, probably the majority of Republicans, they were believed to be aiding the enemy.

³Now John S. Henderson, of Salisbury, writes me that he has been unable to ascertain anything about these alleged salt works.

James Sprunt Historical Monograph ¹

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NO. 8




The Provincial Council and Committees of Safety in North Carolina

BY

BESSIE LEWIS WHITAKER, A. M.

CHAPEL HILL
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PREFACE

The following study was undertaken by the author at the suggestion of the department of History as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts. The subject, important as were the organizations whose activities are herein so fully described, has not hitherto received a full and proper treatment, and it is hoped that this monograph will assist in showing how great a responsibility rested upon the committees of safety and also how well that responsibility was assumed.

The main source relied on in the preparation of the study was the Colonial Records of North Carolina. Reference to them is so frequent that it has seemed only necessary to refer to them by the numeral indicating the volume. The work of Dr. E. W. Sikes, entitled *North Carolina—Colony to Commonwealth*, has also been largely used.

The author wishes to express her grateful appreciation of assistance rendered her in the preparation of this paper. The editor also wishes to express his grateful acknowledgements to his colleague, Dr. Louis R. Wilson, for assistance in the reading of the proof.

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The foul streams of sedition which through the channels of committees have overflowed this once happy land threaten it with every species of misery, ruin and destruction.—Governor Martin.

THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL AND THE COMMITTEES OF SAFETY IN NORTH CAROLINA

I.

Introductory. The significance of the system as a type of government.

II.

Description of the system in organization and administrative range from the time of its full formation to its close, including two stages:

1. Provincial Council, District Committee, Local Committee.
2. Council of Safety and Local Committees.

III.

The system as a part of a larger one embracing the foundation plan of Congress centre with the final reversion to the Congress as a Constitutional Convention.

1. Discussion—larger system as a whole.
2. Outline of steps or landmarks in the development of the larger system.

IV.

Functions of the Government.

1. Provincial Council in its various features of activity.
2. Council of Safety in its various features of activity.

3. Work of County Committees.
 - a. In connection with functions of District Committees.
 - b. In connection with town Committees.
 - c. Inter-relations County Committees.
 - d. Influence traced through the proceedings of the Committees of separate counties.

V.

Summary and Conclusion.

1. Growth, rise and decline of system.
2. Value of the government:
 - a. To the Colony.
 - b. To the State.

THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL AND THE COMMITTEES OF SAFETY IN NORTH CAROLINA

x: 208

x: 913

From September 9, 1775, until November 12, 1776, a system of government existed in North Carolina which is worthy of investigation for its unique combination of democratic spirit and oligarchical methods—a tyrannical administration by patriots seeking individual and national liberty.

This plan of government was by no means new to the Colony. The movement which produced it, like other movements of history, was of gradual growth. The first interest for us is a view of the system as a whole, through its related divisions and as regards its range of jurisdiction and its special functions. Then some conception of the probable origin of the various parts of the governmental machinery is necessary for any firm footing in confidence and appreciation. This established, we proceed to watch the growth and development of the system and recognize in so doing the field of its operation, the force and mission of its organization, the necessity for its influence and the time for its destruction. It vanished so soon as the purpose of its being was accomplished and the way had been prepared for a new government with regular, well defined and evenly distributed functions.

The government in North Carolina during the period indicated—September 9, 1775, to November 12, 1776—was that of the Provincial Council and the Committees of Safety.

The Provincial Council was the central governing body of the province, but it existed only during the recess of the Congress, and all of its proceedings were subject to the inspection and approval of the

x: 210

Congress. It thus filled the place of the Congress when that body was not in session. Having power to call the higher body into operation at any time, it by so doing

x: 212 from time to time put an end to its own activity, which was not resumed until the end of that session of the Congress.

Regularly the Council met quarterly but it

x: 210 might convene as often as deemed expedient, and in the same way adjourn at discretion. It was made up of thirteen members, two from each of

x: 208 the six districts into which the province was divided, and one appointed by the Congress for the State at large.

x: 208 As a force supplementary to the Provincial Council, there was provision for six district committees, viz., Wilmington, New Bern, Edenton, Halifax, Hillsboro and Salisbury. Of these only the first two mentioned seem to have been at all active. District

x: 245 Committees were supposed to sit quarterly at the principal towns within their respective districts and as often at other times as they might judge expedient. Each of these committees was made up of a president and twelve other members, elected in Congress by members of the respective districts. These six committees were designed to aid in the execution of acts of Council (and Congress), to take the initiative in allotted jurisdiction and to exercise supervising influence over the County and Town Committees.

The "plan for the internal peace, order and safety of the province" included a committee for each County of the Province and for every town "having a right of representation in Congress".

x: 212 In reality by no means all the counties seem to have had committees; in like manner the records show separate town committees in few cases. These seem usually operative only when identified with the Committee for the County. The activity of these local committees in a number of cases was tremendous. This will be treated as a special topic in the investigation of committee functions.

x:212 & 213 The membership of the county and town committee was regulated as follows :

1. Each County Committee was to be made up of not less than twenty-one persons, elected by the free holders of the County.

x:212 2. In the towns of Edenton, New Bern and Wilmington, the Committee was to consist of fifteen persons elected by the freeholders of the town.

3. Every other town having a right of representation might have a Committee of seven members, elected in the same manner.

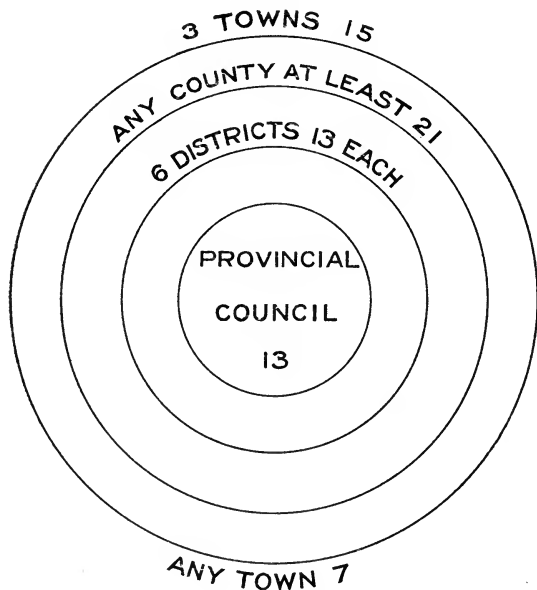
x:213 Town Committees might act in conjunction or be consolidated with the committees of counties in which they were situated. This latter plan must have been followed to a great extent, as will be indicated in the the analysis of the work of the various committees. The time stipulated for the meetings of town and county committees was the first day of their respective courts and as much oftener as they might think necessary. In some instances, during the troublous period, the meetings were so constant as to appear almost like one continuous session, as will be seen in the comparative view of different sections.

x:164 The system of government, as to this point outlined, was instituted by the Third Provincial Congress which met at Hillsboro, August 20, 1775. This system, marked out as has been said, on September 9, 1775, underwent one great metamorphosis which nevertheless left its essential element intact until the meeting of the Constitutional Convention in November, 1776.

The province, having reached the position deemed at first impossible, could no longer tolerate the term "Provincial", implying allegiance to England. The *Provincial Council* gave place to the *Council of Safety*. That this was in any way due to partisan politics, as has been claimed, seems hardly probable. The change moreover was more than one of name and it was apparently regulated by local conditions.

Jones' "Defence," page 258; Sikes' "North Carolina" p. 62 (note)

The first plan of government, as outlined in September, 1775, was one of higher central government with wide circles of jurisdiction to insure general efficiency by attention to local needs and interests.



The system in its changed state is simpler and has taken on the centralized form which suggests the determination to guide or to force all parts of the province into uniformity of action. The District Committees, which had proved almost useless, disappeared by legal enactment. The local committees of county or town, ever vigilant in purpose and strong in action, began to subside in activity as their functions were confidently entrusted to a central body, an embodiment of the spirit of all the counties.

The change was this: The central body was made stronger and changed in name. District Committees disappeared. The circle of county committees was less clear as their number and function were left undefined.



The Council of Safety, superseding the Provincial Council, was not restricted to meetings every few months. It was in session continuously and the Provincial Congress seemed to await its call to come into existence. It had no fixed place of meeting and was ubiquitous in influence. It did not depend for transmission of its will upon an intervening set of district committees, but dealt directly with situations that came under its cognizance; at times, seeming scarcely to require even the assistance of the local committees. These, in readiness to execute orders when called upon, no longer assumed the initiative; any advance on their part was apparently in isolated instances for purposes of neighborhood adjustment, as will be shown in the discussion of county activities.

The change in the governmental system was, in effect, the disappearance of a disused organ and the increased range of function for the part of the organism still vital, the exact nature of activity being dependent upon the pressure of environment. In general conception and in essence the new government was a part of the old system. The Council of Safety was a developed form of the Provincial Council, and with it the old system simply reached a new stage.

The political change was effected as follows:

x: 579 On May 11, 1776, the Fourth Provincial Congress at Halifax—the same body which, abandoning as fruitless the “desire to be reconciled to the mother country on constitutional principles”, empowered the State delegates in the Continental Congress to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring independence—this same Congress abolished the Provincial Council and the six District Committees of Safety and transferred the power of

x: 512 both to a Council of Safety, to sit continuously and at any places convenient to said body. This body was made up of thirteen members, one from

x: 579 the State at large and two from each each district, elected in Congress. Persons holding

x: 580 military office, etc., were disqualified thereby for membership in the Council. The nature of the power and work of the Council has a place in the more specific analysis of governmental functions.

x: 682 On July 22, 1776, at Halifax, the Council of Safety received the news of the Declaration of

x: 696 Independence. The minutes of August 9, 1776, contain the recommendation to the “now independent State of North Carolina” to pay “special attention to the election, 15th October next, for delegates in Congress, as these must form a constitution for the State to be the corner stone of law.” Then follows the order for the election of five delegates for each county to vote in the next Congress. This constitutes the call for the Fifth Provincial Congress, in reality the Constitutional Convention. The prompt action of the Council calling into operation the Constitutional Convention—his call destroying its own being—is worthy of attention as significant of the temper and purpose of the time and the people. The Council of Safety, despite its call for the convention, seemed unable to adjourn, so great was the pressure of business and so many the demands upon its

x: 696-701 strength. Four additional days of service at Halifax succeeded the call; then followed, in

quick succession, series of meetings in Wake County, Salisbury, and again in Halifax. On the first day of the last session of the Council at Halifax, there was reference to the Provincial Congress to be held at Halifax, November 10, 1776, which actually convened November 12, 1776. On October 25, the Council of Safety ceased to exist.

The peculiarity in the system of government by the Provincial Council and the Committees of Safety, so far as organization and period of sway are concerned, is that, in its fully developed and legalized form, it is only a part of a larger movement which spread in successive waves throughout the province. This movement had been authorized by provincial enactment, August 27, 1774, but had been in existence, practically speaking, since July 21, 1774 and to a certain extent had been familiar to the people since December 8, 1773.

Moreover the germs of the system must have been imbedded in the soil of America from the time it felt the touch of Englishmen; this germ is the tendency towards strong political control through the power of a committee and for the purpose of ultimate liberty in the highest sense.

Before the County Committees became embodied in the system of government as outlined by the Third Provincial Congress, they had reached, in individual growth, a point of commanding local influence. That this is true will be seen from the position of these committees at the time of the Second Provincial Congress. Before this is made evident, the preceding waves of development in the governmental system, already referred to, require some discussion for the purpose of indicating the landmarks of advance. Certain dates, as before suggested, mark the steps in the progress of Committee Government. These lead directly to the position of the Committees at the time of the Second Provincial Congress. After adding this significant date to the advance movement, we are prepared to consider the government instituted by the Third Provincial Congress in its separate parts and various relations. For the progress of events denoting

growth in the system of government may be presented through certain situations:

- IX: 741 (1) On December 8, 1773, the Legislature appointed a Committee of Correspondence for the province; this was a definite step towards committee government.
- IX: 1016 (2) On July 21, 1774, the call for the First Provincial Congress was made from Wilmington at a general meeting of the inhabitants of the District. Here a Committee was elected to prepare a circular letter to the counties of the province, urging the necessity for electing delegates for a Provincial Council. John Harvey, as appears in a private letter from Samuel Johnston, had declared for "assembling a convention independent of the Governor", after Martin had expressed his intention not to allow another Assembly during the period of disturbance. The last Assembly had been dissolved by the Governor, with the preamble, "Whereas the Assembly of this Province, Jones' "Defence:" p. 164. having assumed to themselves a power unconstitutional, repugnant to the laws and derogatory to the honor and good faith of this province."
- IX: 955 (3) On August 27, 1774, the First Provincial Congress at New Bern authorized County Committees of Safety. In this act we have the proof of the priority of the County Committee, antedating, in legal institution, the District Committee and the Provincial Council—put into operation September 9, 1775, during the session of the Third Provincial Congress at Hillsboro—by more than a year. But by the Third Provincial Congress the County Committees, already in existence, were made a part of a regular corporate administrative system; and it is this system of the *Provincial Council and the Committees of Safety*, in full operation together as the machinery of colonial government, that is to be studied in its activity, its origin and its growth. To return to the significance of the third step in the general advance movement; the origin of the County Committee as legally instituted, is to be found in this "resolve" of the First

Provincial Congress: "That a committee of
IX: 1047 five persons be chosen in each county by such
persons as accede to this Association (of the
Congress) to take effectual care that these resolves be properly
observed and to correspond occasionally with the Provincial
Committee of Correspondence of this Province."

But the actual origin of county activity is probably more
remote. It seems not unnatural that some self-constituted
form of the local committee should have come into play as
cooperative with the Provincial Committee of Correspondence

IX: 1024 of 1773, though this was primarily for obtaining
IX: 1030 information of the acts of Britain and move-
IX: 1032 ments of other colonies. The assemblies that
IX: 1034 appointed deputies to the First Provincial Con-
IX: 1037 gress which gave its authority to the local com-
IX: 1038 mittees, drew up resolves and proceeded in much

the same manner as the regularly constituted local Safety
Committee. These preliminary bodies, issuing instructions
to delegates and formulating opinions as to policy, political
and economic, may be classed in function with the regularly
constituted Safety Committee. Later, meetings of freehold-
ers — after the Provincial Congress — were distinct from the
Safety Committees. They were merely elective bodies and,
as such, important; they elected delegates to the Provincial
Congress and also elected members of the local (town or
county) Safety Committee. This Safety Committee, selected
through the meetings of freeholders, had not elective func-
tion even, as appears later, for filling vacancies in their own
body. They had, however, kindred prerogative and obliga-
tion in the selection from their own number of a special
(inner) Committee of Secrecy and Inquiry — and they had
also power for the appointment of military officers and the
judiciary for certain courts.

(4) The power and position of the local Committees at the
time of the Second Provincial Congress may be shown through
references to them at this juncture. The Address

IX: 1191 of Governor Martin to the Assembly, April 4,
1775, contains the following: "The meetings

to which the people have been excited, the appointment of committees, the violences these little unrestrained and arbitrary tribunals have done to the rights of his majesty's subjects; the flagrant and unpardonable insults they have offered to the highest authorities of the State by some of their acts, which have been made public; and the stop which has been put in some of the counties to the regular course of justice but too plainly evince their progress here." The reply to the

Governor's charge is of this nature: "The committees appointed by the people in the several towns and counties of this Colony, in conse-

quence of the resolutions of the Continental Congress held at Philadelphia were the result of necessity, not choice, as the only means left them to prevent, as far as in them lay, the operation of those oppressive and unconstitutional acts of Parliament, endeavored to be imposed upon America by Great Britain and that the Assembly have not been informed of any steps taken by those Committees but such as they were compelled to take for that necessity and for the salutary purpose aforesaid." From these expressions on both sides it is evident that the Committees were exercising decided influence and making themselves felt as a great force to be met.

This interchange of sentiment, between Governor Martin and the people, regarding Committee influence, took place during the time of the noted confusion of Assemblies when the body under English auspices and the one under revolutionary colonial leadership met at New Bern at the same time and with much the same membership; Harvey presided over both in the two capacities of President of the one body and Speaker of the other. The revolutionary body which caused the complication of proceedings had been convened because, as was explained, "the people had no right to expect that the Assembly would be permitted to meet till it was too late to send delegates to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia."

The Governor's usual expedient, resorted to in ordering the Congress, on April 5, 1775, "to break up the

said meeting and to desist from all such illegal,

unwarrantable and dangerous proceedings," and

his dissolution of the Assembly, April 8, 1775, because of its resolves "tending to alienate the affections of his Majesty's subjects"—these proclamations of dissolution left full scope to the Provincial Government, the backbone of which was Committee jurisdiction. Thus the waves of development in the tendencies of government have reached that point of legalized incorporation of the local committees in the system put into operation by the Third Provincial Congress—the point toward which we were advancing.

Having surveyed the progress towards organized Council and Committee government, we conclude that in the process of growth there may be seen:

1. A preliminary preparation for the Government by Council and local committee in the existence of a General Committee of Correspondence for the Colony, which may have been the germ of Council idea, and in the meetings of freeholders throughout the Colony for patriotic interests. This period may be said to end with the First Provincial Congress.

2. A foundation government with the Congress centre, and effective numerous local committees, this period extending from the First to the Third Provincial Congress, a period of about one year.

3. The actual government of *Provincial Council and Committees of Safety*, covering a period of something more than a year, but broken into two well-defined stages:

- A. The Government by Provincial Council and Committees of Safety in district, town and county (these last growing in number and influence), extending through a period of about eight months, from the Third to the Fourth Provincial Congress, which instituted:

- B. The government by the Council of Safety, another form of the Provincial Council, with constantly increasing functions, supplemented by the local committees which are now on the wane in number and activity and whose powers are absorbed by the Council. This last stage of the system, covering about six months, ends with the calling of the Constitutional Convention by the retiring Council of Safety.

Considering separately the parts of this government by Provincial Council and Committees of Safety, it may be seen that

1. The Provincial Council came into being through an enactment of the Third Provincial Congress at Hillsboro on September 9, 1775. It was abolished, or more properly speaking, transformed on May 11, 1776, through the substitution of a similar central body, the Council of Safety, by the Fourth Provincial Council at Halifax.¹

The Council of Safety, coming into operation simultaneously with the disappearance of the Provincial Council proper, continued in full force until it adjourned at Halifax, Oct. 25, 1776, to give place to the Constitutional Convention, the body called into existence by the act of the retiring Council.²

2. The District Committee of Safety is not so easily traced, for the records of its operations are meagre. Like the County Committee, it seems to have had some activity in Wilmington before its regular incorporation in the system formulated by the Third Provincial Congress. But compared with the County Committee, the activity was slight. The Congress evidently intended the District Committee as a far more vital force than it ever became. Members for each of the six District Safety Committees—of Wilmington, Hillsboro, New

¹SESSIONS OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL:

1. Johnston Court House, Oct. 18-22, 1775.
2. Johnston Court House, Dec. 18-24, 1775.
3. New Bern, Feb. 28-March 5, 1776.

²SESSIONS OF COUNCIL OF SAFETY.

1. June 5-15, 1776, Wilmington.
2. June 19-July 16, 1776, Dobbs Co.
3. July 21-Aug. 13, 1776, Halifax.
4. Aug. 21-28, 1776, Wake.
5. Sept. 5-12, 1776, Salisbury.
6. Sept. 27-Oct. 25, 1776, Halifax.

Bern, Edenton, Halifax and Salisbury—were at
 x: 210 once selected by the Congress.¹ The extent of
 x: 215 jurisdiction was definitely marked out for the
 District Committee. The actual work of these
 bodies will be discussed in connection with the functions of
 the government as a whole, when the Proceedings of Wil-
 mington and New Bern District Committees will be indicated.

Besides the minutes of the Wilmington District
 x: 414, 415, for two meetings there are records of eight
 417, 444, meetings at New Bern. In addition there are
 456, 459, some references to other District Committees
 462, 463, which will be gathered together from the min-
 utes of the various proceedings throughout the province.

3. The local committees were for both town and county,
 but the two blended, as will be shown later, so as scarcely to
 require separate treatment. The County Committee, with
 its remote origin, its legalized separate existence, from the
 time of the First Provincial Congress and its incorporation
 into a regular system by the Third Provincial Congress, was
 the most active factor of the body politic until the law of the
 Fourth Provincial Congress put the Council of Safety in
 operation. From that time the County Committee declines
 in prominence. The Council, holding its sessions in various
 parts of the province, became as it were, a supreme
 authority in each locality and the county committees
 though utilized to some extent to the end of Provincial gov-

DISTRICTS.

- 1xxiv:237 SALISBURY: Anson, Rowan, Mecklenburg, Tryon, Guilford,
 Surry, Burke, and Dist. of Washington.
 HILLSBORO: Orange, Granville, Wake, Chatham and Caswell.
 HALIFAX: Halifax, Northampton, Edgecombe and Bute.
 EDENTON: Chowan, Perquimans, Pasquotank, Currituck,
 Bertie, Tyrrell, Hertford, Martin and Camden.
 NEW BERN: Craven, Carteret, Beaufort, Johnston, Hyde,
 Dobbs and Pitt.
 WILMINGTON: New Hanover, Bladen, Onslow, Duplin and
 Cumberland.

ernment, were gradually lost sight of as an independent power.

Having examined the machinery of the system of Provincial Government as a whole and through its separate parts, and having watched its rise and decline in a general way, we have still to investigate the vital functions of the government. These were of immense range, practically embracing the entire gamut of the legislative, the executive and judicial.

The powers of the Council as outlined by the
 x: 208, 209, Third Provincial Congress were about as fol-
 210. lows: It was authorized to certify appointments
 of officers in the army during the recess of
 Congress and to fill vacancies; to suspend members of army
 or militia when deemed necessary for the public service; to
 order court martials; to direct, in conjunction with subordinate
 committees of safety, all military affairs of the province;
 to reject at discretion officers chosen by the people; to compel
 debtors about to remove from the Province to give security,
 etc., etc., and to draw on the Treasury sums necessary for
 public service. In general, the Provincial Council
 x: 209 was empowered "to transact all matters as
 members might judge expedient to strengthen
 and defend the Colony, so as the same shall not extend to
 altering or suspending any act or resolution of the Congress."

The Council was responsible to Congress for
 x: 209, 210. its proceedings and for an itemized account of
 moneys used for the public service. The Council
 x: 209 could not set aside a sentence of Court Martial;
 this was subject to the confirmation of
 Congress. These restrictions, apparently of no practical significance,
 and the one prohibiting action counter to any Resolve of Congress
 may seem only formal. In effect, the power of the Council seems
 identical with that of Congress. Thus were the functions of the
 large central body, composed of at least five persons from each
 county of the Province, transferred, during the interim of
 Congressional sessions, to a body of thirteen persons, with
 assistants to do its bidding

in the local Safety Committees throughout the province.

The minutes of the Provincial Council contain an extensive range of proceedings in many fields. Among the military enactments are the following: Officers of military companies were confirmed; certain rights of appointment, etc., were assigned to Captains. Orders were issued for enlisting minute men; for military training; for securing arms and ammunition; for division of certain regiments; for rearranging battalions according to decree of Congress; for regulation of military rank; for providing military escort for conveyance of powder from point to point; for dismissal of certain militia; for the listing of men in service; for recruiting; for resisting hostile troops; provision for report of Captains to Committees of towns and counties, of districts, etc.

The appointments by the Council extended over a large field. They were for such positions as these: Commissioners for Edenton, New Bern, Wilmington and Salisbury districts; Commissioner and paymaster for District of Hillsboro. Vacancies were filled in the District Committee of New Bern. Persons in each of the six districts were appointed to make guns. Treasurers for the northern and southern division districts of the province were selected.

The enactments for financial necessities were numerous. Each of the two public treasurers in northern and southern districts was empowered to draw on the general (Continental) Treasurers for sums within certain limits. The Council authorized orders on treasurers for proclamation money, for provisions, arms and ammunition, medicines, care of soldiers in hospitals, clothing for troops, extra cost of recruiting parties, payment to messengers of state, completing fortifications, erecting breastworks, and for particular military movements.

The special orders are of a miscellaneous nature. Troops were to be supplied with blankets; express was sent to delegates of Continental Congress; vessels were chartered at ports of New Bern, Edenton and Wilmington; security laws were made for protection of creditors. Orders were given for making of carriages for cannon; for the care of lead; for

additional rations for soldiers for providing barracks. There was a rejection of a petition for shipping naval stores; any order for securing, with help of military if necessary, certain public papers of the Court of Chancery; advice for suppression of disaffection, etc. Among the decisions were these: Paymasters not to be regarded as military officers and, therefore, not disqualified for seats in Provincial Congress; premature election of delegates and committeemen in certain counties legalized; late elections in certain counties authorized, etc.

Some of the regulations which concern town, county and district management are of special value in indicating relative power, function and organization, while others show merely a certain amount of supervision on the part of the Council. Days were designated for elections in Wake and Tryon counties. Local committees were authorized to make regulations for security of debts; this is followed by an explanation to the effect that the function is impracticable for the Council, as creditors have to await the session of the Council to make application. There may be a suggestion in this communication of the conditions which led to the gradual taking on of power and the later independence of the local committee. Town and County and District committees were urged to forward military service. Committees of Wilmington and Brunswick were advised to prevent communication from the Province with Governor Martin; correspondence with Martin to be inspected for approval by Committee of Town and by commanding officer in town. The Wilmington District Committee was empowered to cut off supplies to ships of war in the Cape Fear river; there seems to be some recognition of the position of the District Committee as superior to that of the County. An election in Onslow County was set aside on account of the refusal of the Committee to subscribe to the "Test"; the Council recommended a new election. A recommendation appears for an election in Surry County, advice being for five representatives or less to Congress, and twenty-one or more Committeemen. There were orders to Town and County Committees for the appointment of persons to take care of gunpowder, saltpetre and sulphur of vicinity.

An order to the Committee of Safety for the District of Salisbury, "to meet the first Tuesday of February next for dispatch of business," is another one of the rare allusions to District Committees whose minutes are lacking. Town and County Committees were ordered to furnish captains of minute men and militia with copies of the "Test" recommended by the Provincial Congress; failures to sign the "Test" were to be reported. Suspected persons of town and county were to be disarmed by order of local committees.

There were Resolves which reveal something of the relations with other colonies: The President of the Council to correspond with Councils of Safety of Virginia and South Carolina; to solicit gunpowder from South Carolina (draft on Continental Treasury to be given); to appoint Committee of two to confer at Charles Town with Committees from Councils of Safety of South Carolina and Georgia, in accordance with recommendation of Continental Congress; Committee of three to confer with Committee of Safety of Virginia.

Among the general resolutions hardly admitting of classifications are these:

Request to Continental delegates to transport gunpowder from Pennsylvania; request to Continental delegates for literature to counteract influence of Tory pamphlets; exclusion of persons not signing "Test" from benefit of security laws; prohibition of export of provisions from province without leave of Congress, except in case of return in port of salt, arms or ammunition. Resolves of appreciation are found; thanks to Colonel James Moore and troops for late services in suppression of insurrection of Highlanders and Regulators; tribute to Colonel Howe for services in Virginia, etc. These minutes contain also orders such as the one for conveying General Donald McDonald, taken prisoner at battle of Moore's Creek, to Halifax prison.

The penal jurisdiction to uproot disaffection and prevent objectionable influence was a great feature in the transition provincial government. It is possibly even more prominent in the work of local committees and that of the Council of

Safety than in the acts of the Provincial Council. In the minutes of this body we find such decisions as the following:

Certain persons to be tried by the District Committee of Halifax where witnesses are convenient; this ruling has a double interest in two connections already alluded to. It is a second reference to one of the District Committees whose minutes are lacking; and the "trying of cases where witnesses are convenient" is another clue to the growth of business for the local committee. There is another reference to the Committee of Perquimans County — one of those lacking minutes — in the requirement of some bond for good behavior (in connection with commercial interests) to be given that Committee. The remaining resolutions are illustrative of regular proceedings and not otherwise of import — e. g., a ruling against the holding of a militia position by person inimical to the cause; an order for delivery of two prisoners from the *Syrren* man-of-war, on parole at New Bern, to Committee of Halifax; order for close confinement in jail of one who has expressed a wish that "America would be subdued this instant"; an order for court martial; and instructions for use of necessary force in compelling attendance of witnesses at next Provincial Congress at Halifax, in case of insurrection of Highlanders and Regulators.

When the Provincial government reached its second stage and the Provincial Council gave place to the Council of Safety, the proceedings were of a somewhat different type. The action of the Council of Safety, on the whole, seems even more strenuous, confident, direct and extensive than that of the Provincial Council. For as practically the only legislative, executive and judicial power of the province, except the now declining local Safety Committee, on it — this body of thirteen members — devolved the whole machinery of civil government, besides the crushing of disaffection and the management of military affairs. The efficiency and enterprise of the local committees — despite the inaction of the districts as such — were so great as to leave hardly a need for the Provincial Council. Though it per-

formed its assigned functions, the actual duration of its three sessions was not all of three weeks. Its successor, the Council of Safety, with new powers and moving from place to place in the province, acting alone, with no legal semblance of District Committees and with the County Committees fast losing significance, this body consumed, in almost continuous session, about four months.

The Fourth Provincial Congress which on
x:579 May 11, 1776, instituted the second stage of this
government, abolished the Provincial Council
x:581 and the District Committees and outlined the
functions of the Council of Safety: "All mat-
x:581 ters heretofore taken cognizance of by the late
Provincial Council or the several late commit-
tees of safety of this Province and undetermined shall be
taken cognizance of by the Council of Safety:"

"The Council thus constituted to be vested
x:580 with power to execute all things necessary for
the defence and protection of the colony, pro-
vided they shall not abrogate any resolution of Congress,
emit bills of credit, levy taxes or duties, draw on the Conti-
nental Treasury, erect offices or courts, or try or condemn
except where permitted by Resolve of Congress." But the Re-
solves of Congress included the assignment of most of these
perogatives to the Council, and if any were
x:580 omitted there is no evidence of the fact in the
acts of the Council.

Express powers were stipulated for trying and
x:580 restraining those inimical to the interests of
America. Within a liberal limit, the Conti-
x:580 nental Treasury was open to the order of the
Council. Special recommendation was made to
the Council to establish Court of Admiralty and to appoint
judges of same, besides port officers, commissioners, etc.

Nothing less than an outline of some of the proceedings of
the Council will serve to show the range of interest and the
remarkable power and efficiency of this body.

At the time of the Council of Safety administration, political situations and necessities were becoming complicated. The principal needs to be met were those of internal peace, defence against England, and protection against the Indians. Relations with other colonies and co-operation with these, for mutual aid, were prominent at this period of administration. Salt and gunpowder were the absolutely necessary and sometimes almost unobtainable articles. The fact had its effect on commercial regulation. The Council was in touch with the South Carolina delegates in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia and in harmony with Continental spirit.

The minutes of the Council regarding military matters include the setting aside — according to privileges granted in advice from the Continental Congress — of a ruling by the Congress on September 3rd, directing two North Carolina battalions under Moore to proceed to New York. Among the military enactments, we find an order to Brigadier General Person to furnish men from the Hillsboro brigade, with Colonel James Taylor in command, to join Brigadier General Rutherford on the western frontiers; an order to General Rutherford to send three hundred men from Salisbury District to join the Virginia forces against the Cherokees; an order for troops stationed by Rutherford to continue on the frontiers of Tryon County; a countermanding of the order for troops from Hillsboro, as Rutherford's force had proved sufficient for the protection of the frontiers, etc.

North Carolina was endeavoring to unite with South Carolina against the Cherokees of the lower valleys, and with Virginia against the overhill Cherokees. An independent Company, at Occacock, was ordered to convey iron ordnance to Pamlico Sound to be transported thence to Virginia; stipulations were made as to manner of procuring and guarding gunpowder; General Moore instructed to report condition of troops; to station forces at New Bern and Wilmington, etc.; General Howe to reclaim soldiers of regular North Carolina army enlisted unjustly by South Carolina; also to remand all North Carolina troops now in Georgia. These re merely

illustrative acts relating to military affairs, and in this field, besides campaign orders, there were army appointments, and minute directions for trial for delinquencies, provision of arms, distribution of *Military Guides* to soldiers, etc., etc.

The financial appropriations made by the Council range from £3, to £3,000. Provision for contingencies was considerable. Accurate calculation as to this feature of government is impracticable; but rough estimate of partial expenses gives a result of £197,277. Outlays were liberal, and minutiae, as well as great powers of state, received attention. The minutes contain records of orders on the treasury to cover expense for salt works; musket makers; a certain cargo; imported gunpowder; payment of militia; examining alleged lead mines; bringing prisoner to council; support of prisoner on parole; disarming Tories; apprehending deserters; obtaining iron; recruiting; needs of Commissaries etc., etc.

Among the general orders are instructions for valuation of land in Cartaret County; gunpowder from Virginia to be sent to a certain point; purchase of Osnaburgs for tents (quantity specified); supply of blankets and clothing for troops; search for public papers in Cumberland County; valuation of imported cannon; purchase of provender for Light Horse at Cross Creek; Commissioner to be dispatched to northern states to contract for making pig iron; horses in possession of persons in Bute and Granville counties to be brought in good order to next Congress; persons having guns used in service in expedition against the Tories to bring same to Council or make good the value; stopping sale of salt in Cumberland County, except to private families; regulation of the selling price of salt; certain delivery of salt from Cross Creek out of quantity intended for Granville; salt taken by court martial at Cross Creek to be received by Commissioner of County of Wake for distribution among the soldiers of late expedition to Moore's Creek; salt to those superintending iron-works; salt to those on late expedition and to families of those now in service against Indians; application for kettles for boiling salt to be pressed to the point of forcing owner to sell for payment in

dollar bills of state — the man had demanded Continental or proclamation money; wagons to convey load of bacon and pork to Wilmington to be disposed of there; beef and pork in danger of damage to be sold at a sacrifice in Tarboro.

Salt and gunpowder, obviously the predominant interests in these orders, were also vital features in matters of commercial relations, as exportation was allowed on condition of return importation of cargoes of salt, arms and ammunition. Commercial decrees were important elements of Council government. There are records of orders such as these: Purchase of boats by Captains of Independent Company of sea coast; Admiralty judge to proceed with trial of the *King William* seized as British property; port commissioners to receive manifest of cargo before allowing vessels to proceed, (military to be utilized for purpose if necessary); sundry vessels which had been sunk to obstruct navigation and had been taken possession of, to be subject to order of Council or Congress; materials for armed vessel *King Tammany*, to be supplied to Commissioners at Edenton out of Wilmington public stores; the *King Tammany* to protect trade at Occacock Bar until return of the *Pennsylvania Farmer*, to cruise between 32° and 35° lat., within eighty leagues of shore, then to return to Occacock; corresponding orders for the *Pennsylvania Farmer*, alternating service with *King Tammany*; change of plan for those vessels on account of unfitness of the *Pennsylvania Farmer* to proceed, and probability of appearance of Jamaica fleet; the brig *General Washington* to protect trading vessels in the Bar; appointment of Commander and other officers of brig *Betsy* in Edenton Bay, bound to Europe with cargo of tobacco; rescinding appointment of officers for the brig *Betsy* on account of owners' objections and matter left to the Committee of Edenton. Maritime courts were established by the Council at Edenton, Bath, Wilmington and New Bern.

Among the special permits of the Council, there are a number of commercial import. Leave is given in certain cases to proceed against enemies of the thirteen colonies as if

the letters of Marque and Reprisal solicited from the Continental Congress had already been received; in special cases, and finally as a general ruling, there was granted the privilege, before alluded to, to all vessels to export to French, Dutch or neutral West Indies, cargoes of oak staves, etc., on the condition of certain return imported cargoes; a certain brig *Polly* is allowed to depart; leave is given for the purchase for Bermuda of a cargo of provisions in this colony; a grant is made endorsing an appeal to Congress in a certain case regarding a grievance against the Council in matter of the brig *William*.

The Recommendations of the Council endorse certain exchange of prisoners; advise Washington District (the settlement of Watauga and Holstein) to send a delegation to the Provincial Council to submit application for incorporation in the state; instruct officers marching against Indians to restore to Washington District property taken from the people by Indians instigated by British; express opinion as against allowing any soldiers besides voters at ensuing election of delegates throughout the State.

The records of the Council include mention of communications with other colonies; e. g., the following: Received from Virginia two tons gunpowder; order, as cited elsewhere, to deliver iron ordnance to Virginia; the order for men from the Salisbury District to join Virginia forces against the Cherokees; permission to Georgia to recruit soldiers (other than those already enlisted) in North Carolina. Besides the intercourse with other colonies, there was frequent exchange of letters, etc., with the State and Continental delegates. The full description of North Carolina conditions and needs with request for the procuring and transmission, by wagons, of gunpowder and iron plates for salt pans, would serve as the typical letter from the Colony to their Continental delegates.

The disciplinary acts of the Council form one of their greatest channels of activity. These are some of the items of the minutes: Suspension of a Captain of Independent

Company for neglect of duty; removal from County of Brunswick to New Hanover and security £500 required for good behavior on account of a charge of correspondence with the enemy; certain Mrs.———and Mrs.———to remove from Wilmington to some point twenty miles up the river (supposition a charge of objectionable sentiment); escaped prisoners to be returned to Halifax; order for a removal, within ten days, from residence in New Bern to the County of Dobbs for two months to return on bond (offence, using inimical influence). Numerous cases occur of summons on suspicion of disaffection; fines for refusal to serve in militia; one Rev. Mr.———of Orange, forced to move at his own expense, under military oversight, into certain locality of Perquimans—he had failed to obey a milder order; certain men were separated by being put on parole in different localities; in some cases a considerable range of movement was allowed in the parole, in others the parole was strict and oversight close; and actual confinement in jail was as frequent as the parole. Occasionally there is note of some proceeding not directly concerning disaffection, as in efforts to apprehend a highwayman. An action of some special interest was that against a “New Light” Baptist preacher of Anson who persisted on religious grounds, in declaring views against bearing arms. He was put on parole in Edenton.

But perhaps the greatest energy displayed by the Council was in the detection and punishment of those guilty of passing counterfeit money. This seems to have supplied a motive to the Council in the choosing of locality for a session of their body. The culprit was strictly dealt with and many cases were dispatched.

The impression from the penal proceedings of the Council is nevertheless one of great care in pronouncing judgment. There were many cases of discharge after the required promise of “good behavior” on the taking of the oath. Parole was frequently extended. There were cases of release accompanied by the naturalizing edict; there were discharges from custody with and without bond; grants were given for depart-

ure from America (upon application); complete exoneration with full explanation seems to have been occasionally among the acts; finally, very decided advice was given for release of certain state prisoners in Philadelphia.

The later resolutions of the Council contain allusion to the New Test oath, necessary after the change of North Carolina from province to state—or after the Declaration of Independence. Even at this late period there were recommendations for persuasion of malcontents and disaffected.

The Council of Safety, having caused the general Proclamation of the Declaration of Independence and recommended the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention and settled the last needs of the province, went out of existence; and left it to the representatives of the people to provide for the needs of the State.

A subject of special interest in the recommendations of the Council of Safety is found in the advice to County Committees. The Fourth Provincial Congress which instituted the government by the Council of Safety is not specific as regards the authority of the local committee below that of the District power which was abolished. True the phrase, used in vesting in the Council all power which had been formerly exercised by the "late Committees of Safety in the Province"

x: 581 might be understood as including the County Committees. But these did not go out of existence. There are records of meetings after this period and the recommendations of the Council, just alluded to, testify to the fact that County Committees were recognized and utilized till the end of transition government in North Carolina. These last recommendations to the various local committees must be reserved for a place in the discussion of the latest period of county activity. At present they are mentioned merely as a significant feature of the proceedings of the Council of Safety.

The history of the County Committee, that most important factor in provincial government, to be given in outline from the period preceding the First Provincial Congress, will be

considered in connection with the slight activity of the District Committee. The work of the occasional town committee will also be regarded as in organic relation with that of the County.

The proceedings of fourteen counties, with an aggregate of something like one hundred and eighty-five meetings, to be considered in this sketch, with a glance at committees of other counties where minutes are lacking, may serve to indicate the range in function of the local committees of Safety in the State. If there were committees in all the counties, as J.

Jones' "De-
fence": p.
201.

Seawell Jones seems to think, they were probably of the same general type as those on record. There are indications of some distinctive trends of interest in different parts of the State, but, in general, the committee proceedings of different counties reveal similar methods and a common purpose.

Jones' "De-
fence": p.
205.

J. Seawell Jones says: "The advancement of the great American cause and not justice was the motto of the County Committees. They not infrequently usurped the powers of the County Court and subjected the gravity and reason of the law to the control of the popular will." He refers also to their "passing of the bounds of Congressional decree in the use of the whipping post and the dungeon." Sabine writes: "The

*American
Loyalists:*
p. 75.

wise man of Israel said, 'a brother offended is harder to be won than a strong city.' Those who took upon themselves the sacred name of sons of liberty needlessly and sometimes in their very wantonness offended, beyond all hope of recall, persons who hesitated and doubted and who for the moment claimed to occupy the position of neutral." This author regards some of the work of the Committee as the exercise of mob law. Yet he states that "wherever there was defection, conspiracy or treason, there were to be seen the the stealthy

*American
Loyalists:*
p. 74

footsteps of some one or more loyalists"—that there were bands of Tories lying in wait for the unarmed, and another class endeavoring to emit

and pass immense sums of counterfeit money in order to aid in the depreciation of Continental money — that Gov. Martin succeeded in embodying a force of fifteen hundred men — that nearly or quite nine hundred and fifty of Ferguson's command at Kings' Mountain were Tories — that in the Battle of Moore's Creek, Colonel Caswell took eight hundred and ninety-four prisoners, every man of whom, officers and soldiers were loyalists — that in Anson County, Governor Martin had two hundred and twenty-seven loyal addresses; in Guilford, one hundred and fifteen; in Rowan and Surry, one hundred and ninety-five — that the banks of the Cape Fear river, the valleys of its remote sources, and the territory bordering on the Deep and Haw rivers, which embrace the present counties of Moore, Orange, Chatham, Guilford and Randolph, and then as now comprising the very heart of North Carolina, were overrun with Tories — also that in the County of Cumberland, the adherents of the crown outnumbered the Whigs and led to the ravaging of estates.

*American
Loyalists:*
p. 5-9

*American
Loyalists:*
p. 27

In such a situation, feeling the weight of British oppression and later animated by the spirit of independence, with no Governor and no courts, except the ineffectual county tribunals, some vigorous action on the part of the State may be accounted for. Arbitrary as were the committees, there is no doubt, as Rumple remarks in his history of Rowan County, that they "awakened zeal, suppressed disaffection, embodying militia companies, providing ammunition, supporting the cause of freedom."

In working through the confusion of meetings of freeholders, Safety Committees of County and town — these in separate and combination forms, district committees, district and town committees as one and joint meetings of different counties — in passing through this web of meetings to something like clear analysis, there are a few facts and principles of importance. These, mentioned before to an extent, require emphasis here.

1. The first meetings of freeholders, while primarily for the election of delegates to the First Provincial Congress, assumed something of the nature of the County Safety committee as afterwards constituted by the Congress; later freeholders' meetings were distinct from Safety Committees and yet the source of these as controlling the membership.

2. In most cases the town committee seems to have been lost in the county committee, though in a few instances, perhaps, they remained separate bodies.

3. Occasionally the town was so completely the centre of activity as to absorb all county interests and thus the latter merged in the former, instead of the reverse.

4. District Committees were not active bodies. From the first, the local committees seem to have gone beyond the orders of the superior bodies and to have left them nothing to do.

5. Of the occasional combination bodies there were three types which will be pointed out in special cases in the course of this analysis.

(a) The union of District and County or Town.

(b) The joint meeting of County and Town.

(c) The co-operation of two County Committees through the presence in the one of representatives from the other.

And in one case to be mentioned there is a combination of "(b)" and "(c)".

6. Meetings were by no means confined to the regular, legally stipulated times but were called at discretion, which seems often to have been in quick succession.

The records included in this review show the meeting in Rowan County, August 8, 1774, as the first of the local committee meetings, and that in Chowan, Oct. 15, 1776, at Edenton, as the last.

The first meetings in Rowan, Pitt, Johnstone, Anson, Granville, Chowan and Halifax were assemblies called to elect delegates to the First Provincial Congress, the primary object of which was the selection of delegates to represent North Carolina at the Continental Congress in Philadelphia.

Probably there were meetings of freeholders in other counties for the same purpose, but these at least resembled somewhat the later Safety Committee.

Between the opening of the First and Second Provincial Congresses, the meetings recorded are as follows:

- 2 meetings in Rowan,
- 7 in Pitt,
- 3 in Chowan,
- 1 in Halifax,
- 27 in Wilmington,
- 3 in Craven.

Between the opening of the Second and Third Provincial Congress:

- 4 meetings in Rowan,
- 9 in Pitt,
- 22 in Wilmington,
- 2 for District of Wilmington,
- 6 in Craven,
- 1 in Northampton,
- 1 in Tryon.

Between the beginning of the Third Provincial Congress and the First Provincial Council:

- 5 meetings in Rowan,
- 4 in Pitt,
- 5 in Wilmington,
- 3 in Craven,
- 1 in Tryon,
- 5 in Surry.

In like manner, between First and Second Provincial Council:

- 5 in Rowan,
- 4 in Pitt,
- 1 in Halifax,
- 10 in Wilmington,
- 1 in Tryon,

Between Second and Third Provincial Council:

- 3 in Rowan,
- 3 in Pitt,

- 19 in Wilmington,
- 8 for District of New Bern,
- 3 in Tryon.

Between the opening of the Third Council and Fourth Congress:

- 1 meeting in Pitt,
- 1 in Wilmington.

Leaving the first for the second stage of the Council System, we have, between the beginning of the Fourth Congress and First Council of Safety:

- 2 meetings in Rowan,
- 1 in Pitt.

After the Council of Safety session begin, local committee meetings appear rare. We note only the following:

- 1 in Pitt near the close of the second session of the Council of Safety in Dobbs county,
- 1 in Pitt during early part of third session of the Council of Safety at Halifax,
- 1 in Rowan, latter part of the same session of Council,
- 1 in Rowan during first part fourth session of Council in Wake county,
- 1 in Guilford (minutes not recorded), and
- 1 in Orange during same session of Council,
- 1 in Chowan during first part last and sixth session of Council at Halifax.

Thus we have noted meetings as follows:

- 24 in Rowan,
- 32 in Pitt,
- 1 in Johnson,
- 1 in Anson,
- 1 in Granville,
- 5 in Chowan,
- 3 in Halifax,
- 84 in Wilmington,
- 2 in Wilmington District,
- 8 in Craven,

- 8 in Craven,
- 9 in New Bern District,
- 1 in Northampton,
- 6 in Tryon,
- 4 in Surry,
- 1 in Orange,
- 1 in Guilford.

These, if not complete, are sufficient to supply types of the local committees throughout the Province.

In general, the subjects which occupied the attention of the Provincial Council and the Council of Safety were those which consumed the time of the committees. Each Committee elected from its members its inner Committee of Secrecy and Inquiry and then passed to its legislative, judicial and executive work, as business developed.

In the meetings which preceded the First Provincial Congress, the committees approved the calling of the Provincial Congress and the convening of a Continental Congress, and formulated views as to policy, etc. After the meeting of the First Congress, the committees had only to approve the Resolves of Congress and proceed to meet practical and immediate needs. The County of Rowan, as

“Rowan
County”
p. 147,
148.

Rumple remarks, “showed itself in the forefront of liberal and patriotic opinions.” Its place of meeting was Salisbury, and here, as appears generally the case in other counties, there seems to have been no town committee distinct from that of the County.

Some of the resolutions, recommendations and proceedings in Rowan, for the twenty-four meetings, from August 8, 1774, throughout the persistent work of the Committee extending at least as late as the Fourth Session of the Council of Safety, may be briefly indicated.

We find the conventional resolution of loyalty to the House of Hanover; the protest against action of British ministry and parliament; approval of American union for self-protection; opinion in favor of non-importation; encouragement of

home manufacture; decision that objectors to the Resolutions of the Provincial Congress should be branded as "enemies to the Country." There is an acknowledgement to the deputies to the Provincial Congress from county and town; financial provisions; appointments; address to militia; orders for list of taxable property, census rolls, etc. The signing of the Test Oath to insure faithfulness to the American cause was required; advice was published as to dangerous nature of the Governor's proclamation, etc. The special Committee of Correspondence and Inquiry investigated and reported infringements of the law of the Provincial Congress. Censure and instructions followed pertaining to matters such as excess selling of rice, gunpowder, the publication of an objectionable paper called "Protest," which was ordered placed on whipping post and gallows in token of its contemptible character. Censure was not confined in any of the counties to ordinary rebuke. Imprisonment was common. But the minutes of Rowan contain a considerable number of pardons and discharges. There were a number of special grants of permission by the Committee for the bringing of suits, besides orders for security and confiscations to protect creditors, etc. Relations with other counties may be seen from some of the proceedings: As, decision to apply to neighboring counties for gunpowder; to send to Tryon a prisoner accused of plots with Indians; to solicit friendly conference with people of Yadkin for purpose of quieting disaffection; consideration of complaint from Surry about some seizing of some guns; advice to Committees of Brunswick, Wilmington and Cross Creek to prevent communication with Governor Martin.

The form used in Rowan County to denounce one refusing to sign the "Test" or to follow requirements of the Committee is, in effect, the same as that of other counties and illustrates the nature of Committee disfavor:

"Resolved, therefore, that———by disavowing all connection with his county in the present measure has, as far as in his power, relinquished the rights of the people and

opposed them, to be illegally and unconstitutionally taxed by the British ministry, which has a tendency to spread sedition amongst his majesty's loyal subjects in the County of Rowan. For which he is justly deemed by this committee an enemy to his country and should be treated as such by all his majesty's loyal subjects in America."

The character of the functions of the local committees corresponded in general to the work of the Provincial Council and the Council of Safety. The mode of procedure in Rowan County, as just outlined, is typical of the method and scope of the other local committees. A full description of the business dispatched by these local committees would involve much repetition. Therefore, it is hoped that the attempt to select somewhat distinctive features only, from the committees now remaining for discussion, will serve to show the whole work without conveying any sense of disproportion in the accomplishments of the various sections of the State. This by no means implies however that all parts of the State were equally active. The Wilmington Committee, without question, occupies the leading place; its geographical position combined with other circumstances necessitated constant vigilance. But the other committees seem to have performed their work in full accord with the demands and the spirit of the time.

The Pitt County Committee meetings in Martinboro extend from August 15, 1774, to July 23, 1776. The County is thus noticeable for early activity and late disappearance, its last recorded meeting, so far as we have seen, being during the Third Session of the Council of Safety. Its activity, throughout the period of Provincial government, also seems distributed so as to suggest that it was constant and uniform.

Pitt County is inclined to elaborate the theory of the rights of government in those first Resolves against British encroachments. An early plan was made for contributions for the relief of Boston as was also the case in other counties. Patrols were appointed and given power to shoot resisting negroes. In addition to the usual investigation and summoning to appear before the Committee, is an arraignment for

disrespectful reference to the proceedings of Congress. Culprits were advertised in the papers when necessary. One Rev. Mr. — is advised, for the sake of peace, to release his people from his twenty-year parish engagement.

The Committee approved the Resolution of Craven County; a letter was read relative to a prisoner from the District Committee of New Bern; there is a receipt for powder from the District Committee of Edenton. The last item is particularly significant as the first indication of the existence of
x: 422 an Edenton District Committee.

The one record made in this sketch for Johnston County is for a meeting of August 12, 1774, prior to the First Provincial Congress. The Resolves of the County include expressions of the principles underlying America's position; they are similar to those formulated in other counties but with additional special stress on the right of America to free legal trials and the illegality of trials beyond seas. The Committee of Correspondence, etc., was appointed as in the other counties.

The record for Anson is also for the one meeting, August 18, 1774. The Resolves were regular—i. e., in accord with those of other counties—and particularly full and explicit. The special recommendation is for entire suspension of commerce with Britain; also for the suspension of certain suits.

In the meeting of Granville, August 15, 1774, the Resolves were regular, with some distinctive emphasis. The stress on the theory of government, as was the case in Pitt County, is noticeable, and there is in Granville, a particularly complete outline of grievances, with comments on the right of reverting to the charter. Yet there is a conservative tendency in the Granville recommendations. The sympathy with Boston on account of British wrong is not made to include necessarily the full approval of Boston's course of action; suspension of commercial intercourse is considered radical, and suspension of proceedings of law, dangerous.

Chowan County Committee meetings to be noted are four in number; one before the First Provincial Congress, three

between the sessions of the First and Second Congress, and one, the very last local committee meeting we have to record, taking place October 15, 1776, during the last session of the Council of Safety at Halifax. One of the three meetings between the First and Second Congress, that of February 4, 1775, is recorded as a town, not a county meeting. There is nothing apparent in the nature of business to mark off the town from the county committee at this meeting; there was an order for the selling of imported goods, according to a ruling of the Continental Association, and a resolution of thanks to a party countermanding an order for goods, as coöperative with plan of Continental Congress. Two of the meetings of Chowan County may not have been at Edenton, as the proceedings are dated merely from private houses.

The Chowan Resolves and proceedings are regular; in general, perhaps, less full than those of Granville. Besides the usual order of business, we note two points of some interest, viz., a new charge as responsible for summons before the Committee, and an economic departure of significance. The summons was for horse-racing, which had been prohibited. Rowan had recommended encouragement of home manufacture, and the general spirit of the country was in favor of it; but Chowan County seems to be the only one recorded as offering premiums for this purpose. A part of the amount was realized by public subscription and a minor part supplied in proclamation money, the whole amounting to £90. The premiums were for the manufacture of the best and greatest quantity of wire wool and cotton cards, woollen cloth and linen and steel. Occasionally in the records there is some letter from a Safety Committee bearing date not corresponding to any date of regular minutes. This is the case with a late communication, 25th July, 1776, from Edenton, in which is reported a contemplated mob attack from Perquimans County, to sieze forcibly a supply of salt in Edenton.

Halifax County has on record a meeting before the First Provincial Congress, one between the First and Second Congress, and one between the First and Second sessions of the

Provincial Council. These must have been ample for all needs of the locality, considering the fact that Halifax formed the centre of Provincial government during the time of the Fourth Provincial Congress, April 4–May 14, 1776, and in July and September, 1776, when the second and sixth sessions of the Council of Safety were in operation.

The Halifax Safety Committee meetings are noticeable only for their regular conventional proceedings, inclining somewhat towards the conservative as regards commercial policy and general plan of action.

Wilmington's Safety Committee meetings extend from Nov. 23, 1774, through March 7, 1776, including, so far as this investigation has revealed, a total of eighty-four meetings.

There are minutes for twenty-seven meetings in the period preceding the Second Provincial Congress, twenty-two meetings between the sessions of the Second and Third Provincial Congress, besides three meetings of the rarely appearing Wilmington District Committee. Again, this Committee appears in session five times between the Third Provincial Congress and the First Provincial Council and ten times between the First and Second Provincial Council. Persistent still, it has nineteen meetings between the Second and Third Provincial Council and one about one month before the Fourth Provincial Congress. Finally the Wilmington Committee must have been elevated to its supreme function when it seems lost. For Wilmington becomes the centre of government when the first session of the Council of Safety is in progress. No local committee seems inclined to self assertion or to activity of any kind during the ten days of Council of Safety proceedings at Wilmington.

The work of the local Safety Committee of this port town which seemed in touch with conditions in all the counties of the province, in other colonies, in England and on the seas, requires some special discussion, although its range of activity has been seen, in general, in the operations of other county committees and in the final jurisdiction of the Council of Safety.

In Wilmington there was distinct movement towards the combination of the county and town committee.

IX: 1127 The minutes of February 20, 1775, contain the resolution to send formal messages to each member of town and county committees in order to secure a joint meeting on March 6th. At this (February 20th) meeting

IX: 1128 it appeared that a majority of the joint committee was lacking. Another movement on this occasion was the proposition that the joint committee of New Hanover and Wilmington send two members to attend a committee meeting of Duplin County any day after March 6th

IX: 1150 —and that Duplin be invited to send two representatives to Wilmington for the meeting of March 6th. On this date the chairman of Duplin County, pursuant to Wilmington's proposition, was in attendance.

IX: 1151 On March 7th, three members of the Wilmington Committee were selected to attend the meeting in Duplin. These two meetings—the one recorded for Wilmington and the one indicated for Duplin—belong to the apparently rare type of the joint committee which has a place entirely separate from the District Committee with its regular membership for a certain set of counties. The records of the County of Duplin appear lacking; but its activity may be inferred through more than the one reference alluded to. It

has a representative at the District of Wilmington

X: 24 session, June 20th, 1775, and three members at

X: 112 Wilmington, July 21, 1775, when there were also present representatives from Cumberland, Onslow, and Bladen.

Wilmington's minutes contain a call to the Committees of the District to meet on the 20th of June; a request to the District Committee of Salisbury to order troops to Wilmington—another evidence of the existence of a committee in that District; a communication with the Chairman of Brunswick Committee in regard to some return of goods—this a reference to another County Committee; regrets to Wake County on account of inability to supply gunpowder, and thanks to

Bladen County for apprehension of culprits — these communications may or may not have been to actual committees within these counties; a resolution against further transmission of secret papers to Cumberland County “until that Committee of Intelligence has taken the oath of secrecy” — a valuable reference to an organized Safety Committee which seems later to have gone out of operation.

The Wilmington committee seems to have issued commercial and military orders in one continuous stream of resolves. There were military orders for enlistments; for meeting Colonel Howe on way to Fort Johnston; for supplies for hospitals and provisions of guns. Cargoes of guns and negroes were ordered reshipped. The form of command was as follows:

“The Committee for the town, chosen to observe the conduct of all persons touching the Association of the General Congress, have resolved . . . etc.; it is expected that you, etc.” Confiscations and imprisonments were sufficient to compel compliance. But in some cases there were voluntary appeals to the Committee for advice regarding disposition of cargoes or return of slaves, etc., and the acceptance of committee decisions in these cases seems to have been without complaint.

Among the general rulings of the Committee may be found such items as recommendation to the province to support South Carolina in the levying of soldiers; to intercept Governor Martin in his progress to the back country; to collect troops, etc. Finally, communication with Martin was cut off; there was a special resolve prohibiting attendance of his majesty’s Council on the sloop of war; provisions and medicines might be carried to the vessel only by special permit.

A resolve of indignation regarding the exception of North Carolina in the trade laws of England was passed by the Wilmington Committee; a resolution of thanks was decreed at the proper time to the soldiers who had demolished Fort Johnston and its traitor commander; there was, in general, decided interest, from the first, in all the Resolves of the Provincial Congress and in the urging of meetings of the Con-

gress. Such selections from the minutes may illustrate the Committee spirit.

The disciplinary acts of the Wilmington Committee were strict and numerous. They extended to the control of horse races, the billiard table and the dances or balls even in private homes. There were dealings with enemies to country as usual; imprisonments; requirements to recant or leave the country within three days; denunciation of the "false scandalous and seditious"—to quote description by the Committee—and orders in refractory cases for closer and closer confinement. Yet, as in other counties, some care was used in decisions; there were some acquittals, and persons under arrest were occasionally allowed to depart to other colonies (an instance noted, to Massachusetts and Rhode Island) after investigation of claims had been satisfied.

The absolute independence of the Wilmington Committee, with its determination to enforce its power to the utmost, and its willingness at the same time to keep strictly within its own bounds in jurisdiction, may be seen with remarkable clearness in two separate acts of the Committee, of decided significance when thus considered together :

In one case, an order was given for release of a certain prisoner and for cessation of all proceedings against
x: 262 him, on the ground that suit had been brought (in the *County* court) without the proper required
x: 332 sanction and coöperation of the Committee. In the other case referred to, the Committee nullified its own election of some members of its body, chosen to fill vacancies, and referred the matter of election for said vacancies to the freeholders of the County, with an acknowledgment of a mistake in the exercise of illegal power. It is of some interest also to note the names of these mem-
x: 334 bers, elected and set aside by the Committee, on the list of those next chosen by freeholders for Committee service.

The District Committee of Wilmington has nothing on its records to mark it as of superior nature to the committees of

counties and towns. We find entries like the following: Letter from Cross Creek read and approved; Governor's proclamation read and committee of three appointed to reply to same; defeat of a motion for certain leave for importation of house servants; decision to apply to Cumberland County for gunpowder for public use; appointment of patrols for control of negroes; resolve that "Association" of New Hanover stand as the Association for the District — the last item suggesting early leadership of the County rather than dictation of the district.

Craven County shows activity in three Committee meetings at New Bern just before the Second Provincial Congress, six meetings between the Second and the Third Congress, and three between the Third Congress and the first Provincial Council. The first meeting of the Committee seems to have been on January 27, 1775; the last, August 14, 1775. This Committee was not lacking in firmness and extent of proceedings but these are in general similar to those of other counties discussed. The investigations were relative to matters of moment as illustrated through the intercepted letter of General Gage to Governor Martin in regard to hostile introduction of arms, etc., into the province, and another public letter of Governor Martin's in which he admits having thought of stirring up an insurrection of slaves. The minutes include an order against communication; comment on the destruction of Fort Johnson; censure of Rev. Mr. ——— for refusing to officiate at a service on the day set apart by the Continental Congress — the position of the minister being due to his fear of losing a mission in foreign parts.

The meetings of the New Bern District Committee, as recorded, are nine in number; the first on January 16, 1776; the last February 24, 1776, thus indicating activity, for the District, between the Second and Third Provincial Councils.

The resolutions of this District Committee of New Bern include general and special rulings in military and commercial matters, with minute directions for sale of salt imported without sanction of Committee, the question of use of pro-

ceeds from said salt to be referred to the Provincial Congress. Orders were issued for suppression of insurrection in certain counties, the raising of troops for various localities, with provision of military force for Craven County during the absence of Caswell. Some action was entered into regarding defaulters, security debts, etc. A proceeding of no great import in itself will illustrate the general plan of the relation of town, county and district committees, and also mark another one of the references to otherwise unrecorded Districts. The situation referred to is as follows :

A request appears from the District Committee of Edenton to the town of New Bern for seizure of a certain ship going to sea contrary to the ruling of the Continental Congress. The Town of New Bern committee reported to the District Committee of New Bern the seizure of said vessel. The District Committee of New Bern recommended to the Town Committee the dismantling and guarding of the ship till orders could be obtained from Congress or Council of Safety. From this it would appear : (1) That the natural course of action was direct communication with the town whose services were needed rather than to the district. (2) That the formal appeal for instruction, from county to town, was of no practical value. The lack of District activity was evidently due to easily explained conditions.

Northampton County probably was guided to a greater extent by its Safety Committee than the one record which can be given here would demonstrate. The minutes of the meeting are for August 5, 1775, two weeks before the Third Provincial Congress. The record is for a judgment against a person on account of some handling of gunpowder in conveying it from Virginia to Hillsboro.

The Tryon County Committee meetings recorded extend from August 14, 1775, to February 6, 1776. The meetings seem distributed thus: one meeting just before the Third Provincial Congress, one between this Congress and the First Provincial Council, one just before the Second Provincial Council, and three before the Third Provincial Council.

The Resolves of the Tryon Committee appear full and extend over the usual range of procedure in other counties. Among the rulings may be noted: a permit for receiving ammunition from Charles Town; an order to a jailor in another county; some regulations regarding trial of suits in Inferior Courts and a special decision against extending any action to the point of inhumanity.

The five Surry County Committee meetings recorded were during the two months preceding the First Provincial Council, i. e., in August and September, 1775. The impression given by the minutes of the meetings is that the County dispatched the business of the Safety Committees with very little to vary the monotony of the regular. Certain papers termed "Protests," were condemned; there were rulings for the protection of creditors and the securing of ammunition, and the usual election and appointments.

There is a record of a meeting in Orange County on August 7, 1776, near the close of the fourth session of the Council of Safety. A complaint was here presented from some one who claimed to have been forced into military service under false pretences. In response, a resolution was passed commanding the appearance of the offending officer before the Committee or the Council of Safety.

This is the last Committee movement found in the minutes so far as this investigation has extended; but the references, as before stated, and also the correspondence of the period testify to other proceedings and reveal committees in other counties, this suggesting a wider range of action than that outlined here. A letter from Guilford County, dated August 23, 1776, is an appeal from a member of the Guilford County Safety Committee to the State Council of Safety for advice regarding the appointment of a company of Light Horse to apprehend the disaffected at a time when disapproval of such measures is evident. There is also on record a letter from the Council of Safety, then in Wake County, to the Guilford Committee, relative to certain prisoners, and approving of the company of Light Horse, provided it is under direct management of the Committee and used only when necessary.

In like manner the existence of a Committee of Pasquotank is seen through a letter to this Committee, giving instructions for trial by the Committee of some one suspected of having written a certain seditious paper.

So there is no doubt of activity in the State, besides that revealed through the minutes of meetings. Reference has been made to the evidence showing organization in the Districts of Salisbury, Halifax and Edenton and the counties of Onslow, Duplin, Brunswick, Cumberland, Perquimans, Guilford, and Pasquotank. Allusions to Wake and Bladen have also shown probability of organizations in these counties. In Mecklenburg, famed for its own early Declaration of Independence, the proceedings of meetings of citizens, signed P. S. (Public Safety), were in effect Safety Committee meetings; most of them occurred after the signing of the Declaration.

There were a number of Committee meetings, which occurred, as has been indicated, after the receipt at Halifax of the news of the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia. The Resolutions at Halifax include instructions to the committees of the Safety Committees of the respective counties and towns to make public the Declaration. From this point in time, the proceedings of the Safety Committees pertain to local needs rather than to resolutions against Britain. The local committees were decreasing in importance with the increase in the functions of the Council of Safety. But, as has been said, the instructions and recommendations from the Council of Safety to the local committees were to the last a valuable aid to the Council government.

We find directions from the Council to the committees of the several counties and towns to obtain for transmission through the Council to the Continental Congress, accurate lists of inhabitants; to obtain from suspected persons and neutrals inventory of estates, and to send such persons before the Council; to the Committees of Duplin to regulate price and sale of salt; to the committees in general to secure inventory from persons showing disposition to undervalue Bills of Credit; to send

before the Council persons violating Council resolves, etc., etc. Persons were appointed to read the Declaration of Independence and the Resolutions of the Continental Congress in regard to treason, in the County of Cumberland. The appointment was accompanied by the comment, "As there is no committee in Cumberland," which would indicate the occasional disappearance in a County of the organized Safety Committee.

The correspondence of the period covers the military field of operations; the relations of the Provincial and government to the delegates in Congress; the connection of this government with the Systems in other States, and the inter-relations of the different features of government within the State. Through these letters we gain increased evidence of the efficiency of the Council and committees in the regulation of the military, civic and economic interests of the country. The plans of North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and Georgia for cooperation, and the preparation for campaigns against Indians are prominent subjects of the correspondence. Among the communications of military import are those to and from General Moore, General Ashe, Colonel Folsome, General Rutherford, General Lee, Colonel Armstrong, General Howe and Colonel Butler. The inter-State communication is with men like Governor Rutledge, of South Carolina, (Gov.) Patrick Henry of Virginia, Henry Laurens, President of South Carolina Council of Safety, and President Page and Edmond Pendleton, of the Council of Safety of Virginia.

Within the State there is important correspondence with Samuel Johnston and Cornelius Harnett. North Carolina was also in close touch with her Continental delegates in Congress, and there was an occasional communication with Hancock, President of the Continental Congress.

Briefly stated, the government of the Provincial Council and the Committees of Safety in North Carolina, extending from September, 1775, to November 12, 1776, and embracing a system of two distinct stages, had its foundation in the

government by the Provincial Congress. This, in turn, was the result of preliminary organization of County Committees which seemed impelled to action by a call which came from patriots of Wilmington, and by a realization of the pressure of conditions combined with familiarity with committee government which had at least been utilized since the Assembly of 1773. There was steady, definite increase in the power of this government from the time of its complete embodiment in a well-defined system until it disappeared at the height of success through the culmination of its acts in the summoning of the State Constitutional Convention.

The benefit which the province received from the Provincial Council and the Committees of Safety seems to have been the supply of legislative, judicial and executive functions, at a time when the regular legislature had ceased to be possible, the courts had practically disappeared, and the Governor and his Council had lost all semblance of command. A better administrative system than that of the Council and committees was no doubt possible, and it was ushered in by the Constitutional Convention. This was not only created by the Council of Safety; its work was made possible by the preceding form of government which paved the way for its success. The province may have been subjected to arbitrary, oligarchical power bordering on tyranny, but underlying this there was at least disinterested purpose, and through this democracy seemed to emerge. The conception of law and order in democratic rule perhaps came to the state through the transition government. This may have been the basis for the functions of the later complex institutions of a government advanced and highly developed.

NOTE: The tabulated list of the meetings of Congress, Councils and Committees, at the close of this sketch, is not intended as exhaustive, final, or absolutely accurate so far as numbers and order of local sessions are concerned, nor even as to the number of counties included. It may be of value for illustration of the stages and development of independent colonial government; and some such form might serve as a basis for determining growth of committee activity and scope of committee relations through rough chronological grouping.

LIST OF MEETINGS OF LOCAL SAFETY COMMITTEES
(RECORDED IN TEXT)

ROWAN COUNTY (Salisbury)

Aug. 8, 1774	Nov. 8, 1775
Sept. 23, 1774	Nov. 9, 1775
Nov. 3, 1774	Nov. 10, 1775
June 1, 1775	Nov. 11, 1775
June 15, 1775	Feb. 6, 1776
Aug. 1, 1775	Feb. 7, 1776
Sept. 20, 1775	Feb. 8, 1776
Sept. 21, 1775	May 7, 1776
Sept. 25, 1775	May 8, 1776
Oct. 17, 1775	Aug. 7, 1776
Oct. 18, 1775	Aug. 22, 1776
Nov. 7, 1775	

PITT COUNTY (Martinboro)

Aug. 15, 1774	July 29, 1775
Oct. 27, 1774	Aug. 23, 1775
Nov. 3, 1774	Sept. 9, 1775
Nov. 17, 1774	Sept. 23, 1775
Dec. 17, 1774	Oct. 2, 1775
Feb. 11, 1775	Oct. 24, 1775
March 10, 1775	Oct. 25, 1775
March 24, 1775	Nov. 11, 1775
May 1, 1775	Dec. 16, 1775
May 13, 1775	Jan. 23, 1776
May 20, 1775	Jan. 24, 1776
May 27, 1775	Feb. 13, 1776
June 10, 1775	March 23, 1776
July 1, 1775	April 23, 1776
July 8, 1775	June 29, 1776
July 17, 1775	June 23, 1776

ANSON COUNTY

Aug. 18, 1776

JOHNSTON COUNTY

Aug. 12, 1774

GRANVILLE COUNTY

Aug. 15, 1774

CHOWAN COUNTY

Aug. 22, 1774 (Edenton)

Jan. 28, 1775 (House Mr. John Cofield)

March 4, 1775 (House Capt. James Sumner)

Oct. 15, 1776 (Edenton)

EDENTON

Feb. 4, 1775

HALIFAX

Aug. 22, 1774 (Town)

Dec. 21, 1774 (County)

Nov. 28, 1775

WILMINGTON

Nov. 23, 1774

Dec. 10, 1774

Dec. 14, 1774

Dec. 17, 1774

Dec. 19, 1774

Dec. 30, 1774

Dec. 31, 1774

Jan. 3, 1775

Jan. 5, 1775

Jan. 6, 1775

Jan. 20, 1775

Jan. 21, 1775

Jan. 27, 1775

Jan. 28, 1775

Jan. 30, 1775

Feb. 2, 1775

Feb. 3, 1775

Feb. 13, 1775

Feb. 20, 1775

Feb. 21, 1775

March 1, 1775

March 4, 1775

March 6, 1775	Oct. 17, 1775
March 7, 1775	Oct. 25, 1775
March 13, 1775	Oct. 30, 1775
March 20, 1775	Nov. 3, 1775
March 24, 1775	Nov. 13, 1775
April 4, 1775	Nov. 15, 1775
April 20, 1775	Nov. 16, 1775
May 20, 1775	Nov. 18, 1775
June 7, 1775	Nov. 20, 1775
June 17, 1775	Nov. 24, 1775
June—, 1775*	Dec. 7, 1775
July 3, 1775	Dec. 19, 1775
July 5, 1775	Dec. 20, 1775
July 7, 1775	Dec. 22, 1775
July 10, 1775	Jan. 5, 1776
July 12, 1775	Jan. 6, 1776
July 15, 1775	Jan. 19, 1776
July 20, 1775	Jan. 12, 1776
July 21, 1775	Jan. 15, 1776
July 27, 1775	Jan. 16, 1776
July 31, 1775	Jan. 17, 1776
August 8, 1775	Jan. 18, 1776
August 9, 1775	Jan. 20, 1776
August 9, 1775	Jan. 20, 1776
August 11, 1775	Jan. 22, 1776
August 17, 1775	Jan. 27, 1776
August 18, 1775	Jan. 28, 1776
August 19, 1775	Jan. 30, 1776
August 19, 1775	Feb. 2, 1776
August 21, 1775	Feb. 2, 1776
Oct. 5, 1775	Feb. 5, 1776
Oct. 11, 1775	Feb. 9, 1776
Oct. 16, 1775	March 7, 1776

*Exact date unknown.

DISTRICT OF WILMINGTON

June 20, 1775

June 21, 1775

CRAVEN COUNTY (New Bern)

Jan. 27, 1775

March 4, 1775

July 17, 1775

July 21, 1775

August 2, 1775

August 5, 1776

August 10, 1776

August 14, 1776

DISTRICT OF NEW BERN

Jan. 16, 1776

Jan. 17, 1776

Jan. 18, 1776

Feb. 10, 1776

Feb. 15, 1776

Feb. 21, 1776

Feb. 22, 1776

Feb. 23, 1776

Feb. 24, 1776

NORTHAMPTON

Aug. 5, 1775

TRYON

August 14, 1775

Sept. 14, 1775

Oct. 25, 1775

Jan. (4th Tues.), 1776

Jan.—, 1776*

Feb. 6, 1776

SURRY

Aug. 25, 1775

Aug. 26, 1775

Sept. 20, 1775

Sept. 21, 1775

ORANGE

Aug. 27, 1776

*Exact date unknown.

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THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN THE
PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA

CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN RUST EATON

RALEIGH, N. C.
COMMERCIAL PRINTING COMPANY,
1910.

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EDITORIAL NOTE:

In 1900, through the generosity of James Sprunt, Esq., of Wilmington, N. C., *The James Sprunt Historical Monograph* was established as an annual publication under the editorial direction of Dr. Kemp P. Battle. Eight numbers have appeared and have been a distinct contribution to North Carolina history. But the limitations of the old system as to the contents and number have been found to interfere with the usefulness of the *Monograph* and, in consequence, a change of policy has been decided upon. It will hereafter appear semi-annually and under a new title, *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*. Its unity with the *Sprunt Monograph* will be preserved by retaining the serial number for the future volumes.

In the future, as in the past, much space will be given to source material, and the increasingly valuable collections of the North Carolina Historical Society will in this way be published and rendered accessible to the general public. In addition, monographs on various special phases of North Carolina history will appear from time to time.

The North Carolina Historical Society will be glad to extend its exchange list and will welcome correspondence on the subject. It is requested that all exchanges be addressed:

THE LIBRARY,

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Chapel Hill, N. C.

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THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE
GOSPEL IN THE PROVINCE OF
NORTH CAROLINA.

BY

DAVID D. OLIVER, A.B.

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THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN THE PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA.*

1. *The Society a Product of the Missionary Spirit of the Age.*

In every European movement for colonizing America, the duty of propagating the Christian religion, though often neglected, was clearly recognized. Franciscan and Dominican monks speedily followed in the wake of the Spanish and Portuguese explorers; and the fruit of their missionary labor is the Christianity which to-day exists in South America, Central America, and much of North America. The story of the missionary work of the Jesuits in Canada and that of the Franciscans in the extreme West is a story of heroic and unselfish sacrifice to duty.

In England, a revived sense of this duty, resulting from an investigation of the situation by the English Church in 1675, gave rise to the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge." The powers of this society were found to be insufficient to meet the conditions; and, largely through the efforts of Dr. Bray, another society, with greatly increased powers, was organized. The complete title of this society, known in history as the "S. P. G." and as the "Venerable Society," was "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." The Society's charter was granted by King William III in the year 1701.†

The most important object of the society was to maintain an orthodox clergy in the British Colonies.‡ For the maintenance of such a clergy, the Society pledged itself to pay each of its missionaries an annual salary of fifty pounds sterling. In addition to this, the Crown granted to each missionary a bounty of twenty pounds. It was not intended,

* This paper won the first prize offered by the North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames for 1909.

† *Encyclopedia of Missions*, p. 688 *et seq.*

‡ *Encyclopedia of Missions*, p. 689.

however, that this would be the sole support of the missionaries, for the colonists were expected to contribute something to their support.

From the time of the coming of its first missionary into North Carolina in 1703* until the beginning of Governor Tryon's administration in 1765 the Society accomplished very little in North Carolina. It merely lived. There were times when the Society had not a single missionary in North Carolina;† and at no time during this period did it have more than a half dozen. When Tryon became governor of North Carolina, there were only four missionaries of the Society in the province.‡ His report as to the condition of the churches was as follows: "At Brunswick, only outside walls built and roofed. At Wilmington, walls only. At New Bern, in good repair. At Bath, wanting considerable repairs. At Edenton, wanting as much."§

This was a poor showing for sixty-two years of labor; but, considering the obstacles to be combatted, not a surprising one. It is the purpose of this paper to point out these obstacles, natural and political, which stood in the way of the Society's success in the province of North Carolina.

2. *Educational Work of the Society.*

Before discussing these obstacles, it is well to examine the claim that the popular education of provincial North Carolina is due to the ministers of the Church of England and, therefore, to the Society, since, with very few exceptions, the ministers of the Church of England were, at the same time, missionaries of the Society. What does this claim amount to?

Mr. Stephen B. Weeks thinks that, so far from being a distinct aid in the colony's educational development, much

* *Hawks*, Vol. II., p. 342.

† "After Mr. Blair's return to England there was a period during which North Carolina had no missionary." *Hawks*, Vol. II., p. 344. There was none during the interval between the death of Mr. Adams and the coming of Mr. Urmston. *Hawks*, Vol. II., p. 351. Nor was there one for some time after Mr. Urmston's departure. *C. R.*, Vol. II., p. 430.

‡ *C. R.*, Vol. VII., p. 102.

§ *C. R.*, Vol. VII., p. 103.

of the educational backwardness of the state is due to the pernicious activities of these missionaries of the Society.* Another writer thinks that in the early days of the province, before the educational activity of the Presbyterians in the middle and western part of the state, about all the popular education was due to the missionaries of the Society.†

But this same writer shows that there was very little popular education in North Carolina at this period. The Society sent out a great many tracts to North Carolina, and about six hundred bound volumes. With the exception of this, the schools of Mr. Griffin, Mr. Mashburn, Mr. Moir and Mr. Earl, none of which were of much importance, seem to be about the only educational efforts of the Society until Mr. Tomlinson's school was established in New Bern in 1764.

The people who came to North Carolina were, generally speaking, people of rather poor circumstances. They were those people who wanted good farming lands, and were not able to buy them in Virginia. Having acquired these lands, they needed their children to clear and till them; and probably would not have sent them to school had schools been established. The country was very thinly settled, only the rich river bottoms and the land along the streams being occupied. Besides this the dread of the Indians was always present. Under such circumstances, it was impossible for the two or three missionaries of the Society, generally in the colony, to do any educational work among the people.

Moreover, the early settlers of North Carolina were generally indifferent about educational matters; and this indifference had become heightened by long years of isolation, for North Carolina, more than any other colony, was isolated. All were more or less isolated and beyond the influence of European education and culture; but the want of a good harbor made North Carolina's isolation complete. Her communication with the Old World was always indirectly,

* Weeks: *Church and State in North Carolina*, p. 22.

† *North Carolina Booklet*, September, 1903, p. 15.

through the ports of Virginia and South Carolina. However, the people who came to North Carolina were not afraid of isolation. A knowledge of letters was not necessary for the life they were living; and, therefore, they would not exert themselves to secure such a knowledge.

From this it would seem that the Society did very little for the popular education of the colony. For, during the early period of the province, there was very little popular education; and during the period after 1740, the Presbyterians played a far more important part in popular education than did the Society.

3. Obstacles which made the Society's Success in the Province of North Carolina Impossible.

A. Lack of a Bishop in North America.

Governor Dobbs speaks again and again in his letters of the need of at least two bishops for North America, giving it as his opinion that this was the greatest need of the colonies from a religious standpoint. He points out the two great needs which a bishop could fill: to discipline clergy and laity, and to ordain ministers. He begs the Church, if bishops cannot be sent, to at least send some clergymen with episcopal powers who could fulfill these two pressing needs.*

The province of North Carolina was under the Bishop of London. The great distance separating North Carolina from the bishop under whose control it was and the scanty means of communication made it impossible for the bishop to discipline either clergy or laity. If the clergy proved unworthy, there was no superior to correct them. It is hard to realize how completely the missionaries were cut off from the bishop who was supposed to control them. Frequently the missionaries remained in the colony two or three years before ever hearing from London.† Under such circumstances, that discipline which in those days seemed necessary was impossible.

* *C. R.*, Vol. V., p. 315; Vol. VI., pp. 221, 709 *et seq.*, 1026, 1040.

† *C. R.*, Vol. I., p. 722; Vol. II., p. 54; Vol. IV., pp. 621, 794.

The greatest need of a bishop was for the purpose of ordaining a native clergy. Without one, it was very hard to have any clergy except the few missionaries sent out from England, all of whom were profoundly ignorant of the people and the conditions in North Carolina, and many of whom were weak and vicious.* At that day it was a very dangerous and a very expensive undertaking to set out from North Carolina to London to be ordained. There was always the danger of shipwreck and disease, smallpox being very prevalent. Governor Dobbs says that very few persons "of good pious character" were willing to come to North Carolina as missionaries; and few of the natives who were qualified to become clergymen were in circumstances which would permit of their going to London to receive orders.†

An example of the trouble and danger involved in going to London to be ordained is given in a letter from Mr. Jones to Governor Tryon. Mr. Jones, after selling all his property in North Carolina, set out for London for ordination. At Liverpool he was detained two months by sickness. After recovering from his sickness, he started to London on foot. Being penniless after paying the expenses of his long sickness, he was forced to sell his clothing in order to buy food. He finally reached London, only to find that his letters of recommendation from Governor Tryon and from the parish of Orange county were insufficient for ordination. Friendless, penniless, and in a strange land, Mr. Jones was thinking of suicide when happily he heard of Miss Tryon, a sister of Governor Tryon, who aided him.‡

This is a fair example of the trouble and danger involved in going to London for ordination. Had there been a bishop in North America, probably a good many natives would have been ordained and appointed missionaries of the Society. With a sufficiently large body of native missionaries, thoroughly acquainted with the people and the country, the work

* DeRossett: *Church History in North Carolina*, p. 155.

† *C. R.*, Vol. VI., p. 1040.

‡ *C. R.*, Vol. VIII., p. 23 *et seq.*

of the Society would, in all probability, have been much more effective in North Carolina.

Why is it that a bishop was not sent to North America? There were two important forces operating against the establishment of a bishopric in North America, one external and one internal. The ignorance of English churchmen concerning colonial affairs made the establishment of a bishopric impossible. McConnell in speaking of this ignorance says: "The idea of a bishopric in the American wilderness was as grotesque to them as now would be the suggestion of a professor of the higher mathematics among the Zulus." * This was external. There was also an internal cause at work. The idea of independence was growing in the colonies. By 1720 this idea of independence was so firmly lodged in the colonies that no institution which seemed likely to knit them closer to England would have been tolerated.† This was the point of view of the colonies. Perhaps England saw it in a different light. She probably feared that, so far from knitting the colonies closer to her, the presence of a bishop in America would alienate them by making them, to a certain extent, independent in ecclesiastical affairs.

B. Unworthy Character of Many of the Early Missionaries.

"It is evil for a people to have no priests, it is still worse to have bad ones."‡ The people of the whole South and those of North Carolina in particular were in this worse than evil condition for more than a generation after the beginning of the eighteenth century. A large proportion of the clergy were mere adventurers and men who had been unable to succeed in the Old World. Such men found it comparatively easy to secure ordination from the complaisant bishops of that day.§ The general unworthiness of the clergy is shown by the fact that a reform in the ministerial character was attempted. When Tryon became governor of North Caro-

* McConnell: *History of the American Episcopal Church*, pp. 66, 67.

† McConnell: *History of the American Episcopal Church*, pp. 66, 67.

‡ McConnell: *History of the American Episcopal Church*, p. 56.

§ McConnell: *History of the American Episcopal Church*, p. 89.

lina, he pledged his endeavors to secure decent clergymen for the province.* In order to succeed in this, he wrote the Society that it was necessary for them to send to North Carolina "not the sweepings of the Universities but some clergy of character."†

In a great many cases, those clergymen who were not actually vicious were weaklings. These early clergymen did not have the true missionary spirit. They were not willing to give up all worldly goods and suffer everything for the "Greater Glory of God." A great many offered themselves as missionaries to North Carolina because they were profoundly ignorant of the conditions here. They expected to find good livings and light labor.‡ When they reached North Carolina and found how heavy the labor was and how light the reward, they became discouraged, and soon went in search of lighter fields and more certain rewards.

The record of the early missionaries of the Society is proof of the weakness and viciousness of the character of many of their number. Daniel Brett, the first Episcopal missionary to North Carolina, was not a member of the Society; but he was sent out by Dr. Bray, the founder of the Society, one year before it began active operations.§ Although not a member of the Society, his conduct, in common with the conduct of their own missionaries, retarded the growth of the Society in North Carolina. Governor Walker was a very zealous churchman and it is from his letter to the Bishop of London that we get an estimate of the character of Dr. Brett. This letter shows him to have been a very unworthy man. Governor Walker says: "He for about half a year behaved himself in a modest manner, but after that in a most horrid manner, broke out out in such an extravagant course that I am ashamed to express his carriage, it being so high a nature. It hath been a great trouble and grief to us who have a great

* *C. R.*, Vol. VII., p. 103.

† *C. R.*, Vol. VII., p. 106.

‡ Weeks: *Church and State in North Carolina*, p. 22.

§ *Hawks*, Vol. II., p. 341.

veneration for the Church, that the first minister who was sent to us should prove so ill as to give the dissenters so much occasion to charge us with him." *

Mr. Blair was the first missionary sent out by the Society. Mr. Blair seems to have been a good and pious man; but he was made of the wrong kind of material for a missionary. The many obstacles which confronted him soon discouraged him; and, finding his hopes of state support blighted, he left his field and returned to England.

Mr. Rainsford came over in 1712. Nothing can be said against his moral character; but the life of a missionary was not suited to a timid weakling like Mr. Rainsford. Fear of the Indians drove him into Virginia after only a few months of service in North Carolina.[†] Mr. Newman[‡] and Mr. Taylor[§] both died after only a very short service. Mr. Bailey and Mr. Blacknall were the last to come to North Carolina during the proprietary rule. The former was a drunkard and a rowdy.^{||} Very little is known of Mr. Blacknall; but that little is not very creditable to him. The judicial records of that time show that he was brought before the courts for marrying a white man and a mulatto woman.^{||}

We now come to one "who, in twelve years, did more to retard the spread of Christianity and the growth of the Church of England in Carolina, than any and all other causes combined."** No one has attempted to defend Mr. Urmston. Every writer has admitted that he was a villain. He was a quarrelsome, covetous, lying beggar. He bought a plantation near the Virginia line where he lived in plenty, and drew the Society's pay without doing their work.^{††} He so aroused the hatred of the people by his "begging and other

* *C. R.*, Vol. I., p. 572; also quoted in Weeks: *The Religious Development in the Province of North Carolina*, p. 35.

† *Hawks*, Vol. II., p. 353.

‡ *C. R.*, Vol. II., p. 531.

§ *C. R.*, Vol. II., p. 380.

|| *C. R.*, Vol. VI., p. 604 *et seq.*

|| *Hawks*, Vol. II., p. 354.

** *Hawks*, Vol. II., p. 353.

†† *C. R.*, Vol. II., p. 17.

indiscretions" that no one would attend his meetings. Mr. Urmston himself says: "I preach often to nine or ten and sometimes ride five miles in vain not to find a soul there." * One of his contemporaries thus characterizes him: "He is a very unfit missionary for that or any other place—his life is so wicked and scandalous notorious drunkard and swearing and lewdness is also what he is occupied of for these and other of his vices he was so much disliked of the people he was among that scarce any of them come to hear him and it is what one shall hear from almost every one's mouth that knows him that it is a pity that he should ever come into these parts any more except he reforms his life and bad example doing more hurt than ever his preaching did good."†

But even among these early comers, there were at least two good missionaries. Mr. Adams and Mr. Gordon arrived in North Carolina in April, 1708. All parties united in praising these two, especially Mr. Adams, who justly merits "the character of a faithful and painful pastor and orthodox minister of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."‡ Mr. Gordon was of a gentle and sweet disposition, and was more easily discouraged than Mr. Adams. He returned to England after only a few months of service; but Mr. Adams labored on until his death in 1710.

The conduct of these early missionaries, with the exception of Mr. Adams and Mr. Gordon, caused the people to look with disfavor upon the Church of England and the work of the Society. According to Governor Eden, the unworthy character of the missionaries was responsible for much of the lack of encouragement shown them by the people. Governor Eden says: "They are as willing as any of his Majesty's subjects on the continent to contribute to the utmost to the subsisting of ministers that are gentlemen of good lives and affable behavior and conversation." He goes on to show that

* *C. R.*, Vol. II., p. 294.

† *C. R.*, Vol. II., p. 431.

‡ *C. R.*, Vol. I., p. 730.

prior to that time the people of North Carolina had not been blessed with such ministers.*

The people wanted ministers "of exemplary life and conversation tho' of less learning." Had such ministers been sent them, they would not only have made all allowances provided for by law, but also all that their private circumstances would admit of.†

The ministers were so unworthy that the people became indifferent and actually hostile to the Church of England, so that in 1733 Burrington could say: "There is not one clergyman of the Church of England regularly settled in this Government. The former Missionarys were so little approved of, that the Inhabitants seem very indifferent whether any more come to them.‡

C. Lack of encouragement shown Missionaries, both by the Society and by the people of the Province.

The lack of proper support and encouragement of the missionaries, both by the Society at home and by the people of the province, was one of the most potent causes of the Society's failure to accomplish anything in North Carolina.§

There certainly were times when the Society did not take enough interest in its missionaries. It has already been shown that some of them went years without even hearing from the Society. This was undoubtedly due in part to the poor means of communication, but not wholly. The fact that they scarcely ever received any encouragement from the Society was bad enough; but worse than this was the fact that the bills drawn by the missionaries were at times not promptly paid, and some were returned protested. The Society was almost their sole support. This being the case, this protesting of bills drawn upon them worked an especial hardship upon the missionaries. It was ruinous to their credit, and Mr. Rainsford complains that he is actually in danger

* *C. R.*, Vol. II., p. 228.

† *C. R.*, Vol. II., p. 273.

‡ *C. R.*, Vol. III., p. 429.

§ *C. R.*, Vol. II., p. 54; Vol. IV., p. 793; Vol. II., p. 12.

of the jail because he is unable to repay money borrowed by him on his credit as a missionary of the Society.*

But scant encouragement and practically no support was ever given the missionaries by the people of the province. In those places where the dissenters were strong, all kinds of expedients were resorted to in order to avoid the payment of parish dues. They elected vestries of known dissenters who would not qualify. It was very hard to make the vestries levy taxes; and, even when levied, they were seldom collected. Mr. Adams says: "I have not since I came to the country received so much as to pay for my diet and lodging."† Neither Mr. Urnston nor Mr. Rainsford ever received anything from the inhabitants. Indeed, Mr. Rainsford says his own losses were considerable. He was forced to hire guides, pay boatmen, and buy horses both for himself and his guides. All this was very expensive.‡

Even where the missionaries received any of the parish dues, it was in such a form that it amounted to very little. In the early days of the Province, the money raised by the vestries for the missionaries was in the form of public bills of credit; and these bills were at a great discount.§ Later on when the province was flooded with proclamation money, the missionaries were paid in this. Mr. Moir, who was settled in Edgecombe county, says that a missionary would do very well, if it were not for the proclamation money. He says that he can get nothing for the bills in which his salary is paid.¶ The inhabitants also had the right to pay their debts in rated commodities. In time of war, when it was impossible to sell these commodities, they paid their debts with them; in time of peace they paid in paper bills which were of little real value.||

* *C. R.*, Vol. II., p. 12.

† *C. R.*, Vol. I., p. 721.

‡ *C. R.*, Vol. II., p. 122.

§ *C. R.*, Vol. II., p. 270.

¶ *C. R.*, Vol. IV., p. 913.

|| *C. R.*, Vol. IV., p. 913 *et seq.*

Missionaries received very little encouragement from the people even in those things where assistance would have been easy. They would not furnish glebes nor fence pastures for them. As a result of having no fenced pastures, their horses were often stolen or strayed; and horses were very expensive. Even if a missionary built his house and fenced his pasture at his own expense, he did not know how soon he would have to move. In this respect the lot of the missionary was worse than that of the Methodist preacher of to-day. The people claimed the right of induction because they said it was expressly granted to neither Crown nor governor.* They used this right to dominate their minister.† The missionary was not certain whether or not he would be retained beyond one year. Thus he was forced to do his own fencing and building, and always run the risk of being put out the next year.

Why was it that these missionaries received no better support and encouragement? Apart from the unworthiness of their character, which has already been discussed, there were three main causes: the opposition of the Quakers and other dissenters; the poverty of the people; and the unsettled condition of the country.

Undoubtedly the opposition of the Quakers and other Dissenters was the greatest factor in the failure of the Society in North Carolina. During Archdale's term as governor, the Quakers gained in strength and influence until they were the controlling power in the province. But things changed when Archdale was succeeded by Henderson Walker. Walker was a zealous Churchman, and at once set about getting an act passed making the Church of England the Established Church. This Act was passed in 1701; and immediately aroused the opposition of the Quakers who determined to elect a sufficient number of delegates to the next Assembly to have this act repealed. They were saved the trouble, however, by the proprietors, who disallowed the act on the ground

* *C. R.*, Vol. VIII., p. 14.

† *C. R.*, Vol. IV., p. 754.

that the thirty pounds per annum allowed by it was not sufficient for the support of a clergyman.*

This according to Mr. Weeks, was the first struggle for the Establishment. Mr. Weeks goes on to show that the second struggle began with the second law making the Church of England the Established Church, passed in 1704. From this grew the Cary rebellion. Mr. Weeks shows that the Cary rebellion was not merely a protest of the Quakers against the requirement of an oath of allegiance to Queen Anne; but it was a protest of the Quakers and numerous Dissenters of the Colony "against the arrogance, pride and attempted oppression of the Churchmen."† "It was the rising of a free people against the attempt of foreign and domestic foes to saddle on them a church establishment with which they had no sympathy." This opposition to the idea of an established church thus early begun was continued until the Constitution of 1835 gave religious freedom.‡

The poverty of the early settlers of North Carolina, even where they were favorable to the Established Church, prevented them from giving their missionaries proper support. During the early period, the people had to struggle for an existence. The inhabitants were reduced to poverty on account of the terrible Indian wars of 1711 and 1712 and on account of having to support the Indian allies sent by the governor of South Carolina.§ The French and Indian War was very expensive, and left the colonists in a poor condition for supporting ministers.|| The heavy taxes following the French and Indian War made it impossible for the people to give their clergymen proper support.|| Thus as late as 1759, we find churchwardens admitting that the salary paid their

* Weeks: *The Religious Development in the Province of North Carolina*, p. 32 *et seq.*

† Weeks: *The Religious Development in the Province of North Carolina*, p. 53.

‡ Weeks: *Church and State in North Carolina*, p. 8.

§ *C. R.*, Vol. II., p. 16 *et seq.*

|| *C. R.*, Vol. VI., p. 238.

|| *C. R.*, Vol. VI., p. 232.

missionary is very small, but they say that it is all that their circumstances will permit them to pay.*

The country was kept in such an unsettled condition by the Indian wars that the people could not give much encouragement to missionaries. Many of the inhabitants deserted their plantations and fled to Virginia and South Carolina for protection. Dread of the Indians prevented the few who remained from leaving their plantations to attend the services of the missionary. Mr. Rainsford says that the country is in such an unsettled condition "that very little good. can be expected from us."†

The parishes were very large, but so thinly settled that they could not support a minister.‡ The people were settled only along the water courses and at great distances from each other. Mr. Adams says: "I have a very laborious mission, the places I preach at being some of them sixty, others above seventy miles distant."§ Mr. Boyd's parish was one hundred miles long and fifty miles broad. He says: "I preach in seven different places which obliges me to ride every month two hundred and sixty miles."¶ These long journeys over bad roads and broken bridges, through the heat of summer and the cold of winter, broke down the constitutions of many missionaries.|| When accounts of such hardships reached England, very few were willing to offer their services as missionaries to North Carolina.**

The conditions under which the Society conducted its work in the province of North Carolina were indeed unfavorable. It was profoundly ignorant of the country and the people among whom it proposed to work. It could never recruit a native clergy, familiar with the country and the people, because there was no bishop in North America. It numbered

* *C. R.*, Vol. VI., p. 59.

† *C. R.*, Vol. II., p. 16 *et seq.*

‡ *C. R.*, Vol. II., p. 126; Vol. V., p. 31.

§ *C. R.*, Vol. I., p. 721.

¶ *C. R.*, Vol. IV., p. 7.

|| *C. R.*, Vol. II., p. 76.

** *Hawks*, Vol. II., p. 354.

among its missionaries many of unworthy character. It received practically no support from the people of the province, meeting with strong opposition from the Quakers and other Dissenters and weak support from those who were nominally of its faith. It was working in a thinly settled wilderness where the physical dangers and hardships of travel were great. Laboring under such unfavorable conditions, it is not surprising that the Society accomplished nothing in the province of North Carolina.

LETTERS OF JOHN RUST EATON.

EDITED BY

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON.

LETTERS OF JOHN RUST EATON.

It is to be regretted that but little can be ascertained of John Rust Eaton whose letters are here published. He was the son of Colonel Charles Rust Eaton, of North Carolina, a Revolutionary soldier. His own title of major was probably of militia origin for titles "by courtesy" had not then become the fashion. He probably was educated at the University of Pennsylvania, and certainly in Philadelphia. He lived in Granville county on a large estate, where he was a successful farmer. He was a lover of horses and one of the earliest patrons of the turf in the State. He had many fine horses in his stud, one, an imported stallion named Columbus, bringing \$10,000 at the sale which followed Eaton's death.

Mr. Eaton, like most of his contemporaries, was interested in politics, but he took but little active part so far as holding office is concerned. He served three terms, 1801, 1802 and 1812, in the House of Commons, where he was an active member though not a leader. One or two of his votes are interesting. In the session of 1801 he voted against the division of Rowan county and against a constitutional convention, thus showing his sympathy with the East. At the same session he voted for a law prohibiting the further importation of slaves into the State. In 1812 the Legislature passed an act providing for the electors for President and Vice-President should be chosen on a general ticket. This action met with vigorous opposition and many grand juries protested. Eaton on the opening day of the session proposed a resolution calling for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing that electors should be chosen uniformly by district throughout the United States, but to offset the advantage gained by political opponents in other states he voted the next day for a bill providing for their choice by a general ticket.

The letters here printed have been in the possession of the North Carolina Historical Society for many years. They are not of first importance, but are characteristic of the time and throw light upon the feelings and sentiments of the writers, four of whom were men of reputation: Benjamin Williams in North Carolina, and Nathaniel Macon, William H. Winder and James Winchester in the nation. Eaton's intimacy with them speaks well for his ability and character.

*W. H. Winder to John R. Eaton.**

NANTICOKE, January 18th 1794

DEAR FRIEND

At length the long expected gratification has arrivén. I have received and read your welcome epistle; and whilst my heart throbs with the quick pulsations of friendship let me take up my pen and scrawl the effusions of my fraternal sympathy toward you in the unpolished yet sincere expressions of my soul.

The converse of two persons linked together by the sacred bonds of friendship stands, in my opinion, unrivalled in the list of human pleasures. The extatic transports of a rewarded lover cease to exist almost before they are enjoyed; and the indiscriminate indulgence of a debauchee will quickly cloy

* William H. Winder was born in Somerset County, Maryland, on February 18, 1775. Educated at the University of Pennsylvania, he later studied law and went to Nashville, Tennessee, with the idea of settling there, but the inducements not encouraging him, he returned to Maryland, where he became prominent in his profession and in politics. He was an ardent Federalist, and in 1811 was the unsuccessful candidate for Congress from the Baltimore District. When the War of 1812 was imminent, he volunteered and in March, 1812, was commissioned lieutenant colonel of the Fourteenth U. S. Infantry. July 6, he became colonel and saw active service. At the battle of Stony Creek, in 1813, he was captured by the British. After exchange he was appointed adjutant-general and was placed in command of the Tenth Military District. He was harshly criticised for the defeat at Bladensburg and the capture of Washington, but the court martial ordered soon after commended him very highly for his efforts. He retired in June, 1815. Later, he was twice a member of the State Senate. He was a devoted Mason, and in 1814 was chosen Grand Master of Maryland. Few men of his State have been so beloved by his contemporaries and he numbered among his intimates such men as William Pickney, William Wirt, and Luther Martin.

the most voracious appetite. But tis friendship alone, next to friendship mixed with love, that produces pleasures which neither the ups nor downs, the elevations nor depressions, nor all the whimsicality of fortune, no, nor aught but death, all potent death, can check, or destroy—Such is the solid bliss that flows from heavenly friendship, and such the pleasures that I promise myself in your correspondence—Yes my friend seriously speaking if in you I could find a Pylades in me you'd find another Orestes—But away with protestations, and let my conduct, the most genuine touchstone of intention, be the criterion by which I am judged.

Your friendly solicitation for me to go and practice in Carolina is by no means contradictory to my present expectations. Tho any determination of that kind must be governed by the face of circumstances when I come forward to the bar. There are some particular circumstances which I have in contemplation upon the happening or not happening of which I shall be principally if not altogether governed. They are subjects rather of too delicate a nature to be committed to a letter of so uncertain a conveyance as I expect this will have, otherwise I would with pleasure subject them to the inspection of friendship.

The present session of congress must, I think, from our situation produce something of importance. We have negotiations of several different kinds now on hand with Britain, the event of which will considerably effect the U. S. Particularly with respect to those northern posts of ours which they now have in their possession. A delivery of those will throw the fur trade of all the back countries into our hands. A detention of them must I suppose in the nature of things produce a rupture. The plea which they have hitherto made use of for detaining them being annihilated they must either deliver them or do what is equivalent to an absolute denial to release them.

I hope the conduct of our government has been such to the French minister, as that our gallant ally can make no objection to it.

Negotiations with Spain concerning the Navigation of the Mississippi are, likewise, I believe, on foot, the issue of which will, I suppose, be known this session. I hope we may not be involved, yet at the same time I trust we shall not act inconsistently with the honor due us as a Nation.

I have the pleasure my friend to tell you that as yet I have not heard that the late affliction of Philadelphia has wafted any acquaintance either of yours or mine to their eternal abode, and I hope no such unwelcome news will ever arrive.

The dialogue between Damon and Delia you have not, I suppose, forgotten. Richmond now contains Damon, and Petersburg, at the distance only of a few trifling miles, contains the charming Delia. A change from a collegian to a student of law and her subsequent reflection may have produced an alteration highly favorable to Damon; besides that your increased experience in gallantry since that period, has better initiated you in to the principles of cupidrial sieges—But you knock this banter plump in the head by a declaration which you have made in your favour respecting a rose of exquisite beauty which the groves of Carolina contain and that rugged mountain which you complain of as separating your communicative organs will quickly be reduced to the insignificant magnitude of a mole hill by your rapid strides to the utmost altitude of towering Study. But take care that in your toilsome journey up this rugged mount you do not meet with Delia and be again precipitated to the lowest abyss of the valley of love. But the limits of my paper advise that I have not much more space to joke in and with wishing that you may avoid this fascinating snare I will divert your attention to something else.

A few days before I received your favor I had a letter from our worthy friend Miss Jane; she is quite well as well as is also the old lady. When I write to her you shall not be forgotten.

I concur with you in thinking that our chance of meeting in the Western country is small. I would with pleasure ride to Carolina to see you altho I did not mean to fix my habitation there; yet as it is probable you will frequently be going to Philadelphia to stop at my humble dwelling will be nothing out of your way. There you will find a heart that will welcome you with all the endearments of friendship & [*word missing*] you to depart but in the greatest depth of sorrow. If you go upwards shortly call upon me, if not as you go at least as you return. I would advise you to the latter because you may get an immediate passage almost from there and instead of being a circuitous passage it will be much more direct than any other you can pursue. In the hopes of being gratified in this my most ardent wish

I subscribe myself your unalterable friend

W. H. WINDER

N.B. The enclosed expects a speedy conveyance to Delia.

John R. Eaton to Charles R. Eaton.

RICHMOND May 14th 1794.

DR FATHER.

By a late letter which came to hand from the Northward. Colo. B.H. author, you may rely on it, that western lands are of little value. The hopes of peace are very sanguine—John Jay is appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of London; his orders are, to demand immediate restitution for our captured Vessels, and the delivery of the Posts: if this be complied with, we may have peace & its blessings but otherwise England must be ruined! France single and alone contends with combined Europe, and with almost universal success—There has been a motion made in the British house of Parliament for peace with France, but it was negatived. Mr. Fox, Sheridan, Landsdowne and fifty nine others, were in favor of the motion, and displayed in the debate much spirit, wisdom & moderation. They all lavish encomiums

on this Country & its Government; But unless they make restitution we can not be deluded into a dishonorable peace, by deceitful praise—

I believe England is infatuated and that she is bound for the coast of infamy & total wreck—The French have been very successful in cruising on the E. India coast, taking from the English 68 valuable prizes—and in every other part they are equally triumphant. They take vessels in sight of the British Harbors—George trembles on his throne and his hirelings uphold the War for a while, with the Wealth of the injured Nation—The people are driven to despair, destitute of labor and food! They must soon revenge themselves—The combined powers are making great preparations for this campa. and this will be the last. Seven hundred thousand Frenchmen are under arms and a million more ready in case of necessity. At Paris they manufacture 600 guns daily—what can hurt those industrious skillfull & invincible Patriots? no dart that mortal hand can aim—Public paper is now on the rise, but it will not continue so any length of time—On my return, I went down to Mr. Potts's, where I saw the new modelled Still—He was not at home, the information therefore which I give you comes from his young man—and my own observation—It holds three hundred Gallons, and runs off nearly four times a day. It makes four times as much Spirit as the common Still to the same number of Gallons contents—and near or quite four Gallons of whiskey from one bushel of good grain—A few days ago it run off one gallon of loe wine in four minutes, by the Stop watch—It costs about two hundred & fifty pounds, with the Cap & Spout, four times as large as common, and the worm in the same proportion—One of two hundred gallons would destill near 70 gallons of whiskey per day, at any rate twenty thousand annually—An emensity of hoggs might be raised from the wash, and with the Spirits, a sufficiency to command eight or ten thousand dolls' annually—on the first glance of thought, this estimate might appear chimerical but in my

humble opinion, it would be a wonderful income—I will see Mr. Potts and know all the particulars when you can have a more concise account—Mr. Dortch is nearly out of the small-pox—all my Richmond friends were well—Capt. Barney is released with some of our Vessels in the W. Indies. The French are augmenting their armies on the frontiers of Spain which Country must be in eminent danger—This campaign will end the War, and I believe in a glorious manner for the French & ourselves—Tobo. is at 20 here, it will rise a little in a few weeks. at Petersburg you can get eighteen, and in three weeks a little more may be had—We are not certain of peace; but even in case of peace Tobo. must be low. You had better contrive your four hhds. down by the first opportunity. It is idle on your hands, and would be of service to Dr. B in the Spring Exportation—Wheat is at one penny per pound—bacon by the small retail 9d and large quantity 7½—corn in Petersburg 15.—From our late accounts, France & Spain, are much in want of provisions—Holland has asked a peace, but were denied, unless they would do it on honorable terms.

A great number of people [*word missing*] to the [*word missing*] are emigrating to this Country from G. Britain. Complete anguish reigns in that unhappy Country, where the true Patriots are persecuted with unrelenting cruelty. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV, peopled England with silk Manufacturers. The war in Britain will send many manufacturers to America. Several insurrections have taken place in Scotland & Ireland but immediately quelled—our Ports are preparing for defence in case of war—Thomas Paine is now writing a piece (in prison) intitled the measure of sense—His papers were overhald but no plot against the Republic was found, on the contrary, marks of unshaken Patriotism—Smith, Ames, Arnold & Pitt have been burnt in Effigy at Charles Town—Their confessions are in-

scribed—They *all* agree that Eternal punishment is due—
Mr. Tabb is in Town & means to be inoculated—

I am dear Father your obt Son &c

JOHN R. EATON.

John R. Eaton to Charles R. Eaton.

RICHMOND 31st. May 1794.

DEAR FATHER.

The unexpected information of a few days has induced me to believe that we are on the eve of a sanguinary War. The unexampled depredations of Britain mark the almost total ruin of our Commerce; America's mourning, lonely Flagg finds no place of security; The ocean supports on her bosom the Harbinger of Despotism, sworn to desolate the regions of the afflicted World—But on the side of Canada, a more serious attempt is made, to blast our honor & felicity—Gov. Senicoe, with a considerable arm'd force, has already marched to the Rapids of Miami,* to erect a fort at that place, altho sixty miles within our boundaries—Representations have been made to the British Minister, at Phila—he is evasive and labours to justify the cruelty of England! How long oh America! cans't thou bare the lash of unrelenting barbarity! It is time to wake from thy Slumbers and guard the Sacred Temple of Liberty! Citizens of Collumbia, make a Hecatomb of thy Enimies & their dark concealed Satilites—Mark the Traitors' countenance and place loe in the cold Grave all who aim a dart against the Vitals of their Country—

You have here the Presidents letter to Congress & those accompanying—read them seriously & say whether I am violent in my opinion—No Sir, we are too submissive too polite to Tyrants: let us wage eternal War with all the enemies of our heavenly Country—let us be acquainted with the principles & not the persons of any people—We are young

* Maumee.

but let us be united, & the collected barbaric world cannot injure our liberties—The Britains yet condemn our Vessels but they shall pay for it by Starvation.—They wage war from cold Canada, but they will soon walk on the snowy earth in humble Captivity—The hardy Sons of New England will lead them by the enchanting tune of Yankey Doodle—

An Act has pas'd for raising & organizing 80,000 Militia. A hord of British Privateers infest our Coast—Our Seamen in the W. Indies, expiring under the weight of sickness, from confinement on board of crowded prison Ships. Did you ever believe that America would have permitted her chosen Sons to sink to the unnatural grave with Silence, at the hands of her enemies—But alas! it is a Melloncholy fact—in the remotest regions of the Universe our Flagg is disregarded, except to Oppress its Owners. I must believe that a war is inevitable. My spirit of revenge persues in nightly dreams, the accursed perpetrators of such innumerable crimes. The horrors of war are always to be lamented; but a revolution will wrest from their lurking places the Mamons of superstition & disaffection—Stock Jobing, funding & traitorous men will no longer under mine, in darkness, the foundations of our liberty—Light will shine upon all, and all will be known.—and, all who deserve will be chastized—Myserie's veil will be rent in twain, & her inhabitants equalized with the mass of mankind—We must be brave, just, merciful to the unfortunate & severe on the wicked—If our slaves attempt to make an insurrection, we must make awful examples—Tories are entitled to no quarters; they destroy our Unity & our Strength. One is equal to two enemies: we loose a citizen and have a foe in the same person—Any farther discant on this subject wou'd tire your patience. You hate Brittain & love America. you can judge of & feel the sufferings of your beloved Country. When necessity requires I am ready for the field of glory.

The French are very successfull; in a late battle with the Prussians, they killed six thousand of the latter, gaining a complete victory: they have taken several Towns in Spain— & a vast number of Vessels at Sea. Their Armies are twelve hundred thousand strong. Provisions a little scarce, but not bordering on absolute want—They stand firm in their principles and defy the surrounding world of Despotts. Our last accounts from Europe say that Spain, has withdrawn from the League. it may not be true; it is a matter of no consequence; the French will be in Madrid this Summer, unless accidents occur—It is also said that a force has landed to invade England—it may also be false. I heard from Col. B.H, last night, he is well—I am studying Baron's Abridgement attentively—shall be at home late this fall. The May wheat is in this quarter is already ripe. Col. Temple from Carolina, tells me it is superior to any other kind: from 9 bushels, he made 225 weight 65 per bushl. Robt Park is here. The Sharks win the races—they are fine horses—I am in great health—How are my Sisters Have you had rain, is the crop good? Is there a Mast? How are the colts? I have trespas'd on your patience for we. I ask your pardon.

That you May be happy is the wish of

Your Republican Son

JOHN RUST EATON.

W. II. Winder to John R. Eaton.

PETERSBURG October 26th 1797

MY DEAR FRIEND

I am thus far on my way to the State of Tennessee; where I shall spend this winter in examining its eligibility for my profession—I have for some time contemplated a removal from the Eastern Shore of Maryland both on account of its being so unhealthy and as offering but a small compensation for the Labors of the Law. I had qualified there and had

flattering prospects of success; but the emoluments of the practice were too inconsiderable to satisfy my ambition—After determining on a removal I made considerable exertion to obtain the best information I could to determine me in my choice. The result of it has been to determine me to visit Tennessee at all events and if my information has been true shall seat myself there—

This being about the time of your annual visit to this place I was in hopes I should have met you here. My disappointment has however been in some degree softened by meeting with several of your friends and acquaintances here, who have been able [to] satisfy my wishes of hearing from you in many particulars—Coln. Williams & Major Taylor both arrived here the same evening I did of whom I have made particular inquiries concerning you—They inform me you have become the indefatigably industrious farmer and have entirely deserted the law—I should like to follow your example, but my fate for some time at least must be other wise—Propitious fortune will however I hope one day or other permit me to live as I please and not as necessity compels me—

The two gentlemen I have mentioned wish me to take North Carolina in my way; but as it would divert me too far from my track I must sacrifice the inclination I have to comply with their wishes—It is not impossible however but I may pay you a visit in the Spring on my return to Maryland—

I found our old friend Miss Duncan in fine health and spirits and I think much improved in beauty—You have frequently been the subject of our conversation and she confirms the information of your transformation—

I shall send this by Majr. Taylor who will leave here on Sunday, about which time I shall move on westwardly by the way of Richmond—You shall hear from me in the course of the winter as often as I can find an opportunity & hope you

will not entirely forget me—You will direct your favors to Knoxville—

Believe me ever your Friend

WM. H. WINDER.

James Winchester to John R. Eaton.*

Cragfont 9th Dec 1801

DEAR JACK:

Your favors of the 30th March and 26th of October last Severally came to hand in due season. I delayed answering them in hopes at the November term a decision would have

* James Winchester was born in Baltimore County, Maryland, in 1752. Nothing is known of his early life, but he was a soldier in the Revolution and rose to the rank of lieutenant in 1778 in the Maryland Infantry. He was taken prisoner by the British some time during the war, but was exchanged. In 1783 he settled in Sumner County, near Gallatin, Tennessee, and was prominent in driving out the Indians whose hostility menaced the weak settlement.

In 1794 he was a member of the Legislative Council of Tennessee, and in 1796 was unanimously chosen Speaker of the first Senate of the State. In 1799 he was appointed Judge of the United States Court for the District of Maryland, and qualified, succeeding William Poca, but he did not hold the position long, returning to Tennessee, where he remained until 1812, when he was appointed brigadier-general. He superseded General William Henry Harrison at Fort Wayne, and this almost precipitated a mutiny as the soldiers were devoted to Harrison, and, disliking Winchester for his aristocratic tendencies, feared that he would be more severe. Later, when Harrison was given supreme command, Winchester commanded the left wing of his army. His force captured Frenchtown, on Raisin River, Michigan, and there he was surprised and captured by Proctor, and most of his command massacred by the Indian allies of the British. Winchester was taken to Quebec and afterwards, in 1814, exchanged. In 1815 he was in command of the United States forces at Mobile. He resigned in 1815 and retired to his home, where he lived in great comfort and luxury until his death, July 27, 1826. His only public service during this time being the running of the Southern boundary line of the State in 1819.

General Winchester was a large land-owner. "Cragfont," his Sumner county estate on Bledsoe Creek, was a splendid piece of property, and the house still stands, though it has passed from the family. He was also one of the proprietors of Memphis, holding one-eighth for himself and one-eighth for his brother's children. He married Miss Susan Black, and twelve children—six sons and six daughters—were born to them. Major Marcus B. Winchester, the first mayor of Memphis, was his son, and General E. W. Rucker of the Confederate Army was a grandson.

General Winchester was held in great esteem by his contemporaries, and the county-seat of Franklin perpetuates his name.

taken place in Mr. Searcys & your case and that I might communicate the result but procrastination hath again taken place, owing to an unusual number of criminals, the trial of whom Occupied the court nearly the whole term. Your demurrer was not even Argued—tho, Mr. Overton seems to rely most on the proof of the deed made from Merrit to You, and for that purpose a commission is ordered to issue to take Mr. R. Cookes deposition, it will probably be inclosed to you, to attend—Major Wilsons is taken on the subject—another claim is set up to the same land By an assignee of Col. Barton which rests upon Merriots not Surveying according to Location, this claim I am told will be Set up as soon as a decision takes place between you and Mr. Searcy—

Crops of cotton here this year are beyond all former calculation. Some as great as 2000 pounds to the acre. very little under one thousand; this at four pound in the seed for one of clean cotton which Sells here for 15 and 20 dollars per hundred. makes the planters hold up their heads.—

corn crops are lighter than ever known in this country. it now Sells from 33 1-3-100 to 40-100 per bushell—The aggrandizement of the Britishe Navy must be a Subject of Serious concern to the nations of this world for until it is humbled perfect liberty of the Sea is not to be expected—

I congratulate you on your matrimonial union; formed with deliberation and your good sence; must carry with it *Exstatick enjoyment*.

The Young Quaker you mention adds to my desire of visiting you; Your description of her is desirable especially So when gilt with \$40,000—But 18 years I am afraid is too young—make my respects to your Lady & to your Father.

Health and happiness.

Mr. J. R. Eaton

J. WINCHESTER

James Somervell to John R. Eaton.

PRINCETON 30th December 1801.

DEAR SIR—

An immediate answer to all their letters; and an extra-letter, when anything important comes under our observation; are debts, which it will be readily acknowledged, our friends may always claim with the utmost propriety. Therefore, I consider myself bound to answer your letter of the 18th. which arrived last night, by the very first succeeding post.

I am pleased with the decision of our assembly concerning the Judiciary bill; and their compliance with the resolution of Maryland concerning the proposed *amendment* to the Federal Constitution evinces a disposition to place upon an equal footing every state in the Union. Party-spirit will, no more, I trust, at the return of the period for the election of president, take advantage of a casual elevation. But each state will have a fair opportunity of choosing electors of her own sentiments. The conduct of Pennsylvania, New York, Virginia, Connecticut *all*, at the last election, loudly points out the necessity of Federal interposition for the prevention of future scenes of a similar disgraceful nature.—If it be not improper to elevate junior officers of Militia over the heads of their seniors; at least, if such has not been the proceeding of our Legislature; that strong exposition of the Legislative politics, gives me a lively hope that N.C. is not less Republican, than any of her Sister states.

I lament that the peace, while it gives much pleasure to all who are actuated by the genuine feelings of humanity, should, nevertheless, have produced no alteration in the favour of the planters. But I still hope, that notwithstanding the seeming depression of the prices of the planter's produce, it is nothing more, than the consequence of those, who from the expectation of the continuance of the war, had amassed & almost monopolised—I say I believe it is the consequence of these men selling out immediately upon the conclusion of the peace—and, therefore, that before the beginning of

summer, Every southern staple—especially Rice & Tobacco, will be considerably enhanced, as to their prices. I give this, as the opinion of most of our Merchants in this Part of the Country.

I know not my dear Major, whether I feel so much interested for Miss Guion as at the time I last wrote you; but, however, I shall always be very glad to hear of her situation.—

The small confinement I experienced, while the Measles were on me, appears to have increased my love of liberty and of happiness. Heavens! what a zest does deprivation give to the appetite, what a relish for pleasure and society does the young mind acquire after a few disappointments. After having been confined for a week, with one of the most loathsome of diseases, forbidden to view the light of heaven, commanded not to touch those things which titillate the palate, seeing nothing but fidgetting nurses, troublesome, teasing old women, and bloody-minded doctors, how does the heart pant upon the regaining of its liberty, how does the prospect of the ensuing pleasures of health thrill the system with rapture, and empurple the joyful cheek! Yes. Heaven is my witness—confinement seems to me more irksome than death! Since my recovery, during the Christmas holidays, I have enjoyed life—And yet I have not gambled, or been drunk, or guilty of any debauchery. “Is it possible?” Sir—it is. And if a youth of 18 cannot enjoy the most transcend[ing?] happiness in the company of the lively and sensible of one sex, and of the chaste and beautiful of the other, then let him be pronounced—unfit for friendship, ill-calculated for existence, poor in the resources of pleasure. I have paid a most pleasant visit to Trenton: the particulars, however, as they could not amuse you—I forbear to recite. We danced; and the women were pretty, and agreeable. “Enough,” cries the enthusiastic for the females—‘Enough,’ you must have been happy.’

Your affectionate

JAMES SOMERVELL.

N. B. Susan is too careless of my love, to wish for my remembrance—

J. S.

James Winchester to John R. Eaton.

CRAGFONT 17th. Sep. 1802

DEAR SIR

Yesterday I received your favor of the 22d. ultimo—

Mr. Overton* sent me Mr. Searcys amended bill and I enclosed it to you soon after my last letter which you have acknowledged the receipt of; I have therefore confidence You have received it before now. time enough for you to send your answer to Nashville before Court, which is on the second Monday in November But if it should so happen that you should not receive it in time, there will be an absolute necessity for Your personal attendance at Court. or Mr. Searcys amended bill will be taken pro. confisisco. in which case I shall calculate on the pleasure of seeing you once more at Cragfont. and not other ways for some years; for I well know your domestic attachments (or think I do).

There is a good crop of cotton now growing on your Bartons Creek place, when you gain it I will give you a more particular discription—

The defection of Mr. Burr is Execrated by all grades of people in this country even by the Federalists—

Make my respects to Your Father also make them acceptable to Mrs. Eaton and rely on my Steady disposition to Serve You.—

Your ob' Servant

John R. Eaton Esqr.

J. WINCHESTER.

James Somervell to John R. Eaton.

BALTIMORE November 3d 1802.

MY DEAR SIR—

I am, from Mr. Keene, to tender you his thanks and consideration for your good opinion. Poor fellow! he is, I fear, much more reduced in circumstances than is generally known. When I first saw him he had a fine watch, but now

* Probably John Overton.

he seems to think (Unquestionably with propriety) that *in town*, a watch is unnecessary.—The arrival of Tom Paine has excited here no small degree of attention: but the popular indignation appears to be turned from him to the public character who has invited to our land the unprincipled slanderer of Washington. Paine is, *indeed*, a great *sot*. How applicable are those charming lines of Armstrong to this miserable creature.

"Your friends avoid you; or if one remain
To wish you *well*, he wishes you in *Heaven*.
Despis'd, unwept you fall; who might have left
A sacred, cherish'd, sadly-pleasing name;
A name still to be uttered with a sigh.
Your last ungrateful scene has quite effaced
All sense and memory of your former worth."

L. 4. 1. 211. *Art of Health*.

It is thought that, after paying a visit to the president, he will retire to his estate in New Jersey, and spend the remainder of his life in obscurity—"& oblivion."

Accept my congratulations upon your success. It must, indeed be a disagreeable life; and, surely, the 4th. victory must amply satisfy the most sanguinary conqueror.

What think you, my dear Major, of the charges lately exhibited against our Chief Magistrate?—Can it be possible that the man I have *reverenced* for his integrity, and almost adored for his patriotism,—has dared to violate every law of God and nature?—Could the man who professed to esteem above all the world "our first and greatest revolutionary character" be self-conscious of having hired a *callender* to abuse him—of having admired, largely contributed to, and liberally paid for, a book that made even the warmest of Washington's enemies cry out "shame" on the author?—*Could* he, when left to guard the *wife* of his *friend*, basely attempt her honour?—When invited to the house of *another* friend, could he villainously make use of his *inmacy* to seduce the partner of *that* friend's bosom?—*Could* he bring a "black miss of his own keeping" into the company of his innocent children?—Could he esteem our Washington, "& yet have a sincere

friendship & affectionate attachment" for the detested Tom Paine?—Or are all those crimes basely laid to the charge of a *virtuous patriot*?—Alas! much I fear the proof of them all is too irrefragible.—For the honour of Human Nature, for the Honour of America I hope they will be disproved. The Man who is devoid of private honour—the Hypocrite, & the adulterer,—cannot be worthy of public confidence.—The Democrats seem confounded at the charges:—if they be true Jefferson must sink under the weight of ignominy—It is expected that Rodney's* election will be contested in Congress: upon what grounds I have not heard.—

The prices of commodities in Baltimore are much the same as when I wrote upon the subject before.—Goods have fallen.—Tobacco looks up; but tis only very little.—But the failure of Crops will undoubtedly very much enhance the price. Your crops were destroyed by the rain—those in Maryland have suffered much for the want of rain.—

I proceed but slowly in acquiring the law. I hope, however, by this time two years to have read so much, as to enable me to learn the practical part of it in three or four months. By the bye I mix reading as rum,—and writing as water—in Mr. Harper's office. But if I do not practice in Maryland, of what service will the practical part of Maryland Law be to me?—I am, nevertheless inclined to think, that, there will be as good an opening in Maryland as any where else.—I should prefer Jersey but no money is to be made there.—North Carolina is out of the question.—I wish I had my father's opinion on the subject. What do you & Susan think?—

God bless you, your wife, & the little Charles is the fervent prayer of

Yours always

JAMES SOMERVELL.

Major Eaton.

* Probably Thomas Rodney, of Delaware, who was about this time appointed by Jefferson United States Judge for the Territory of Mississippi.

James Winchester to John R. Eaton.

CRAGFONT 15th Dec. 1805

DEAR SIR

Your favor of the 26th of October last, was recd in due course of mail and the answer put off for the rising of the Courts in hopes to have had it in my power to congratulate you on the final and fortunate event of your Suits, with Searey and Hendricks; but I am sorry to say I am disappointed the causes for not coming to trial is detailed in a letter to Mr. Smith Your council have all the papers, and of course all the evidence they want and say they have no doubt of a fortunate issue when trial is obtained—I can only observe that the procrastination in no instance is owing to neglect or inattention on my part but that through every Stage of this lengthy Suit I have paid the same attention to it as if it had been my own—

This side of the mountain affords no news at present; the rumour of a Spanish war is not disagreeable to the people here. We have no objection to its being realized—

I hope your Coe De Lion Filly did herself honor at the Sweepstake at Williamsboro.

So uncommonly scarce has cash become in this country that all my time is taken up endeavoring to collect dubious debts—

Cotton crops is a little above mediocrity, price \$17 baled. Tobacco very little raised. at 3.50 per cwt. I think the vast addition of Territory acquired by the late Treaties together with the scarcity of mony will cause a depression in the price of Land here. and open a door to monied Gentlemen for handsome Speculations in a twelve month more—

Respectfully remember me to your father and accept for yourself and family the Salutations of a friend.

J. WINCHESTER.

James Winchester to John R. Eaton.

CRAFONT 3d Sep. 1806.

DEAR SIR

YOUR favor of the 28th ultimo is recd. from which I perceive you had not received (when you wrote); my letter informing of the Situation of your Suits with Searcy & Hendricks as well as Len Jones progress in payment &c which you have recd. ere this no doubt. I therefore forbear to repeat the contents—

The General assembly of this State is now in session and is employed about a Land bill, which will probably pass into a law. it contemplates a Board of Commissions to decide on the Legality of all claims; its therefore probable no warrants can be entered for sometime after the assembly rises; The lands generally that was purchased of the Cherokee & Chickasaw Indians at the last Treaties is by no means equal to the land on Cumberland and Harpeth besides (that on Duck excepted) is not as convenient to navigation Which in my opinion adds greatly to the value of land. But it must be admitted that the range is equal to any in the Western world; of course an eligible situation to such as make Stock their principal object

Cotton and Tobacco at present is the chief aim of all here who have any body to labour; the prices last year at Orleans were flattering Cotton from 20 to 24 cents lb. Tobacco $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 cents per lb.— If you have any Serious Thoughts of residing in this Country. I would recommend a purchase of land convenient to the navigation of Cumberland river. and if your object is to realize for your Son; or *Sons* then purchase within the Indian boundary—

With relation to Doubleheads *reserve* I know little about it and would not hazard a purchase of him, Tho he has sold a considerable quantity to Citizens of this State and received their property—

Locations in the Chickasaw Territory on Forked Deer and Woolf river where the land is good I should suppose to be worth 50 cents per acre. But it is not probable that the Indian Title will there be soon extinguished.

A handsome situation of 1,000 or 1500 acres could now be purchased in the vicinity of Bledsoes Lick; at from six to eight dollars per acre With tolerable improvements, three or four good Springs and near one hundred acres of clear land—So great is the rage for Settling on Duck & Elk rivers, that I am inclined to think land will fall in its price on Cumberland; and that the ensuing winter will be a favorable time to purchase.—

This last Summer has been the wettest ever known in this country Since its first Settlement the crops are Generally very good But if the rains continue the Cotton will be injured—corn 125 cents Bll—

Remember me respectfully to your father and to Mrs. Eaton. and believe me It is my sincere wish to see them & you Citizens of Cumberland I already anticipate the pleasure of seeing you at my Cottage this fall, Make my respects to Mr. Smith and accept for Yourself the consideration
of my Esteem & regard

J. WINCHESTER.

James Winchester to John R. Eaton.

CRAFONT 14th April 1808

DEAR SIR

Your favor of the 22d of February came to hand in due time and ought to have been noticed sooner but a multiplicity of business in gloomy times since my return from the Northward must be my Apology.

Searcys suit against you is not yet tried. It is my intention to attend our next Superior Court to be held next month when I shall not forget it; nor shall anything in my power be lacking to bring it to issue and favorable decision.

Your Bartons Creek plantation was last year rented for corn and is again this year my reason for so doing was; that I thought it possible you or some of your friends might change a sterile (as I have understood great parts of North Carolina to be) for a fertile spot and that it would be an object to have corn convenient, Cash it could not be rented for and Cotton as it has turned out; that is under the present circumstances of the U.S. would not command Money.

Last years rent corn is not yet sold, nor will it bring one dollar cash pr Barrel, Without advice on the subject I have thought it best to contract for no improvements on your plantation except the clearing a little land that was included within what had once been a fence. My reason is improvements are Seldom paid for in the Sale of Lands and if ever you occupy it yourself Such improvements as I could get made by a Tenant would not please you or even myself.—

I have not explored any part of Louisiana but this I can tell you that part through which White river and St. Francis flows. is not here at this time held in great estimation. Red river has more Celebrity than any part of that most extensive country, of the Obian I can say nothing having never visited that part and it is rarely talked of here the Indian title not being extinguished nor likely to be It solicits the Eye of none.—

Make my respects to your father tell him if he really proposes to Visit this Country to make arrangements for moving his whole family That after visiting it he will not easily reconcile raising Tob. and corn in N.C.

Respectfully remember me to Mrs. Eaton tell her I still hope to have the pleasure to introduce her to my little family; uncultivated tho I hope innocent and for yourself accept

My sincere regard & Esteem

J. WINCHESTER.

James Winchester to John R. Eaton.

Cragfont 11th July 1808

DEAR SIR

Your favor of the 26th of May last is at hand. My last which I trust you have received before now has informed you of the cause your Suit with Searey is not yet terminated, The time, nor money, I have expended in your business should not give you any [un] easiness, the latter is but a trifle and the former is a pleasure when given to the service of an absent friend, I had anticipated that it would not be displeasing to your father to apply to your credit the Money or monies worth recd from Len Jones on his account (to Wit) \$128:31. If I live to see your Suit with Searey ended I will render you an account; before (at present) to me it is unnecessary especially as I hope and believe much longer it cannot be procrastinated I have notes for your rent corn to be paid next fall. Your land is worth $3\frac{1}{2}$ dollars pr acre or four dollars. I consider it worth very little less on account of Mr. Seareys claim Your land on Obian I can give no opinion about, having never been in that part of the country; This I can say that it is not probable the Indian title will soon be extinguish'd there; Tho that will not diminish its value to you, if you mean to keep it for your children as in all human probability the Indians will abandon that country before your Sons arrive at maturity.

Jeremiah Hendricks who was by a Suit of Ejectment dispossessed of your Bartons Creek Land, Instituted a Suit by original attachment for what he deemed the value of his improvement \$225.00 and he conducted it with so much secrecy that I knew nothing of it untill within a few days of the Sale. I immediately waited on one of the Judges and procured a writ of Error & Supersedus and therewith Stopped further proceedings for the present. Hendricks now proposes to leave it to two or three disinterested persons to ascertain the sum he is legally entitled to for his improvement if he

and I cannot agree upon it. to which I have agreed with the advice of Mr Smith who I hope is at home safe with his family at this time.

Inclosed is the bill of Sale of William Pittman and Tabitha his wife or rather their release and quit claim to certain negroes you purchased of H. G. Burton

In common with all Southern States we feel the weight of the Embargo Law. But it is borne with great Magnanimity; Scarcely a murmur escapes from the brest of any. Believing as we generally do here; that it was the best and wisest measure our Government could adopt. Mr. Madison for President will get all that is a Unanimous Vote from this State.

Accept for yourself and family assurance of my sincere regard & Esteem

J. WINCHESTER.

Nathaniel Macon to John R. Eaton.

WASHINGTON 21 Jan'y 1809

SIR

The letter which you wrote to me on the 12— instant has been received; The request contained in it will cheerfully be attended to; There is no vacant office of the grade you mention in the troops authorized to be raised at the last session of Congress; It is however expected that an additional number may be authorized before Congress adjourn; If so Capt. Jones' wish shall be communicated to the War Department.

It would afford me great pleasure, could I inform you what would be the final result of the deliberations of Congress on our foreign relations, but it is impossible;

I am with great respect

Sir yr. most obt. Sert

NATHL. MACON.

James Somervell to John R. Eaton.

SPRINGFIELD, Robertson C. Ten. July 3. 1809

MY DEAR SIR,

I had the pleasure of delivering your letter to Gen. James Winchester in person on Saturday morning last at his elegant seat near Gallatin. I am much pleased with the style of my reception, and found the Genl. very much disposed to be hospitable, and entirely your friend. . . . He informed me that your letter required at that time no answer; and after breakfast time not allowing me to stay any longer, he politely rode with me to Gallatin. The land to which Col. Eaton has the best claim is still hung up in court, is very valuable, likely to be decided at the next term, and doubtless in the Col's Favour.—I shall begin to inspect Dr. B's & Dr. Y.'s lands to-day—(for I am agent for both.) Genl. Johnson has the business in such a train as I hope will give me less trouble than I at first apprehended. My best love to your family and my mother, and would write her again, but I am so irregular in my movements as to prevent it. I shall not write to her again probably this month or the next,

I am &c

JAMES SOMERVELL

Major J. R. Eaton.

I cannot tell when I shall go to Nashville, or when I shall see Mr. Goodloe. When I do I will write you, and you may rest assured I will consult your interest more than my case.

J. S.

James Winchester to John R. Eaton.

CRAFONT 8th Augt 1809.

DEAR SIR

I have forebore to write you since the siting of our last Federal Court at Nashville because it was unpleasant to repeat a tale that I knew could not be agreeable to you every man is anxious to obtain Justice at some period and your

suit has been so often continued that your patience must be worn to the quick Its however due to your council for me to say that I consented to the last continuance for reasons to my mind conclusive, tho not proper to be wrote at this time Captain Cooke has no doubt communicated them to you, Judge Overton has recd but one fee yet (to Wit) \$25—paid him at first and I do not know that he will expect any more. Having transfered the charge of the Suit to Judge White and Stipulated that you Should pay him \$50—the Amount of the additional fee he required if he had conducted the Suit to its final determination himself. I therefore suppose he expects no more But you know the disposition of Lawyers better than I do having Studied Law yourself (as I am informed)

Calculating certainly on a final decission next term and a Just one too I have inclosed a bill of my disbursements on your account including \$50 dollars to be paid to Judge White. If you can conveniently remit the balance of \$75.39½ to my brother William Winchester of the City of Baltimore it will oblige me, But if more convenient to you to send it here, do so, its not material to me at which place the remittance is made.

No price for produce here mony of course extremely scarce. The late British orders in Council, the paper blockade of the continant of Europe has all the effect of the former orders in counsil aided by our own Embargo & nonintercourse, It it to be lamented that the tenth Congress had not had more firmness and continued the Embargo &c and with the Strong arm of Government have coerced the insurgents in New England to obedience It would have given a character of stability to Government that in my humble opinion would not have been only more dignified but Substantially useful to the nation.

Be so good as to make my respects to your father & to your good Lady and accept for your self the consideration of my Sincere regard & Esteem.

J. WINCHESTER.

Robert Marion to John R. Eaton.*

WASHINGTON 23d April 1810

DEAR SIR,

You will readily forgive my seeming neglect in not sooner acknowledging your favor of the 4th March when I inform you that it did [not] reach me until Friday last. It is a matter of gratefull satisfaction to us to find that we are held in kind remembrance by you & Mrs. Eaton. I wish it was in our power to pay you a visit on our return home. But we shals be obliged to hurry home as expeditiously as possible in hopes Mrs. Marion may get to Charleston in time to see her Sister, who is in ill health & expects to sail from that port in the latter end of next month for New Port for the recovery of her health. They have not seen each other for more than 2 years. We have no idea of going this Summer to the Springs & sincerely hope you may never have occasion to go there again in search of health. Congress has received much censure for their conduct during this Session. I acknowledge there has been shamefull waste of time in the dispatch of our business, owing to the rage of making long speeches. I am very sorry to find that Mr. Macon's vote on Giles* resolution has been misunderstood by many well meaning men. The Federal Editors did not publish his speeches but took special care to publish his vote & the speeches of the Federal Gentlemen. Which led many to suppose that he voted against the

* Robert Marion was a member of Congress from South Carolina from 1805 to 1810.

† The Giles' resolution was one introduced in 1810 by Senator William B. Giles of Virginia reprobating the conduct of Francis J. Jackson, the British Minister, and coupling with the censure an endorsement of President Madison's action in regard to him.

motion for the reasons assigned by them. Nothing could be further from the truth. He was as indignant at the conduct of Jackson as any of those who voted for the resolution & he expressed himself at length to that effect. But as he had always been opposed to all addresses to Presidents & to all approbatory resolutions of their conduct; to be consistent with his uniform conduct heretofore he was compelled to vote as he did. You very justly observe that France & England from their superior power are able to keep us in the back ground. Neither is it in our power to prevent them by the use of force. To enter into the European war at this time on either side would in my opinion be bad policy. The State of Europe differs so much from any former period that we can draw no lessons from history to guide us in our present course.

Mrs. Marion desires her love to Mrs. Eaton & yourself. in which I unite & request that you will tell the children how 'du' for us.

I am with sincere regard & respect yours—

ROBT MARION

John R. Eaton Esq;

Benjamin Williams to John R. Eaton.*

MOORE COUNTY

RETREAT 8th Jany. 1812

MY DEAR MAJOR,

Your highly pleasing letter of the 20th Oct. was duly reced. and brought to my remembrance how dear you are and ever have been to me, long since reply would have been made but

* Benjamin Williams was born in North Carolina in 1754. He reached the rank of colonel in the Revolution, and in 1793 was a member of Congress. In 1799 he succeeded William R. Davie as governor and served till 1802. In 1807 he again was chosen and served one term. At the close of his term as governor he served one year as State Senator. He died in 1814. He was a resident of Moore county, where he was a most successful farmer. He was a man of small pretensions and only moderate ability, but of a most elevated character.

always without anything interesting to communicate, well knowing that my silence would not be imputed to forgetfulness of you or yours; am still without anything worth telling you but Mr. Morven is starting to your Neighborhood and I cannot forego so favorable an opportunity of renewing to you my affections.—Yes Morven leaves me this moment in pursuit of better Business than what he has had with me these many years; I wish him most sincerely success & hope he may not be mistaken; I shall ever do him the justice to say he is the cleverest man in all the Business in which I have employed him that I have ever met: the last years crop has proven to me what I often observed to him, that no one Man could superintend to best advantage the number of Hands he had the care of, in our sort of cropping Cotton, Corn &c.&c. but he was of a different opinion; I say it is proved to me because with 14 prime Hands less than the year before, together with being under the disadvantage of moving to my Mills, marching & countermarching, we have made more Crop, having now all complete & could have been by this time at Market with such as is sold commonly upwards of 20,000 lbs clean baled Cotton, 550 bushells Wheat 800 barrells Corn & about 1000 bushls. Oats.—I am here alone except my Son endeavoring to put under way a New Overseer who I believe will do the best he can, but he is ignorant and destitute of any Education—I have been here these ten days when I left Town flour, Wheat & flaxseed were the only Articles that could be sold, Tobo. & Cotton blowed [?] on at \$.2 per Cwt. & 8 Cents, but a Day or two ago I recd. a Letter from my Merchant at Wilmington who says by last Mail he recd. Letters from Liverpool Cotton had taken a considerable rise there; in consequence of this information that article at Fayette started to 10 cents and brisk, but nothing favorable of Tobo. before I left Town had sent to Wilmington upwards of 300,000 feet Boards for which my Merchant expected from \$12 to 13 per M. I have now ready upwards of 100,000 which as soon as the water rises in Cape Fear shall send down & continue so

to do with good luck every Month that quantity—Well what shall I tell you next, nothing but what concerns myself which cannot be amusing to any other person, I had almost determined to quit making Cotton but if 12 Cents can be had I shall persue it tho' on a smaller scale than usual; Wheat I could make to advantage but I expect in future that Article will be low & indeed know not what will be best; with you Hemp I have hopes will continue a great Article, but here much of our Lands are not adapted to its growth.—I believe I have the best 3 year old Colt ever bred in N.C. he came out of old Willie Jones' Diomed mare by Phoenix, tho in bad condition, at Salisbury in October under the management of Hogan (to whom I had lent him with a view of selling, for I have nothing to do with racing) he beat with ease 3 other capital Naggs (tho he did not win the purse) among whom was Allen Davies famous Diomed he gave Brodnax \$1000 for at 1 year old. have allso a last Springs colt out of the Dam of the famous quarter Horse Beast, by Dake Johnstons Gray he is prodigious likely, & my Filly by Janus are all the fine Naggs I have except my old Mare & I wish I was clear of all those except the Filly; I will desist troubling you farther with such uninteresting stuff & come to a Subject all important to the rising Youth of our Country that is the new Method of Education now taught by Neeff near Phila. it is *natures school* & will I am persuaded in another year establish itself in the good opinion of all; to enter into the merits of Neeff's method of Education would exceed the limits of a Letter & take more time than is at present in my power to devote, I should have no doubt you had read his book on the Subject, as well as many publications in the Aurora of Phila. in its favor, but I fear you, like too many Classical Gentlemen have scouted the Idea of the probability or possibility of Education being had but in the Old School with all its Tramel of Despotism & drudgery, so that you have not allowed yourself to read anything advanced as a new plan—let it suffice for me to tell you that for information

I can rely on Boys in Neeff's School not exceeding 9 years & not at School more than 25 Months (for that is the length of time the school has been in operation) & who have not arrived at having had a Book of any kind put in their hands & of course not having learned the Alphabet, are able almost in as short a time as the Question can be stated, to answer the most Abstruse & difficult questions in Arithmetic & his method of teaching French, English, Latin & Greek is not less admired than that of Arithmetic by all who have attended his Examinations;—you may be assured my friend this is no wild Chimera of mine I have been for some time endeavoring to obtain information in regard to Neeff's Method of Education, I have it from various sources, but last of all by Letter from Duane Editor of Aurora which has determined me in March next to send William to Neeff tho' with some difficulty I have prevailed on him to receive him, his rule being to take Boys only from 6 to 8 years of age & has great objection to such as have ever been to School, alledging that the intervening Time is totally lost, that it will take him infinitely more pains & trouble to eradicate the erroneous forms commonly adopted in our Schools "than to teach the young Idea how to shoot" William has made considerable progress in Latin is doing as well as others in the same School, you may be assured I am in earnest to send him to Neeff or I would not now at the commencement of the new year suffer him to be away, but am endeavoring to *learn him to forget* what he has learned at School to prepare him to meet Mr. Neeff's favorable reception. It requires 6 years with Neeff to complete an Education what a grand Idea that a Boy at 12 years old a great Scholar & obtained in that way as never to be effaced or forgotten unlike the learning of the Old School is, for I have rarely seen a Man from College three or four years with his Diploma in his pocket who had not forgotten his Greek & Latin.

I left your Cousin at Fayette in better health than usual that place will be our residence till June indeed it will be

fortunate for her to be amidst agreeable Company for I fear she will not be able to stand with fortitude the sending William away. William is at my Elbow & desires me to remember him to yourself Mrs. Eaton & all his little Cousins & says he hopes you will send some of them to bear him company at Neeff's—Present me affectionately to your Father your Lady & the Children & believe me my dear friend

yours truly

B. WILLIAMS.

James Winchester to John R. Eaton.

CRAFONT 6th July 1815

DEAR SIR

I had not until yesterday the pleasure to receive your letter from Granville under date of the 21st April last it came by mail; postmarked the 1st instant at Murfreesboro. I fear this long delay will incline you to believe that I have been capable of neglect

Growers of Tobacco even here has taken a proud stand among other cultivators of the Earth; Seven and Eight dollars per cwt. has been received for it on the banks of Cumberland If this price could continue our planters would soon be in affluent circumstances—Taxes here are yielded to and paid without a murmur and confidence in the President increased a rare circumstance under the pressure of heavy taxes, which strongly marks the patriotism of the people.

Your suit with Searey is still undetermined; during my absence in Canada; he got possession of the plantation by tampering with the tenant just at the expiration of a lease and letting him have it for little or nothing; I have since got possession of it for you in the same way, the consequence however is that little rent is to be paid

I think that in the year 1811 I informed [you] that J Mitchell was to be an important witness for Searsey If his testimony cannot be invalidated it will probably render the

issue of this suit doubtful; little business of a litigated nature has been done in the courts here during the week

The end of the 18th and commencement of the 19th century has been pregnant with great events and Bonapartes re-assension of the throne of France without the firing of a gun is not amongst least least Is it probable that the Potentates of Europe will again unite and say France shall not have a monarch of its own choosing I think not

Now peace is restored to our beloved country it will be well to turn your attention to females as the most prolific source of population when fulfilling the Holy command *Multiply and replenish the earth*. We have six daughters and four sons and have ceased to increase—

Mrs Winchester joins me in asking you to make our respects to Mrs. Eaton, and you will add to this favour by making my respects acceptable to my esteemed friends your Father and Major Will Smith

With a tender of services I conclude very respectfully

Dear Sir

Your most obt Servant,

J. WINCHESTER.

Col. John Rust Eaton

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CHAPEL HILL

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY

1910

FEDERALISM IN NORTH CAROLINA

BY

Henry McGilbert Wagstaff

FEDERALISM IN NORTH CAROLINA

I. BEFORE THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION

When the delegates of the patriot party of North Carolina met at Halifax in 1776 to form a constitution for the new-born state, two clearly defined factions appeared. A perfect unity of sentiment existed between these factions in all things that appertained to a vigorous prosecution of the war against England; while wide differences of view obtained as to the character to be given to the constitutional document about to be formed. One faction inclined toward a government of democratic type with every department faithfully reflecting the popular will. The other wished the constitution to provide a government less directly subject to popular influence. The former forecasted a new and mighty force in the world's history: American Democracy. The latter exemplified the force of conservatism even in transplanted Englishmen, colonials who retained a profound faith in and regard for the English constitution as it then existed.¹ The American idea, however, predominated in the Halifax convention and the mild type of democracy which it then embodied characterized the constitution which was evolved.

The weaker faction acquiesced gracefully in the result, the war soon absorbing the energies of all. But with the coming of peace and assured independence from the mother country the old line of cleavage between radicals and conservatives reappeared as new issues arose and new conditions were to be met. The radical faction was in control of the state government and responsible for its course when the war ended, while the conservatives had already

¹ Many of the leading lawyers, and other educated men in North Carolina, even after the Revolution, kept in correspondence with their kinsmen in England and retained a lively interest in English public affairs. See McRee's *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*.

assumed the role of critic and were rapidly developing a strong party consciousness. The dominant party had not yet rid itself of a trust in the efficacy of paper money issues as a panacea for state poverty.² Likewise it was responsible for the failure to repeal the laws under which sweeping confiscations of Tory property had been made during the war. The total of this property was large and its value had materially assisted the state's resources in sustaining the burden of the war. To make restitution in accordance with the terms³ of peace between England and the Congress of the Confederation was a thing impossible to the impoverished state government. The radical majority refused to consider it as in any degree a moral obligation and hence the treaty was not declared a part of state law until 1787, the status of confiscated property at the same time remaining unaffected.⁴ A third characteristic of the radicals as a ruling party was extreme disinterest in the common government, the Confederacy, together with an intense consciousness of the state's individual sovereignty. The somewhat blatant democracy, characterized at the end of the war by the three above named tendencies, embraced in its membership the soldiers of the Revolution, their officers, the bulk of state officials, and the mass of what Archibald Maclaine, a conservative, was fond of calling "the common people." On the other hand the conservatives at this date made up so small a minority that they may best be described as a coterie of educated men, mainly lawyers, well fitted for leadership and likely to acquire influence and power as soon as the passions of the recent conflict began to pass away. They held sane opinions as to the evils of paper money; advocated a lenient policy toward the defeated Loyalists; and considered the fortunes and welfare of North Carolina as indissolubly linked with that of her sister states. Nevertheless

2 Two issues of Bills of Credit were made after hostilities had ceased, one in 1783 of £100,000 (24 State Records, 478), and another in 1785 for the same amount (24 S. R. 722).

3 The treaty had provided that Congress recommend to the states the policy of restitution. This Congress did, though the states, generally, paid no heed, thus repudiating it as a moral obligation.

4 North Carolina State Records, XX., 321-325.

there was notably lacking throughout the state any spirit of unrest or discontent with present conditions that promised to afford the conservatives at any early date an opportunity for leadership.

A train of influences, however, were already at work that were soon to stir the rather stagnant political waters of North Carolina into violent commotion. Virginia and Maryland initiated a movement in 1786 that led to the call of the constitutional convention at Philadelphia in the following year.

The plan for strengthening the Union by amending the Articles of Confederation found ready acceptance among the conservatives of North Carolina. It would, if successful, bring about national and international respectability, a result that independence alone did not necessarily assure. Moreover it would very probably correct various internal evils from which the country at large, or the states individually, suffered. Lastly, to the conservatives the movement seemed to promise an opportunity for public service and, consequently, public honors to those who advanced it. Interested alike in state and Confederation affairs they threw themselves with intelligent skill into the work of creating sentiment for amendment of the Articles.

Delegates⁵ had been appointed to represent the state in the Annapolis Convention, and the legislature now promptly named a commission of five to the Philadelphia Convention. Neither of these actions proceeded from any popular demand, but apparently out of deference alone to the invitation. There was no lively interest manifested, except among the handful of conservatives, as to what might be the outcome. The preamble of the act⁶ appointing delegates to Philadelphia embodied the sentiments of the conservatives in the legislature and seems to have been a product of

5 Five in number. None attended. Only one, Hugh Williamson, made any effort to do so.

6 Public Acts of North Carolina, 1786, 42.

7 The term "conservative", properly characterizes this party in state affairs only. So likewise only in the same limited sense does "radical" accurately apply to the ruling democracy under Jones' leadership. From the viewpoint of their respective attitudes upon the question of altering the state's relation to the Confederation the terms would be more descriptive if interchanged.

their exertions. Nevertheless three of the commission as elected were radicals, among them being Willie Jones, the unrivalled chief of his party. Jones was a state individualist of the extreme type who, long in control of the dominant party, had given it his own stamp and taught it to regard North Carolina as its chief and practically only concern. Though he did not oppose sending delegates to Philadelphia political consistency bade him refuse the appointment. Richard Caswell, the governor, and somewhat less lacking in sympathy for the movement than Jones, likewise declined. Being empowered by law to fill the vacancies, the governor considerably named two friends of the movement. Hence the delegation as finally made up consisted of one radical, Alexander Martin, and four conservatives, William R. Davie, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson and William Blount.

But even the most enlightened and hopeful of the conservatives⁷ in North Carolina had no premonition that the American Confederation was on the eve of so marvelous a political transformation, a transformation the more wonderful in that it was not generally demanded by the thirteen independent sovereignties affected. The Philadelphia Convention undertook and effected a radical remodeling of the general government. The constitution evolved and laid before the states for ratification was without a parallel in history. North Carolina in common with the other states suddenly realized that she was confronted by a momentous question, the acceptance or rejection of the new frame of government.

The North Carolina conservatives became at once an active working corps in the interest of the new constitution, while the radicals looked on interested but questioning. Even before the Convention at Philadelphia had finished its labors the most far-sighted of the former began to plan the election of a conservative state governor as the initial step toward ratification.⁸ They now began to call themselves federal men, and soon thereafter, Federalists. By assiduous correspondence and personal exertions practical organization was effected, the old conservatives, or "outs",

⁸ McRee, Griffith J., *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, II.*, 167. Hugh Williamson to Iredell, July 22, 1787.

to a man rallying with renewed hope to the new and fortunate issue.

Samuel Johnston was perhaps the best known of all the North Carolina federalists. As president of the revolutionary Provincial Council he was in effect the executive head of government between the abdication in April, 1775, of Josiah Martin, the last of the royal governors, and the accession of Richard Caswell under the constitution in December, 1776. He served the revolutionary state well in this civil capacity and would undoubtedly have become the first governor under the constitution had not Richard Caswell's military achievements suddenly brought the latter into prominence.⁹ Though trusted by the whole state for his probity and patriotism Johnston was well known to be far from democratic in political theory even though the tide of democracy set in strong with the inception of the Revolution and was still at high flood in 1787. This, together with his sharp criticism and contempt of the policies of the ruling radical majority explains his exclusion from political employment between 1776 and 1788. Equally conversant with state and Confederation affairs and possessing a clear insight into international politics the headship of the Federalist party in North Carolina fell naturally to Johnston. Or, rather, among an able group of well informed equals of like sympathies a position of primacy was accorded him by common consent. Other members of this group already possessing statewide prominence, a number of whom were soon to become more widely known, were James Iredell of Edenton, William Richardson Davie of Halifax, Archibald Maclaine of Wilmington, Will Hooper of Hillsboro, William Blount of Craven, Richard Dobbs Spaight of Craven, John Steele of Rowan, and Hugh Williamson of Edenton. All these except the two last named were, like Johnston, members of the state bar.

North Carolina held her annual election for members of the General Assembly in August, 1787, while the Philadelphia Convention was still in session. It was already known, however, that

⁹ Caswell was in command of the state forces at the battle of Moore's Creek, February, 1776, in which a severe defeat was inflicted upon the Scotch Highlanders in the Cape Fear country who rose in favor of King George.

a plan of government had been agreed upon and that in relation to it the forthcoming Assembly would be called upon to act.¹⁰ Therefore the federal leaders determined to wage an active campaign for membership in and possible control of that body in order to insure its compliance with the expected recommendations of the Convention. Thus the Constitution became an issue in North Carolina before men knew what it was like. Intense interest was awakened. The fighting became fast and furious, much bitterness being engendered in many localities.¹¹ The federal leaders, most of whom were candidates, took as their common theme the weaknesses of the old Confederation and its corollary, the need of a firmer principle of union. The campaign was of considerable educative value and accentuated interest in larger affairs than the average North Carolinian was wont to concern himself after independence had been achieved. Nevertheless a fair analysis of the issues involved in this campaign shows that the federal men, as "outs," forced the fighting on the new ground as a means to supremacy in the state; while the radicals were struggling not to condemn the Constitution in advance but to maintain their control. Therefore, despite the claim of federal men, a radical victory did not necessarily imply that the new frame of government, when submitted, would not be accorded due consideration.

Though the federalists had made a notable effort and attracted numerous recruits to their ranks, they failed to wrest control of the legislature from the radicals, the latter being able to show a majority in each house and to choose both speakers.¹² Archibald Maclaine had to solace himself with the hope that the Assembly contained *some* men of understanding who would endeavor to do what was necessary. "Happily," he continues, "our Assembly, except where particular interests interfere, have generally appeared well disposed to coincide with the proposals of Congress."¹³ This qualified confidence in the radicals by the strictest of the old conservatives was not misplaced. Partisanship for the nonce was

10 McRee II., 168, Spaight to Iredell, Aug. 12, 1787.

11 Ibid. II., 178, Maclaine to Iredell, Aug. 29, 1787.

12 Senate and House Journals, N. C. State Records, XX., 121, 303.

13 McRee II., 178, Maclaine to Iredell.

held in absence, the two houses on joint ballot choosing Samuel Johnston governor despite his opposition to the bulk of the principles for which the radical majority stood. This was the result of a general recognition that the honor was due Johnston for the eminent services he had rendered the state. Moreover, in its anticipation, he had been tactful enough to refrain from participation in the late partisan conflict. When a minority member introduced a measure to provide for a state convention to consider the new federal Constitution the majority again proved liberal, only two radicals of any prominence opposing it.¹⁴ That the people might have first-hand information about the proposed plan of government the Assembly ordered copies of the Constitution printed and placed at the disposal of members for distribution among their constituents. The Convention was to meet at Hillsboro in July, 1788, and to consist of five freeholding delegates from each county and one from each borough town chosen under the same regulations as were members of the lower house of Assembly.

The federalist leaders now began an active campaign to arouse popular interest in the new scheme of government. The first popular endorsement¹⁵ of the Constitution in North Carolina resulted from a meeting held at Edenton, November 8, 1787. The grand jury at the same place likewise presented to the court a vigorous address upon the subject Nov. 12. This document was printed as campaign literature and widely circulated. The reasons it assigned for the need of the new constitution were: the distracted state of the Union; public debts unpaid; treaty of peace unfulfilled; commerce on the verge of ruin; private industry at a standstill; quotas unpaid and impossible to pay; Congress possessing but a shadow of authority, etc. These ideas, with numerous appropriate additions, were pressed upon the attention of the public by all the campaign methods then in vogue. They were

14 Journal of the Senate, N. C. State Records, XX., 369, 372. The opposing members were Thomas Person and James Coor.

15 This meeting was due to the influence and exertions of James Iredell, who resided at that place. It was before the Assembly had called the convention, and soon after the Constitution was promulgated. See McRee II., 180.

emphasized by resolutions in meetings of the friends of the constitution; by presentments from favorable grand juries; by the group of federalist lawyers upon their court circuits; and by a newly developed pamphlet literature.¹⁶ Early in January, 1788, James Iredell under the pen name "Marcus," published his *Answers to Mr. Mason's Objections to the New Constitution*,¹⁷ a production that easily takes rank with the ablest of the "Federalist Papers" of Madison, Jay, and Hamilton, only a few numbers of which had as yet appeared. Later (May) Davie and Iredell collaborated in the production of a second pamphlet in defense of the Constitution and incurred considerable expense in circulating it.

The election of convention delegates resulted in the choice of the ablest leaders of both parties, this being made possible by the fact that any freeholder might be chosen by any county or borough town whether he was a resident of the same or of some other. Too, there was an appreciation of ability very generally prevalent in North Carolina at this date that made it possible, and not infrequent, for a constituency to confer public honors out of respect to individual character and virtue even though the recipient's political views may not have accorded with those of the electors so honoring him. What with her borough representation; her practice of free choice of any citizen of the state by any local constituency; and her trust in men of proven merit upon occasion, regardless of their views, North Carolina was, in her political practices, as English as Kent or Middlesex.

When the Hillsboro Convention met, July 21, 1788, it was already known that the number of federalist delegates would make up only a respectable minority.¹⁸ Willie Jones' masterly leader-

15 Newspapers in North Carolina at this early date were few and weak, the State Gazette of Newbern being the most important. There was as yet no great reading public. Nor had political canvassing and the stump orator of a later day appeared.

17 Mr. Mason of Virginia. Iredell's paper first appeared in fragmentary form in the State Gazette and later in pamphlet. See reprint in McRee II., 186-215.

18 McRee II., 222. Hooper to Iredell, April 15, 1788.

ship had kept the front of the old radical party quite unbroken, a result due in large part to one man leadership,¹⁹ supported by able lieutenants, in an organization already in definite control of the state. Nevertheless when the delegates met in their first session the federalists were still hopeful of a favorable issue. They relied upon the weight of the influence upon the convention of the ten states that had already ratified. Among the ten was Virginia, whose influence was especially potent in the Roanoke and Albemarle regions of North Carolina, regions which at that time were the most thickly populated, the wealthiest, and most influential portion of the state. On June 11, 1788, Hugh Williamson, delegate in the now moribund Congress, wrote²⁰ from New York: "All expectation is turned toward Virginia. We take it for granted, I do at least, that North Carolina will follow Virginia in adopting or rejecting." On July 9, Virginia having ratified meanwhile, Davie writes from Halifax:²¹ "The decision of Virginia has altered the tone of the Antis here very much. Mr. Jones says his object will now be to get the constitution rejected in order to give weight to the proposed amendments, and talks in high commendation of these made by Virginia."

Jones refused to relinquish this purpose when the convention had organized, and held his followers in orderly array behind him. Governor Johnston, out of deference to his office and public service, was chosen by unanimous vote to preside. Iredell, Davie, Spaight, Maclaine, and Steele were present as delegates and prepared to champion ratification. A session of eleven days followed in which the Constitution was debated in its various aspects. The debates clearly brought out the fact that the federalist leaders held the new Constitution to be in nature a compact

¹⁹ Jones was an example of the early development of the party boss, though entirely without the venality of the modern type of this species in American politics.

²⁰ To Iredell. McRee II., 226.

²¹ McRee, II., 230. Halifax was in the Southside Roanoke region and the home of both Willie Jones and Davie. The latter married Sarah, daughter of General Allen Jones, a brother of Willie Jones. Allen Jones, however, like Davie was a conservative in politics and always opposed his brother politically.

between the states, and the federal government, created by it, their agent. Nor does this theory seem to have been assumed by the federalists merely to lull the suspicions of the majority. Davie and Spaight had been members of the Philadelphia Convention, and presumably, knew the spirit in which the Constitution was constructed. Both upon the floor of the Hillsboro Convention interpreted the document as providing more efficient union yet in no way effecting the sovereign character of the states.²² No appreciable change of sentiment appeared as a result of the debate. Non-adoption was pre-determined by the majority. Jones embodied this decision in a resolution²³ which likewise asserted the necessity of a bill of rights and suggested the call of a second convention at a later date. To the resolution was appended a declaration of rights similar to that in the state constitution together with a list of twenty-six amendments very similar to those suggested by Virginia. The resolution and appendages were carried by a vote of one hundred and eighty-four to eighty-four. A motion by a federalist to substitute a ratifying resolution was defeated by the same vote reversed. On August 4 the body adjourned *sine die*.

The eleventh state, New York, ratified soon after the adjournment at Hillsboro, thus leaving North Carolina with the sole companionship of Rhode Island without the Union. Public opinion in the state now began to veer around rapidly. The federalists, with hope renewed, redoubled their efforts, believing that the pressure of circumstances would now give them control. The annual August election of assemblymen, occurring so soon after the decision of the Convention, gave them scant time to reform their ranks. Nevertheless they made large gains, it remaining uncertain, until the Assembly met in November, as to who should control the body. Hence in the interim the friends of the Constitution everywhere prepared petitions²⁴ to the Assembly asking the call of a second convention to consider the subject anew. Upon Governor Johnston's suggestion the petitioners preserved a

²² Elliot's Debates, IV., 148, 155, *et seq.*

²³ Elliot's Debates, IV., 242.

²⁴ These petitions are preserved in manuscripts in the North Carolina Archives, office of Secretary of State, Raleigh.

fair degree of uniformity, emphasizing mainly the benefits to be derived from a firm union with the other states and the desirability of being in the Union when the anticipated amendments should be formed.

Almost immediately after the Assembly met, November 3, a secret caucus of the friends of the Constitution was held by which it was learned that they possessed a small majority in both branches.²⁵ Yet so effective was the radical party organization and so powerful its grip upon the state that both houses organized under its control without regard to the convention issue. In fact on the 15th a definite proof was given the conservatives that the radical party still controlled even on the convention issue, despite the convictions of a majority of the whole body. On that date, evidently by a dexterous use of the party whip, Thomas Person,²⁶ radical leader in the lower house, secured a vote of fifty-five to forty-seven against a new convention.²⁷ But this vote was meant to be disciplinary rather than definitive, — a proof that another convention would be by radical grace rather than by conservative compulsion. Many radicals, though still amenable to party discipline and at one with their leaders on state issues, wished to call a new convention and have it ratify the constitution. They were federalists for the single purpose of federation; in all things else they still looked to Jones and Person for guidance. The former in the senate and the latter in the house were masters on every issue, finally, save that of the convention. They even had the two houses reiterate²⁸ the necessity of another federal convention²⁹ and appoint five delegates to attend when it should be called. One of these was Person himself, and the others likewise belonged to the

25 McRee II., 245, Maclaine to Iredell, Nov. 17, 1788.

26 General Thomas Person, of Granville, a Revolutionary patriot and officer. He was Jones' ablest lieutenant and an uncompromising advocate of state individualism.

27 House Journal, N. C. State Records, XXI., 52.

28 Senate Journal, 1788, N. C. State Rec., XX., 527 and 544. This was a concurrent resolution.

29 The Hillsboro Convention of the year before had passed a final resolution demanding a second federal convention to provide the required amendments.

anti-federal section of the radicals. They defeated a bill, brought in by the federal conservatives,³⁰ to force debtors to pay according to contract, and thus abrogate the old "stay laws" passed in the period of the Revolution and still in force. Likewise they threw out a bill introduced and supported by the federal conservatives for removing the political disabilities³¹ of Tory sympathizers in the Revolution. But despite these evidences of party solidarity the flood of petitions for a new state convention and the wavering of a considerable portion of their followers warned Jones and Person that this point would have to be conceded. Hence on the 21st of November the two houses came into agreement upon a resolution³² to call a convention the date of which was set for November 16, 1789, a year after its call. Thus the federal government would be organized, and operative for the ratifying states, at least six months before North Carolina could render a new decision as to her relations with it. This was the last concession the radical leaders would make and with this the North Carolina federalists had perforce to content themselves. Indeed they were as yet not very sanguine of a favorable result at all, well knowing that Jones and Person were still unconvinced of the wisdom of the whole plan and would use the intervening period to discover and advertise any weaknesses the new government might manifest.

No untoward circumstances, however, occurred within the following twelve months to daunt the hopes of those who had faith in the new Union. Before the middle of 1789 its machinery had been set in motion. Washington at the head of the state inspired universal confidence. Congress began in a conservative spirit to clothe the governmental skeleton with flesh and blood.

✓ The federalists of North Carolina conceded at the outset that the constitution should be amended according to the demand so generally expressed by the states upon their ratification. They

30 N. C. State Records, XX, 492. See also McRee II, 247, Johnston to Iredell, Nov. 20, 1788.

31 State Rec., XX., 506. These disqualifying laws had been passed in 1784 and 1785. See State Rec., XXIV., 683, 732.

32 Ibid. XXI., 83.

looked to³³ James Madison of Virginia to bring the matter forward early in the first congress. Such action would go far toward overcoming North Carolina's hesitation. The anti-federal section of the radical party, allowing scant time for such a move, were, in May, 1789, remarking with great triumph the fulfilment of their prophecies with respect to Congress never taking up the subject. Madison, however, at the end of the month, brought the expected list of amendments forward and showed every inclination to push their adoption. This promptness, together with the fact that the champion of amendment was a federalist,³⁴ made the North Carolina federalists jubilant and to the same degree confounded the anti-federalists.³⁵ In the meantime, and as the date of the state's second convention approached sentiment favorable to the constitution increased and definitely crystallized for final action.

The second North Carolina convention called to consider the federal constitution met at Fayetteville, November 16, 1789, and five days later passed an ordinance of ratification by a majority of one hundred and eighteen votes. General Johnston was president. Other prominent federalists with seats in the body were William R. Davie, John Steele, Hugh Williamson, Charles Johnson, and William Barry Grove. Thomas Person and Judge Samuel Spencer led the anti-federalists, Willie Jones having refused to accept a seat in the body whose action was a foregone conclusion and with which he had no sympathy.

In considering the final causes that led North Carolina to ratify the United States Constitution the conclusion is inevitable that the primary influence was its ratification by eleven of the other states and thereby the automatic dissolution of the old Confederation. Thus North Carolina was left in an isolated position, out of relation with her sisters with whose fortunes hers were naturally

33 McRee, II., 258, Thomas Lowther to James Iredell, May 9, 1789.

34 Madison afterward arrayed himself in opposition to the federalists as a political party and became one of the leaders of the Republicans. The fact that the North Carolina federalists at this early date looked to him as leader is significant in that many of them went through the same political evolution, thus in part accounting for the failure of a vigorous growth of Federalism in the State.

35 McRee, II., 260, Davie to Iredell, June 4, 1789.

linked. She had not demanded a reorganization of the old government and, despite the energetic campaign carried on by the conservatives, there was aroused no popular appreciation of the new scheme from the date of its promulgation to that of its ratification. Public opinion was not yet ripe for the change and was artificially ripened by the consciousness of the state's isolation. A majority may have at any time admitted that the new constitution had points of superiority over the old; but, likewise, there was always a majority that feared the states were yielding up too much. It was hope, rather than faith, that finally over-balanced fear. Only a minority body of public opinion, finding expression in the old leaders of the conservative faction, had full faith that the new order would be safer than the old. Even this faith was in part artificially stimulated by the belief that the changing order would serve as an opportunity for the "outs" in state politics to seize power. This was the capitalization of a hope that was never realized though, as the following chapter will explain, a larger field for public service now opened before them.

II. AFTER THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Consistent with the good policy of having the government launched by its friends and because of his just claims upon the state's regard the North Carolina Assembly unanimously chose Governor Samuel Johnston as its first United States senator. Benjamin Hawkins, likewise a federalist, received the second toga. Two months later, February 10, 1790, James Iredell was named by President Washington as an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Preliminary to the represented apportionment to be based upon the census of 1790 the state had been assigned five members in the lower house of Congress. The assembly therefore districted the state for representation by combining for each district two of the ten superior court districts.³⁶ This gave one to the trans-mountain region,³⁷ thus leaving only four east of the mountains. Elections were held in February in the four eastern districts, resulting in the choice of two federalists³⁸ — Hugh Williamson and John Steele — and two anti-federalists — Timothy Bloodworth and John B. Ashe,

Johnston and Hawkins, the two senators, reached New York, the seat of Congress, at the beginning of the year. The representatives did not all arrive before the middle of April, when congress was in the hottest of the conflict over Hamilton's financial

36 Laws of N. C. State Records XXV., 1-3.

37 The trans-mountain district, the defunct State of Franklin, chose John Sevier, its late revolutionary governor. In April, 1790, through her senators, North Carolina executed a deed of cession of this turbulent territory to the United States government and before long it was admitted into the Union as the state of Tennessee. After this cession five representatives were still allowed North Carolina. For the second districting act see laws of N. C., State Records, XXV, 64-65.

38 Since, after the adoption of the constitution, the term "Federalist" was continued in use to designate the party that had brought about union and controlled the new government. Hence "anti-federalist" was for a time used to designate the opposition. Therefore these two names will now displace, respectively, "conservatives" and "radicals" in North Carolina politics until the anti-federalists came to be known as Republicans.

proposals. Senator Johnston supported³⁹ Madison in the latter's proposal to make a discrimination between the original national debt certificates and those who had purchased them at depreciated value. He likewise opposed the assumption of state debts, writing⁴⁰ Iredell: "I am of the opinion that if Congress adopts that measure one of two evils will necessarily ensue, either they will not be able to comply with their engagements, or in order to enable them to comply they will be reduced to the necessity of laying taxes which will be oppressive to the people and injure the government in their opinion. The House, at this time, is very nearly divided on the question. If our members come forward in time I have hopes that the assumption of state debts will not take place." The North Carolina members did arrive a few days afterward and all arrayed themselves, under Madison's leadership, against the measure. Williamson took a conspicuous part in the debate. He alleged that assumption would be palpably unfair to those states which had already discharged a large part of their debts if they were now to be taxed to discharge the debts of those that were delinquent. He claimed that assumption would be an invasion of the reserved rights of the states and contradictory to the powers North Carolina understood herself to have granted when she ratified the constitution.⁴¹ The accession of the North Carolina delegation to the non-assumption party was decisive for the time, the question being deferred. Furthermore no Federalist of note left in private life in North Carolina endorsed the bold program of Hamilton. Davie was tremblingly alive to every influence that might threaten the stability of the new government and thought such measures quite unfitted to its infant resources.⁴² Indeed it began to appear that in North Carolina "Federalism" meant *federation* only, an end already achieved. The political principles, centralization of power in the hands of the federal government and loose construction of the constitution,

39 McRee, II., 281. Johnston to Iredell, Feb. 18, 1790.

40 Ibid. II, 286, April 6, 1790.

41 Gales and Seaton, History of Cong., I, 1490, Speech of Hugh Williamson on Assumption.

42 McRee II., 281. Davie to Iredell, April, 1790.

which the Federalists as a national party were now beginning to develop, would evidently be of slow growth in the state.

As we have just seen, the North Carolina Federalists, both in and out of public life, were inclined to balk at the Federalist national program. However this was but a mild reflex from the violent reaction that began to manifest itself immediately after ratification. The rampant state democracy, still in control, repented itself of the temporary trust it had imposed in those who had advised federation under a strengthened constitution. Those who had opposed ratification to the end now gained complete ascendancy in the party. The fruits of the new Union, they said, already began to ripen bitter. On December 15, the General Assembly passed resolutions condemning the assumption of state debts as an infringement of the sovereignty of the states. A solemn protest was uttered against the policy and the state's senators and representatives in Congress were directed to use their endeavors to prevent as far as possible the evil operation of such acts to the interests and liberty of the country.⁴³ By this date the assumption measure was law, the two senators from North Carolina lending it their support at the last, while the state's whole delegation in the lower house remained steadfast in the opposition. The Assembly was highly exasperated at the action of the senators and exasperation turned into keen distrust when they failed to attend the legislative session for a few days and make report of their stewardship.⁴⁴ Had this been senatorial year they would assuredly have lost their seats. The representatives were in different case. They had not offended by their votes in Congress. Moreover all the delegation, both Federalists and anti-Federalists, were conspicuously⁴⁵ present at the November-December session, 1790. Their districts were to be faced the following year and attendance

43 N. C. State Records, XXI., 1055.

44 McRee II., 302-303. A. Maclaine to Iredell and John Hay to Iredell. The Senators likewise voted for the Excise Bill, thus further offending the State legislature. See McRee II., 326-330, Iredell to John Hay for a very able defense of the senators.

45 Ibid. II., 302. A. Maclaine to Iredell, Nov. 18, 1790.

upon the legislature was the best method for mending political fences. North Carolinians had not yet got away from the idea that their legislature was the exponent of their sovereignty. Nor was the legislature, on this account, backward in demanding from the state's servants a recognition of its primary importance.

The legislature of North Carolina, through these last years of the 18th century, was composed of the ablest men to be found in the counties who were not already officials in other capacities. Familiarity with public affairs was not claimed by the average citizen and hence he inevitably trusted and clothed with power those few in each community who by character, knowledge, or experience were best fitted to direct the fortunes of the state. Professional politicians had not yet made their appearance. Nevertheless there was observable a tendency to recognize an official class, though this class was not a close corporation that played politics for its own advantage. Rather it was a class composed of men who by natural ability in leadership, or by education, stood out as worthy the confidence of the masses. In all popular elections before the Revolution it was the practice in North Carolina to confer public honors upon this official class despite its tendency to become an official aristocracy. But during the process of the Revolution democracy had become enthroned in the state. Hence, afterward, only such of the old official class as had actively identified themselves with the patriot cause and could, at least measurably, readjust themselves to harmony with the new spirit of democracy found opportunity for public service. The majority of these had become conservatives after 1776 and sought to moderate the radical tendencies of the state administration. Later, as has been shown, they became federalists and, like Samuel Johnston, commanded confidence and received a fair share of public honors. By 1790, however, the state had begun to produce a new crop of aspirants for political leadership. These were the true type of that rough, crude, but virile democracy that was to give its distinctive characteristics to the life of the young republic for the next half century. Many of the new political aspirants were not "gentlemen" in the old colonial or English meaning of the term. They would not have been at ease or found

great enjoyment, as did Samuel Johnston and his class,⁴⁶ in drinking coffee with Lady Washington. Many of them lacked education and polish but were men of ability and were fast developing those qualities of leadership that such an environment demanded. ✓ Most of this new class were, in 1790-91, to be found in the anti-federal party, now soon to be known in the nation as the Republican party under the leadership and inspiration of Thomas Jefferson. It was of such men, together with a respectable minority of old conservatives, that the legislature of North Carolina was made up and whose influence in their respective counties would decide the fortunes of the congressional candidates.

✓ So acceptable to North Carolina had been the votes of all her congressmen in the first congress, Federalists and anti-Federalists alike, and so respectful had been their attitude toward the Assembly, that all were returned in the elections of 1791 save one. This was Timothy Bloodworth, an extreme anti-Federalist, who was defeated in the Wilmington district by William Barry Grove, a most ardent Federalist. This district was now, and for long, dominated by Scotch influence, the Scotch inhabitants of the Cape Fear valley making up the bulk of the population. The Scotch had been Loyalists in the Revolution and had suffered much at the hands of the victorious party. Thus they were naturally inclined toward Federalism, understanding it to mean centralization and stability and depression of surviving Revolutionary hatreds yet fostered by the state democracy. This district, therefore, became the stronghold of Federalism in North Carolina, retaining Grove in the House for the next twelve years, through which period he became more and more antagonistic to Republican prin-

⁴⁶ Johnston was a man of courtly manners and moved easily in any social environment. He was careful to discharge social obligations and found enjoyment even in the somewhat stiff society of Washington's "court." Writing to Iredell, his brother-in-law, March 4, 1790, he says: "I have just left the President's, where I had the pleasure of dining with almost every member of the senate. We had some excellent champagne and, after it, I had the honor of drinking coffee with his Lady, a most amiable woman. If I live much longer I believe I shall at last be reconciled to the company of old women for her sake, a circumstance I once thought impossible." McRee II., 284.

ciples as the years went by. At the same election Nathaniel Macon was chosen in the Hillsboro district.⁴⁷ Macon, as a Republican of the Jeffersonian school of thought, was now assuming the state leadership that Willie Jones was voluntarily relinquishing. Likewise he was just beginning his thirty-seven years of continuous service in Congress,⁴⁸ upon whose actions he was to leave a definite impress.

In party nomenclature, therefore, North Carolina had three Federalists and two anti-Federalists in the Second Congress, though even the nominal Federalists were not at this date suspected of entertaining the principles of loose constitutional construction and national centralization of powers for which the term "Federalism" was soon to stand in the South.

By 1793 party lines were more clearly drawn in the state and the trend of Federalism more clearly understood in its new interpretation. Hence in that year out of the ten representatives⁴⁹ chosen only one Federalist secured election, and that the redoubtable William Barry Grove. In the meantime Samuel Johnston, now regarded as deep-dyed in Federalism, and proving totally unpliant to the will of the jealous legislature,⁵⁰ lost his seat in the session of 1792-93, giving place to the anti-Federalist Alexander Martin. Thus in 1793 North Carolina retained only two Federalists in elective offices,—W. B. Grove in the House and Benjamin Hawkins in the Senate. The latter had been elected in 1789 for the long term and, therefore, his tenure would not expire before 1795. The Federalist leaders, though practically eliminated from official life

47 The census returns of 1790 had not yet been completed. North Carolina, though having ceded Tennessee in 1790, was still allowed five congressmen as under the old apportionment; thus the choice in 1791 of an additional congressman.

48 Macon was a member of the House of Representatives from 1791 to 1815, being chosen Senator in the latter year and retaining his seat until his voluntary retirement at the age of seventy-one years in 1828.

49 This number of representatives was apportioned to North Carolina as a result of the census of 1790.

50 Johnston's vote on the Excise Bill, a measure extremely unpopular in North Carolina, deeply offended the Assembly. See McRee II., 336. Johnston to Iredell.

in 1793 except in certain federal appointive offices, had not really been guilty of any dereliction of duty to the state's interests. To be sure they had manifested the firmest faith in the principle of union as a cure for the many ills affecting the old Confederacy. Likewise they believed that honesty and wisdom had characterized the course of the new government so far. None of them up to 1793 had shown any disposition to strain the Constitution over a doubtful point unless the senators' support of Hamilton's financial measures might be so construed. Essentially they had been as strict constructionists as their anti-Federal opponents except when the principle of union was endangered. Judge Iredell, in fact, original Federalist, and now United States Supreme Court Justice, set his partymen of the South a strict construction standard, February, 1794, in his dissenting opinion in the *Chisholm vs. Georgia* case.⁵¹

Involving the right of a citizen to sue a state this case indirectly raised the question as to the status of a state in the American Union; i.e., whether it had ever been sovereign, was sovereign now, or had divested itself of sovereignty when it entered the Union. Iredell evolved the theory of divided sovereignty, holding that the states remained sovereign except to the extent they had curtailed this sovereignty by delegating its exercise in certain cases to the federal government. His opinion was a clear intimation to the country that the constitution of the Union was of the nature of a compact and that safety lay only in strict construction of its terms. Federalist though he was and one of the warmest and most influential advocates of the Constitution, he thus gave the Republicans the cue to their most powerful political principle. The government had been launched, and launched successfully, under the latter's carping criticisms and distrust of motives; but no definite crystallization of principles had occurred among them until Iredell struck the keynote, strict construction, which became the party's shibboleth and remained its central principle for seventy years. The leading Federalists in North Carolina gen-

51 For report of this case see Dallas, U. S. Supreme Court Reports, II., 419-480.

erally remained silent on the subject of Iredell's attitude in this case, only one — William R. Davie — writing in approval.⁵² The country generally, however, soon came to endorse Iredell's main premise that a state should not be sued by a citizen and the eleventh amendment was the ultimate result.

Jay's treaty with Britain, made in 1794, gives a second test within this year by which to gauge the strength of Federalism in North Carolina. This treaty was a disappointment to the whole country but was defended in strong Federalist centers, the administration likewise being strong enough to effect its ratification. In North Carolina, however, no single influential voice was raised in its defense. W. B. Grove, the state's lone Federalist in the House of Representatives, did dare to vote for the appropriation necessary to carry the treaty terms into effect; but all other Federalists of state prominence, whether in or out of public service, agreed with the opposition, though somewhat more mildly, in its condemnation. Johnston wrote:⁵³ "It [the treaty] appears to be a hasty performance." After stating certain of its more striking objections he goes on: "I confess they have greatly lessened my opinion of Mr. Jay's ability as a negotiator; at the same time I think it most wicked in those who charge him with perfidy and corruption. Time I hope will do justice to his character and confound those bad men who are endeavoring to blacken it." Later he wrote:⁵⁴ "The whole continent seems to be enraged against Mr. Jay and his Treaty. 'Tis a pity that there is seldom so much pains taken to conciliate the minds of the multitude as is taken to inflame them. . . . Nothing seems so much to contribute to the happiness of some people as to see everyone distressed and discontented with the state of public affairs." Davie more explicitly condemned the treaty but at the same time showed an even greater solicitude for the endangered government than did Johnston. He said:⁵⁵ "The present crisis appears to me to be the most delicate and important since the organization of the gov-

52 McRee, II., 382. Davie to Iredell.

53 McRee II., 450. To Iredell.

54 McRee II., 453. To Iredell, Aug. 15. 1795.

55 Ibid. II., 454. To Iredell, Sept. 4, 1795.

ernment. The Anti-Federalists and the personal enemies of the Administration have rallied with astonishing activity. The circumstance of the Treaty has ranged a variety of parties on their side and given an imposing appearance to their numbers. I believe they will now make their last effort to shake the Government." The words of Johnston and Davie seemed to express the general attitude of the Federalists in North Carolina. They considered the treaty a blunder but strongly deprecated its being made a lever for weakening the government. The Republicans in Congress, under inspiration from Jefferson and the leadership of Madison, sought to set it aside by refusing the appropriation necessary to carry it into effect. The Federalists, however, won by a narrow margin.

This Republican defeat resulted in bringing Jefferson into the field as candidate for the presidency in 1796 against John Adams. The return⁵⁶ of Jefferson to the political arena likewise called forth his old disciple in North Carolina, Willie Jones, from political retirement. In this year the latter again stood for a seat in the Assembly, the announcement of which was equivalent to his election. This recrudescence of Jones boded no good to the Federalist cause in the state, though it had already begun to show active signs of revival when danger seemed to threaten the Union in the sharp controversy over Jay's treaty.

A preliminary skirmish between the reviving Federalist party and its opponent was the choice of a senator in 1795 to succeed Benjamin Hawkins, Federalist, elected in 1789. John Steele became the candidate of the party. Timothy Bloodworth, Republican, opposed him. The fight waxed warm in the legislature. The charge of subserviency to Hamilton while in the House of Representatives and of having "joined the aristocratical party"⁵⁷ was fatal to Steele, though not until outside influence had been exerted against him.⁵⁸ Bloodworth, the blacksmith, was chosen,

⁵⁶ Jefferson was Secretary of State in Washington's cabinet and had retired in Jan., 1794.

⁵⁷ James Sprunt Historical Monograph, No. 3, p. 18, Col. Joseph McDowell to Gen. John Steele, Jan. 12, 1795.

⁵⁸ Senator Pierce Butler, of South Carolina, wrote, opposing Steele on the

much to the mortification of Davie and other Federalists who professed much concern for the reputation of the state.⁵⁹ The strength shown by the Federalists in this contest over the senatorship aroused their hopes of securing a respectable member of the presidential electors in 1796. In the presidential election of 1788 North Carolina did not participate, not being at that time a member of the Union. In 1792 her votes had been given to Washington in grateful acknowledgement of his services and as a tribute to his character, though at the same time Clinton of New York, Republican, was her choice for vice-president. Although Washington was on the eve of retirement in 1796 and Federalism had so far failed to develop any strength in North Carolina, Samuel Johnston and other Federalists believed⁶⁰ it possible to secure at least four of the state's twelve electoral votes for John Adams. Events proved their hopes over-sanguine, Adams receiving only one,⁶¹ eleven going to Jefferson the standard bearer of Republicanism.

Adams, however, won over his rival by a narrow margin, the latter, by the old plan of election, becoming vice-president. Though contributing so small a part thereto the North Carolina Federalists heartily congratulated themselves and the country upon Adams's victory,⁶² though none of them as yet voiced the great dread of Jefferson that was so common among Federalists elsewhere. Nor did victorious Republicanism refuse to Washington, upon his retirement in 1797, the meed of reverence that was his due. The Assembly voted him an address couched in warm, affectionate, and respectful terms, the Federalists of the state regarding this as a just rebuke to Nathaniel Macon who had voted⁶³ in Congress against a similar address from that body.

But with Washington retired to private life and his personal influence removed as a restraining force there was every indica-

ground of his conduct in the House. See McRee II., 407. Butler to Iredell.

59 Ibid., II., 431. Davie to Iredell.

60 McRee II., 481, Johnston to Iredell.

61 The Scotch District.

62 W. B. Grove to James Hogg. Grove Corr., Sprunt Historical Monographs, No. 3, 116.

63 Annals of Cong., 4th Congress, 2 Sess., 1688.

tion that North Carolina would turn more passionately than ever to strict Republicanism of the Jeffersonian brand. This was due in part to the influence of Virginia,⁶⁴ but in larger part to the spirit of state individualism that Willie Jones had stamped so indelibly upon the state during the life of the Confederation. So far every hope of building up Federalist strength had failed. It remained to be seen what would be the result should circumstances arise that threatened violently the principle of union. Was North Carolina Republicanism, or even that of Virginia, of a sort that, in its opposition to Federalism as a set of party principles, it would go to the extreme length of permitting the Federal system of union to fail? The country was now on the eve of a crisis in public affairs that bade fair to render a fairly definite answer to this question.

This crisis was precipitated by the course of external politics. In the spring of 1798 the long series of aggravations America had suffered⁶⁵ at the hands of revolutionary France culminated in the X.Y.Z. affair. In this it was clearly demonstrated that the French Directory had dealt most perfidiously with America's envoys and offered an insult to her sovereignty. President Adams took proper offense and prepared to assert the nation's dignity. The war-spirit blazed fiercely for a time. Federalists and Repub-

64 Virginia's influence upon public affairs in North Carolina was, at this time, and before, a subject of frequent reference by public men of both states. See John Marshall to Iredell, *McCrée II.*, 482.

65 The excesses of the French Revolution caused the outbreak of a war between England and France in 1793 which continued without a lull until 1802. By neither combatant were the rights of weaker nations, whether neutrals, or participants, respected. Public sentiment in America became divided on party lines in America as between England and France. The Federalists had no sympathy with the violent French and leaned toward England. The Republican party was intensely pro-French in sympathy, hoping to see a stable self-governing democracy evolved by the Revolution. With the coming of Genet in 1793, and onward, France, through her ministers reflected upon Washington's government with ill-concealed contempt and sought to establish the Republican party in power. The prolongation of the supremacy of the Federalist party was due in great part to the unhealthy attitude assumed by the Republicans toward France.

licans alike — except the intensest partisans of the latter — upheld the President's hands.

In the summer of 1798, while the war fever was at its height, North Carolina chose a state legislature and her ten representatives to Congress. The Federalists won a definite majority in the Senate and likewise a majority — though a small and waning one — in the house. At the same time they carried six congressional districts. In September Hon. Charles Lee, member of Congress from Virginia, was able to congratulate the North Carolina Federalists in these terms:⁶⁶ "The change in North Carolina is most pleasing, and with so good an example before Virginia I trust this state will amend her representation also. General Marshall is a candidate in Richmond District, — Mr. Bushrod Washington in Nicholas, etc." The six members elected as Federalists in North Carolina were: W. B. Grove, Joseph Dickson, William H. Hill, Archibald Henderson,⁶⁷ Richard Dobbs Spaight, and David Stone. As members of the 6th Congress the first four named uniformly cast their votes with the Federalist party. Spaight and Stone, however, influenced by the Republican agitation for repeal of certain obnoxious legislation⁶⁸ of the 5th Congress, soon left the Federalist ranks and joined the opposition. Thus the party's congressional gains were not in reality as great as they seemed upon election day.

The North Carolina Assembly met in November, 1798, while active preparations for war with France were still going forward. Samuel Johnston was again to be found in the state senate, this

⁶⁶ McRee, II., 536, Lee to Iredell.

⁶⁷ Henderson was chosen from the Salisbury, or "Western" District. He possessed strong Federalist principles, but his victory at this date seems to have been due less to Federalism than to the beginning of a reversion of the whole western part of the state to its old principle of antagonism to the "East". For a sketch of the political differences between "East" and "West" in North Carolina see the author's *State Rights and Political Parties*. Chap. III., pp. 60-80.

⁶⁸ The Alien and Sedition Acts. The Republicans in Congress continuously agitated for a repeal of the Sedition Act throughout the 6th Congress. Spaight and Stone both became Republicans during this Congress and remained with that party thereafter. Stone soon becoming one of its foremost leaders. See *Annals of Congress*, 6th Cong., 976, 1036, 1030.

time in high confidence that his party was at last dominant. William R. Davie, recently appointed Brigadier-General in the United States army, was a member of the lower house. These two were expected to conserve and direct the Federalist majority. Though devoting much of his time to preparation of the state militia for war Davie did not at this juncture neglect his party's fortunes. He was brought forward by the Federalists as candidate for governor and on the 4th of December was chosen by a joint session of the two houses⁶⁹ over his Republican opponent, Benjamin Williams. Up to this date Federalist revival of strength was clearly due to the momentum gathered in the general rally of the country to Adams' support in the crisis with France. Johnston wrote⁷⁰ on Nov. 28: "I have spoken to some members upon the subject of addressing the President and find it pretty generally approved; but I have waited for Davie before introducing it, that I might avail myself of his influence in the House of Commons, in hopes of getting a unanimous vote. All the members with whom I have conversed are wonderfully federal. I say wonderful because I never conceived it possible there could be so universal a conversion in so short a space of time." Unknown to Johnston, however, the wave of new Federalist vigor had all but reached its high-tide and soon was to begin recession.

The two Federalist measures, the Alien and Sedition Acts, were passed by Congress in June and July of the preceding summer. The alarm of war had excluded them from any special consideration in North Carolina until near the end of the year. The Republican counter-stroke, planned in the brain of Jefferson, was now delivered in the famous Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.

The Federalist tone of the North Carolina legislature at the beginning of the session was noted in a preceding paragraph, together with its choice of Davie as governor on December 4. On

69 In North Carolina the governor was chosen annually by the General Assembly up to the reform of the Constitution in 1835. After that date he was chosen by the people biennially.

70 McRee, II., 537. To Iredell.

December 21, the Kentucky Resolutions⁷¹ were laid before the body. The situation was very accurately portrayed in the words of Johnston on the 23rd:⁷² "An address to the President has been for some days before the House of Commons without being acted on, and I fear will come to nothing, though I believe it would pass the Senate without opposition. Two or three days ago the Governor⁷³ laid before the House of Commons a string of resolves from Kentucky, prefaced with a most indecent and violent phillipic on the measures of the General Government. The Commons sent them up to the Senate who, after, *with great impatience*, hearing them read, ordered them to lie on the table; and I believe, in the temper they were then in, might easily have been prevailed on to have them thrown into the fire, which was proposed in whispers by several near me." Again on the 24th: "After I wrote you - - - - - a resolve came up to the Senate proposing to give it in charge to our Senators and Representatives in Congress to use their influence to procure the repeal of the Alien and Sedition Acts, which was rejected by the yeas and nays—31 to 8." It must be borne in mind, however, that Johnston spoke as a member of the Senate—a body chosen by freehold suffrage in North Carolina and hence less reflective of public sentiment than the popular branch chosen by free manhood suffrage. In fact the Republicans in the lower house were now able to bind to themselves a sufficient number of wavering Federalists to give them control. Hence on the 24th of December the Commons, disregarding the Senate, passed strong resolutions⁷⁴ against the Alien and Sedition Acts and ordered them forwarded to the State's Senators and Representatives in Congress with implied instructions to vote for their repeal.

71 The Kentucky Resolutions preceded those of Virginia in point of time. Both affirmed the sovereign character of the states; that each state was its own final judge as to the infractions of the Constitution by the federal government; and that whenever the latter assumed undelegated powers its acts were unauthoritative, void, and of no force.

72 McRee, II., 542. To Iredell.

73 Samuel Ashe, a Republican, was then governor and would give place to Davie January 1, 1799.

74 Journal of the N. C. House of Commons, 1798, pp. 75-77.

A further evidence of the rapid decline of Federalist strength in this legislature, due to the Alien and Sedition Acts, was their failure to choose the United States senator to succeed Alexander Martin, whose term was to expire March, 1799. Martin had been chosen as a Republican in 1793 and had given no grounds for party complaint until 1798 when he had voted for the Alien and Sedition Acts. He was now a candidate for re-election, evidently having reasoned that the legislature, under war pressure, would be pro-administration and thus his re-election assured. His plan was almost successful, for the Federalists, though having a first choice⁷⁵ of their own, were eventually willing to accept him⁷⁶ in lieu of an anti-administration Republican. But when matters had been to a crisis by the Kentucky Resolutions the Republicans in the Commons not only repudiated Martin but determined upon his political death. A sharp struggle ensued from which the Republicans emerged with new strength, having effected the election of Jesse Franklin, lately a member of Congress, and a rock-ribbed Republican of the Nathaniel Macon type.

With Davie inaugurated as governor, January 1, 1799, the Federalists, backed by his prestige, made one more effort to assert control over the renegade members of their party in the lower house. A measure was brought forward to transfer the choice of presidential electors from the people to the legislature. This plan was unquestionably designed in preparation for the approaching presidential election of 1800.⁷⁷ If carried into effect it would offset the popular favor of Jefferson and probably enable the Federalists, backed by the administration's patronage and influence, to cast the vote of the state for the Federalist candidate, presumably Adams. The party whip was vigorously used and all the in-

75 Alfred Moore was the Federalist candidate. Failing of senatorial honors he was chosen for the State bench and in 1799, upon the death of Judge Iredell, was appointed to fill the vacancy in the United States Supreme Court.

76 McRee, II., 540. Johnston to Iredell.

77 Cf. Dodd, *Life of Nathaniel Macon*, 161. North Carolina was one of the three States in the Union at this date which chose their presidential electors by the district system.

fluence of Samuel Johnston and Governor Davie was exerted without avail. The lower house effectually balked the plan and would have none of it.

Though somewhat discouraged by now the Federalists still adroitly used the threatening aspect of the French war-cloud as a plea for party loyalty. But as the first half of the year waned and Adams still vacillated with respect to his French policy they began to lay the more stress upon the dangerous disunion tendencies set in motion by the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. This argument possessed a certain potency in North Carolina because there the habit was still strong of attaching large importance to Virginia's actions and in that state politics was in a ferment. January 24, 1798, Judge Iredell wrote that the Virginia Assembly was pursuing steps which would lead directly to civil war, that a respectable minority was still struggling in defense of the General Government, and that the Government itself was fully prepared and resolved, if necessary, to oppose force to force.⁷⁸ Even Governor Davie himself, to the middle of the summer, believed⁷⁹ that it was the fixed purpose of the Virginia Republicans to break away from the Union, with the expectation that Pennsylvania and the Southern States would follow. This concern over the domestic situation unquestionably exerted a strong influence in North Carolina, an influence that did not lose its force until the crisis of the next presidential election was safely passed.⁸⁰

In the meantime the Federalists in North Carolina lost their original leverage—the war scare. Adams had suddenly faced about and determined to send a new commission to France. The Federalist spokesmen in the State all opposed this sudden change in the administration's policy. Johnston said:⁸¹ "It appears to me very extraordinary that the President should at this time appoint ministers to treat with the French Republic, - - - - - at

78 McRee, II., 543.

79 Ibid. II., 577. Davie to Iredell, June 17, 1799.

80 The fact that Adams received four elector votes in North Carolina the next year, when Federalism was already much weakened in the state, seems due to this influence.

81 McRee, II., 550. To Iredell, March 23, 1799.

the same time I cannot assume to censure the President's measures, as it is not probable that the public are in possession of the whole of his information." John Steele, an equally ardent North Carolina Federalist, Washington's appointee as first Comptroller of the Treasury, and still in office under Adams, was less conservative in his criticism. He said:⁸² "I confess I do not forbode any good from it [the embassy], and on that account lament that the measure has been adopted. Three solemn embassies, composed of our most distinguished citizens, to be obliged to go to Paris in succession, to beg peace and reconciliation with a government whose enmity is now unanimously considered less dangerous than their friendship, may serve to show our passion for humility and submission; but it is impossible to think that as a Nation our honor can be preserved or our interests forwarded by such condescensions." Even Governor Davie, who was tendered and accepted an appointment upon the commission,⁸³ likewise had uneasy forbodings relative to the wisdom of the mission. September 18, he wrote to Iredell:⁸⁴ "The appointment of Envoy is highly honorable to me and, under any other circumstances, would have been certainly agreeable; but the unknown and ever-varying situation of the Government to which we are addressed, its strange, unparalleled character and unsettled policy, furnish no data upon which we can calculate the issue of our mission, and must cast the reputation of those concerned in it entirely upon chance; and your sensibility will easily anticipate the anxiety I feel under these circumstances."

The adroit use the Republicans made of the Alien and Sedition Acts, the course of President Adams in the crisis with France and, above all, the removal of Davie at such a critical juncture in Federalist affairs in North Carolina, constituted together a death-blow to Federalist hopes in the State. We have seen the effects of the

82 Ibid, II., 580. To Iredell, Aug. 5, 1799.

83 This second commission of Adams' was composed of Oliver Ellsworth, William Vans Murray, and Davie. The latter was appointed to fill the third place after its declination by Patrick Henry, of Virginia.

84 McRee, II., 584. Thirty-two days after the date of Davie's letter, Judge Iredell died.

first two influences and it takes only a glance at the third to gauge its importance. Davie was at this date by far the most influential Federalist in the State. His work until now had been done in the main as a member of the popular branch of the legislature in which he exerted great personal influence upon men of both parties. As governor this influence was increased rather than decreased. He was in a position to greatly strengthen his party. Had he not been removed from this post by the appointment to France he would undoubtedly have been retained as chief executive for three consecutive terms. This was the practice in North Carolina even though the election was annual. But upon his acceptance of Adams' tender, his followers fell into a panic and the Republicans of the lower house were able, on joint ballot with the senate, to force the election of a Republican successor.⁸⁵ There was no able Federalist of state-wide reputation, except Samuel Johnston to take Davie's place and Johnston was not now either temperamentally or by inclination fitted for the arduous task.⁸⁶ The strongest of the remainder of the old band of Federalist leaders who had fought so stubbornly for the union of the states were either dead⁸⁷, or had received federal appointments under Washington and Adams,⁸⁸ or were soon to receive such appointments at the hands of a Republican president⁸⁹ who was astute enough to adopt this plan in order to conciliate and reconcile them to the Republican regime that begun in 1800.

In the presidential election of 1800 the North Carolina Federalists succeeded in naming four Adams electors, a number equal to

85 Benjamin Williams, of Moore County. Williams served three successive terms and upon retirement was followed by a Republican.

86 Johnston was now on the eve of definite retirement from public service, yet he consented in 1800 to accept an appointment to the Superior Court bench which he resigned in 1803.

87 James Iredell and Archibald Maclaine were dead.

88 Iredell, Davie, John Steele, and Alfred Moore were the most notable North Carolinians that received federal appointments under the first two presidents.

89 Davie, John Steele and Benjamin Hawkins all accepted appointments from President Jefferson, though Davie and Steele always remained steadfast Federalists.

that of their representation in Congress. Here, apparently, was evidence that the party was holding its own. But the result did not truthfully indicate the real state of the party's rapidly declining strength. Federalist principles had much less to do with the result than did the fear that in such a period of high party tension it was probably unsafe to risk the country's fortunes in the hands of an untried party. To many the Republican party had seemed to voice a distinct threat to the principle of union in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions and the danger did not yet appear to be entirely past.

When it became known in February, 1801, that the election had resulted in a tie between Jefferson and Burr and that the House of Representatives must choose between these two Republican candidates, the Federalists began to intrigue with Burr, hoping to bind that shifty politician to their interests as the price of their support of his candidacy. It is a familiar story how Hamilton, more distrustful of Burr than of Jefferson, defeated the plan of his party with such tragic results to himself. In North Carolina the Federalists, with a great deal of unanimity, refused to sanction the original plan of elevating Burr at the expense of Jefferson, though the latter was scarcely more attractive to them. Davie wrote:⁹⁰ "The Federalists own the destruction of the constitution as an event almost certain under the administration of Mr. Jefferson; and as to the administration of Mr. Burr, although it may be energetic, *no man knows* what course it may take. I have been visited by a great number of the most enlightened friends of Government in this part of the country since my return and they all express an insuperable repugnance to the election of Burr, urging his want of character, etc." Despite this general repugnance to Burr in North Carolina the State's four Federalist representatives in Congress, after the first ballot,⁹¹ generally voted⁹² for Burr during the

⁹⁰ Sprunt Monograph, No. 7, p. 43. Davie to Steele, Feb. 2, 1801. This letter was written from Davie's home, Halifax.

⁹¹ Annals of Cong., 6th Cong. 1029. The six Republican members invariably voted for Jefferson from the first to the last ballot. On the first ballot three of the Federalists likewise voted for Jefferson.

⁹² Ibid, 1032.

thirty-six ballots taken before Jefferson was elected. Being upon the scene of action they proved to be more amenable to the organization whip than to the sentiment of their constituents.

Up to the inauguration of the Republican administration of Jefferson on March 4, 1801, Federalism in North Carolina, though stimulated by federal patronage and buoyed up by the encouragement of three consecutive Federalist administrations, failed to develop power to control more than a respectable minority of the State's voters. Now, with the federal government Republican in both its legislative and executive branches and all artificial stimulus removed, it was less likely that Federalism could maintain itself in vigorous life. Nevertheless the Federalist leaders did not yet altogether despair. Four of the State's representatives in Congress were still Federalist and as many Federalist electors had been chosen in 1800. Some fortuitous circumstance might yet cause the political wind to veer in their direction. Surely the political barometer at the date of Jefferson's accession indicated squalls.

Hence it was with this feeling, and facing such a situation, that Davie in August,⁹³ 1801, opened up a correspondence with other Federalist leaders⁹⁴ for the purpose of formulating some plan or plans for the future of the party in North Carolina. The united efforts of Davie and his like-minded partymen soon materialized in the establishment of the Raleigh *Minerva* as the party organ—a help the Federalists had been without until now—1802. This paper was to be subsidized from a fund made up by voluntary contributions of Federalists together with an assessment laid upon a coterie of Federalist gentlemen who originated the plan.⁹⁵ Its end was to be “the noble objects of suppressing falsehood, and disseminating truth, of subverting the wild and visionary projects and opinions of Democracy and advocating in their place sound, substantial, and practical principles of Federalism.”⁹⁶

93 Davie had returned from France in January, 1801.

94 Davie to John Steele, Sprunt Monograph No. 7, p. 46. Davie Letters, Edited by Dr. K. P. Battle.

95 See Letter of Duncan Cameron to John Moore, September, 1802, quoted from Nathaniel Macon MSS. by W. E. Dodd in *Life of Nathaniel Macon*, p. 178.

96 *Ibid*, 179.

In the meantime the Federalists of North Carolina had made up a real political issue with their party opponents and were preparing to stand or fall upon it. This was over the question as to whether the State legislature rightfully exercised the power of instructing senators and representatives in Congress. The occasion was the dissent with which the four Federalist representatives met the Assembly's instructions to vote for the repeal of the federal Judiciary Act that had become a law in the latter part of the session of 1801, just before Adams' term of office expired. By it the federal Judiciary system had been greatly extended and the Federalists had made themselves berths against the day of defeat. Adams had been complaisant enough to help many of his followers into these berths during the last days of his administration. With the incoming of the Republican administration of Jefferson his party had at once begun an agitation for the repeal of the new act and a return to the old system. Thus not only would the new federal offices be abolished and the new Federalist officers deposed, but the greater good would be secured of delimiting federal authority in the interest of State rights as represented by the state judiciaries. The Republican legislature of North Carolina had promptly supported the plan for repeal and, as above noted, instructed the senators and representative⁹⁷ accordingly. Archibald Henderson, Federalist representative of the "Western," or Salisbury District, voiced in Congress the refusal of the State's four Federalist representatives to be instructed.⁹⁸ This had been the position of North Carolina Federalists since the adoption of the Constitution and, as has been noted earlier in this treatise, had proved disastrous to a Federalist senator (Samuel Johnston) and representatives in 1793. So likewise in the congressional election of 1803, the recalcitrant representatives, Archibald Henderson, W. B. Grove, John Stanly, and William H. Hill all lost their seats, each being displaced by a Republican competitor despite the fact that the whole strength of

97 The senators, as direct representatives of the State through its legislature, were *instructed*; while the intimation to the Representatives was conveyed in the form of a *recommendation*, but the recommendation was intended to be obligatory.

98 Annals of Congress, 7th Cong., 1st Sess., 530, for Henderson's speech.

their party was arrayed in solid phalanx behind them on the instruction issue. At the same time the influential Davie stood for congressional honors and went down to defeat on the same issue. With this disastrous overturn in 1803 the Federalist party organization was practically crushed and was never again successfully rehabilitated.

Meanwhile a second form of attack had been launched against Federalism in North Carolina which was even more insidious in its influence than either the frontal or flank assaults of the Republicans. This was a plan whereby President Jefferson purposed to use the federal patronage in part to pick off the ablest Federalist leaders and thus to ally them by interest to the new regime. The same plan was pursued by Jefferson in other states and, in some, it had greater direct influence upon Federalism than in North Carolina; but there it effectually prevented the party's ranks from successfully reforming.

Nathaniel Macon, probably the staunchest Republican in Congress, and member of that body since 1791, became Jefferson's dispenser⁹⁹ of federal patronage in 1801. Macon at first wished to make the test of Republicanism the standard by which officers were chosen but was soon led by the astute Jefferson not to enter upon a proscriptive policy toward the better known and most influential Federalists. With this plan matured, and an understanding reached between Macon and Jefferson, William R. Davie and Benjamin Hawkins were approached in June 1801, and offered a commission with General James Wilkinson to negotiate with the Southwestern Indian tribes. Hawkins at once accepted and was thereafter lost to the Federalist party. Davie declined but apparently not because of the source from which the appointment came. Extracts from his correspondence¹⁰⁰ at this date throw an interesting light upon the insidious temptations Jefferson laid before the Federalists in North Carolina in furtherance of his plan to eliminate their opposition to his administration. In a letter to

99 Dodd. *Life of Nathaniel Macon*, 169.

100 Correspondence of Wm. R. Davie, *Sprunt Monograph*, No. 7. Edited by Dr. K. P. Battle.

John Steele, dated at Halifax on August 3, 1801,¹⁰¹ he said: "My personal engagements oblige me to be stationary here till the 15th of October, excepting a journey to Edenton and Petersburg, and from the 15th of October to the last of November I had engaged to be in Chatham and South Carolina; so that it was impossible for me to attend any of the treaties for which I was appointed a Commissioner. As my affairs, therefore, would not admit of any arrangement that could enable me to be absent until December my acceptance was at once out of the question. This business being then decided by circumstances over which I had no control left my own judgment without any responsibility. There was, however, great difference of opinion among my friends with regard to my acceptance of the appointment. My federal friends were generally violently opposed to my acceptance, while those who are attached to the principles of the present administration discovered great anxiety that I should accept the appointment and attend some of the treaties at least; it is unnecessary to trouble you with their reasons, you will not be mistaken in their substance, but I entreat you to give me your sincere opinion. You are sensible of the high esteem I have for your judgment, and the manner in which I appreciate your friendship. In cases of this kind it is a matter of mere chance whether a man forms a correct judgment himself and therefore ought to rest implicitly on the judgment of his best informed friends."¹⁰² What Steele's reply was we have no definite means of knowing; but certainly Davie reached the conclusion that there was nothing inconsistent with his Federalist principles in the acceptance of a commission from the Republican President. The very next year he was appointed upon and accepted a commission to treat with the remnant of the Tuscarora tribe left in North Carolina and successfully completed the task. Nevertheless in the instance of Davie, Jefferson's plan never achieved its evident object, for Davie never regarded himself as in any way committed to any support of the Republican party. He remained a harsh critic of the government, vehemently condemned the repeal of the "mid-night" Judiciary Act, and expressed the

101 The appointment had been made in June.

102 Sprunt Monograph No. 7. p. 46. Davie Correspondence.

view¹⁰³ that soon there would be no other than the Lilliputian ties of the public debt to hold the States together. Likewise, as we have seen, in 1803 he was engaged in an endeavor to reform the broken ranks of the Federalist party and stood for Congress only to meet defeat. It was characteristic of the man and the purity of his political methods that in this campaign he took occasion to clearly advertise to his prospective constituents that he never had and never would surrender his principles to opinions of any man or set of men, either in or out of power; and that he wished no man to vote for him who was not willing to leave him free to pursue the good of his country according to his best judgment.¹⁰⁴ He seems to have feared that some Republican voters might be misled as to his principles by the fact that he had accepted certain service under a Republican President. After his defeat in 1803 the Republican administration ceased to woo him. He never received public employment again, but retained a lively interest in public affairs. He retired in 1805 to an estate he owned at Landsford, South Carolina, but kept up a continuous correspondence with his Federalist friends in North Carolina. Never softening toward Jefferson and his administration, he nevertheless had high hopes of President Madison, due likely to the old position in which Madison had stood at the formation of the government. January 4, 1810, he wrote to John Steele¹⁰⁵ while the country was still smarting under the effects of the embargo and non-intercourse policy inherited from Jefferson's term: "I sincerely believe he [President Madison] is a man of great virtue. We all know he has sense and the experience of many years in public life, and *they now* say he has more promptitude and decision than any man who ever filled the presidential chair. May God grant that this

¹⁰³ Ibid, 52.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 55.

¹⁰⁵ Steele likewise had been an object of Jefferson's wooing. He had been appointed Comptroller of the United States Treasury by Washington, which office he continued to fill through Adam's term and was undisturbed in his tenure by Jefferson who had Macon to urge him to retain the post, finally himself requesting it. Steele did so until the fall of 1802. In that year, influenced by political propriety, he resigned and retired to private life. See Dodd, *Life of Nathaniel Macon*, 180.

may be true! Our affairs may yet do well.”¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless when Madison’s administration in 1812 drifted into war with England instead of with France, Davie lost all faith in the President and reverted to his old unyielding Federalist position. When the discontent of the New England States with the administration’s policy and its conduct of the war had culminated in their secession movement and the Hartford Convention, Davie wrote:¹⁰⁷ “* * * the movement in the New England States and the monstrous strides towards despotism made by the party in power have so stunned and astounded me that I know not what to say or write. It really appears to me that the present confederacy will not last two years more and that Mr. Madison will finish his career amidst the ruins of his country.” In 1814, however, the Madison administration effected a peace with England in time to save the Republican party from disruption and in such a way as to thoroughly effect the discredit of Federalism in its stronghold, the New England States. Despairingly Davie wrote to his friend Steele: “So infatuated are the people it is astonishing how little popularity they [the Republican party] have lost by their mismanagement and blunders.”¹⁰⁸ In North Carolina Federalism had been dead since 1803 for all practical party purposes except as a cloak for the “West” in its slowly reviving movement against the dominance of the “East” in State politics.¹⁰⁹

106 Davie Cor. Sprunt Monograph, No. 7, 65.

107 Ibid, 71, Davie to John Steele, Nov. 29, 1814.

108 Ibid, 75. Feb. 4, 1814.

109 See the Author’s State Rights and Political Parties in North Carolina, 1776-1861, page 61, *et seq.* for further information on the political differences between the “East” and the “West” in N. C.

III. CONCLUSION

The foregoing slight study of Federalism in North Carolina has led the author to the following conclusions:

1. That the demand for a reorganization of the Confederacy in 1787-88 was not of itself strong enough in North Carolina to cause the State to ratify the Constitution; that such ratification, effected in 1789, was the result of the State's isolated position, the old Confederacy having been automatically dissolved by the adoption of the new Constitution in eleven of the old States.

2. That after the adoption of the Constitution by North Carolina, Federalism, as representing a body of political principles meaning, in essence, centralization of powers in the federal government, was of slow growth in the State and was never really dominant in its affairs.

3. That only when the principle of union was threatened did Federalism receive an accession of strength, the danger never lasting long enough to really ensconce the party in power. Such temporary increase of strength came to North Carolina Federalism during the excitement aroused by the Alien and Sedition Acts and the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions; likewise during the preparations in 1798 for war with France; and, again, in 1800, when the presidential election of that year seemed for a time to portend a disruption of the Union.

4. That when the Federalist party's control of the federal government was broken by Adams' defeat in 1800, and the perpetuity of the Union began to seem assured, Federalism in North Carolina almost immediately disappeared, soon ceasing to maintain even the semblance of a party organization.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM BARRY GROVE

EDITED BY

Henry McGilbert Wagstaff

LETTERS OF WILLIAM BARRY GROVE

Herewith are presented some letters, hitherto unpublished, of William Barry Grove to James Hogg. Grove, a native of Fayetteville, represented his district in Congress from 1791 to 1803. His friend and correspondent, James Hogg, a merchant, formerly resided in Fayetteville also, doing business in that town and in Wilmington. At the date of this correspondence he lived in Hillsboro. The letters cover the decade 1792-1802. Since they are few in number and scattered irregularly through the period they should be used only in connection with the Grove Letters (also to James Hogg) which have been edited and published by Dr. K. P. Battle in the Sprunt Monograph No. 3, 1902. These cover the same period and are complementary to those herewith presented. It is believed that the two series together make up the complete list of Grove's letters to Hogg while a member of Congress. The whole collection should prove valuable, historically, in that they portray the feelings and actions of a Southern Federalist at a time of high party tension in our national councils; this aside from their value as giving a more or less intimate view of the problems confronting the federal government, its hopes and fears, during the infancy of the Republic.

For an extended sketch of both Grove and Hogg see the James Sprunt Historical Monograph No. 3, 1902.

To James Hogg.

Phila. 20th Apl, 1792.

Dear Sir

The Session is drawing to a close & I hope the time is near at hand when I shall see all my friends in Carolina, nevertheless as Mr. Hunt¹ is going immediately to Hillsboro I cant omit writing

¹ Probably Memucan Hunt, of Granville, member of the first North Carolina Provincial Congress which met at Newbern August 25, 1774 to organize

you a few lines on the subject of Locks—Canals &c; I have agreeably to your desire² made particular enquiry respecting the form and materials proposed for Locks to be used in the navigation in this State, and from all I can learn either from a model which I have examined, or the conversation of some persons here who are skilled in that kind of work, our Lock gate &c. is on exactly the same plan & principles, We only differ as to the materials for the Lock, Stone is plenty here and to be used altogether—I refer you to the papers for the Political news; in one of these you will see a communication between Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Hammond³ respecting the operation and intention of a certain clause of the British Navigation act: I judge some negotiations are going on between The Plenipo. and The Secry. the nature of which are unknown; some private inquires have been made by the Secry. of the Delegation of No. C. which induces this belief in me, I wish they may terminate to the interests and satisfaction of both Countries.

I apprehend that nothing can be done this Session in Western Land Business,⁴ or indeed with the Merchants Memor.,⁵ both subjects are attended with circumstances perplexing to Congress—You may have heard that the L. House is to be finished, and that

resistance to England; also member of the Provincial Congress that met at Halifax, November 12, 1776, and formed the State Constitution.

2 Hogg was a member of the North Carolina Canal Company organized and chartered for the purpose of making the Cape Fear River navigable to the junction of the Haw and Deep rivers in the county of Chatham. It was a visionary scheme and part of the general plan of canal construction which amounted almost to a rage at this date, 1790-1800. See McMaster's History of the People of the United States, II., 74-75.

3 British Minister to the United States. Jefferson was Secretary of State in Washington's first cabinet.

4 James Hogg, Grove's correspondent, was a member of the Transylvania Land Company which assumed to buy of the Cherokee Indians an immense tract of country making up a part of the present states of Kentucky and Tennessee, hence he was vitally interested in the extinguishment of the Indians' claims by the U. S. Government. A petition from the company to this end rested before Congress in 1792-93. The sale was finally declared illegal by the States of North Carolina and Virginia though at the same time the company was allowed a compensation of 200,000 acres by way of compromise.

5 North Carolina merchants had suffered the loss of a certain cargo, in part slaves, that had drifted ashore upon one of the Bahamas and there con-

the District Fedl. Court is to sit at Wilmington alternately wh. Newbern & Edenton. The Indian business⁶ has made it necessary to increase the duties on importation $2\frac{1}{2}$ p Ct.; I suspect in these kind of matters *two & two* will not always make four: I confess I think commerce is already pretty well burthened. Be so good as remember me to all friends in and about Hillsboro.

I am

Dear Sir

with respect & Esteem

Your very Hum St

W. B. GROVE

To James Hogg.

Phila. Jany. 21st, 1795

Dear Sir

About a fortnight ago the Deeds & papers respecting your Indian purchase came forward, & at same time I recd. yours of the first Decemr. on the subject¹—the first opportunity was embraced to bring forward the Petition &c they were referred as usual to a Committee viz Mr. Smith S. Carolina, Mr. Blount,² Mr Carnes Georgia, & two others who reported they conceived the claim of the Transylvania Company's rested on the same ground & principle that other claims for Lands in our Western Country,

fiscated by the British authorities. The parties interested in the merchandise petitioned Congress to secure compensation but seem never to have been successful.

6 The Western Indians defeated General St. Clair on the Wabash River in the Northwest Territory, Nov. 3, 1791, causing general alarm in the whole western country. To provide a war fund Congress increased the duties on imports and sent out Mad Anthony Wayne to chastise the Indians.

1 Hogg's interest in the Transylvania Land Company has been explained in a former note. Grove was a warm advocate of the claims of the Company. This letter within itself very clearly outlines the nature of the Company's claims and the nature of its activities up to 1795.

2 Thomas Blount, member of Congress from North Carolina 1793-1799; 1803-1809; 1811-1812. He was a brother of Wm. Blount of Tennessee, senator from that state and expelled by the senate July 8, 1797, for exciting hostile incursions against Spain in the Louisiana Territory.

which had been ceded to the Un. States, & therefore that the Petition &c. of the Compy. should be referred to the Committee of the whole House who had under consideration the Subject of the Petition of Thomas Person³ & others with certain Resolutions of the North Carolina Legislature—Mr Macon⁴ & myself were of a different opinion, & he stated the reasons why the claims of the Company & other holders of Land in the Western Country differed from each other in some *important points*; but they were referred without any Special Reports and are now before the Committee of the whole House with the other claims of our State for Lands in the Territory ceded to the Cherokees; What the fate of the business will be is quite uncertain, tho I assure you, I fear not favourable.

An opinion is very generally entertained here that North Carolina had no good right to sell those Lands untill the Indian rights had been fairly *purchased*, or *extinguished*, and the Members from the State are not in possession of any Document to prove that has been done, since the Treaty held by authority of the State at Long Island of Holstein in May 1777—whereby the Indians seem to have been much favoured by the Boundary lines, & Treated with as a *Free & Independent People*—That Treaty of 1777 & the Hopewell Treaty were less favourable to the Whites, than the late Treaty at Holstein by Govr. Blount, and therefore say many of the Members of Congress the right of the Company's purchase in 1775 was affected by the Treaty of No. Carolina in 1777, and therefore No. C. should settle the affair with the Company, & that the grant from the State to the Coy. in 1783-4 for 200,000 acres of that Land which the State had actually in 1777 guaranteed by Treaty to the Cherokees, could not be a good grant, untill the Indian boundaries was altered by Treaty to include that Land; or untill the State had some better right to it than a Law (of one party only)—

It is true we have ^{no} evidence of *consent* on the part of the In-

3 Thomas Person, of Granville, likewise had a state grant of land in the limits of the present State of Tennessee.

4 Nathaniel Macon, M. C. from North Carolina, was the leader of the Republican party in North Carolina and exceedingly influential in Congress.

dians to renlanguish any part of the Lands secured to them in 1777— and here we must *insist on the right & Custom of Conquest* after 77, in consequence of a Violation on the part of the Cherokees of that very Treaty of 1777; & urge the Law of No Carolina passed in 1783— for opening the Land office & declaring the Indian boundaries & hunting grounds— as the terms of the Conquerers— that this Law is neither against the Laws of Justice or Nations, that tis only taking into possession & preparing for Cultivation a Territory within the Chartered Limits of the State not actually occupied by Men— & to defray the expenses of the War against the Natives who were leagued with the Common Enemy— that regard & proper attention to the Natives are not neglected in as much as a tract of Country nearly 200 miles by 40 is reserved for them including nearly all their actual places of residence &c &c &c— I cannot here omit saying that in my opinion the State of No. C. had it fully in her power before the Cession to Congress to have put every discussion or argument of this Subject out of the question— That Henderson & Co. did fairly extinguish the Indian claims to the Lands named in the Deeds appears to me clear enough, but whether the titles to these lands could with propriety Vest in them is a question I cant pretend to decide fully— if the title however did not *vest in them*, it surely did in the Community or State of which they were Members or Citizens Viz No. Ca. and they should have been fully & gen'ously compensated for such eminent Service to the Community, and that community should have enjoyed the advantages of the enterprize of their fellow Citizens— but I believe our State declared the purchase of the Coy. Void, and did not pretend to derive any advantage from it— this was perhaps wrong. When our Troops marched into & subdued these Cherokees in 1776, 80 or 81— after they had broken the Treaty of 1777 there might most certainly have been obtained by Consent (*through fear*) some acknowledgment from them, either that they would remain at Peace *under the Protection of N. Carolina*, or that they would agree the line fixed in 1777 should be so far altered as to pay for the expenses of the War with Lands to the West of that line— Nothing of this kind was done on the part of No. C. whilst So. Carolina availed herself of that state of things to

substantiate claims for some of her Western Country— We have to encounter with another great difficulty in ascertaining how and where the several treaty lines run, & those lines in the Compy's deed on Powell & Holstein Rivers to point out the part & probable quantity of Land included in the Cession to the Cherokees at the late Treaty— We have a map of the So. Ws. Territory made by Doctr. Williamson⁵ from materials furnished by Genl Smith of Cumberland as tis said, but all persons who know anything of Powell River, Valley & mountains— Holstein, Cloud Creek &c &c assert that the Map is most incorrect as respects that part of the Country in particular— Which you will see is a great misfortune as in that quarter all the Treaty Boundaries & purchases begin— and it is in that country where the Company's 200,000 acres are granted— I think your *grant* or patent should have been forwarded & the Law of the State granting the same— It being private is not in Iredells Revisal which is only lately discovered— the several arguments and objections which I have stated to our claims & rights are only those which in private conversation have been offered, and I mention them to give you some idea of what may be expected in a Public discussion

You may be assured that all the Members from the State will do what they can towards effecting Justice to the Company & all others claiming Lands under the State But between ourselves so great and important a Subject should have very *able, Learned & Eloquent advocates*, this (again between ourselves, as you don't know it—) is Not the case I fear— don't suppose I mean any demerit to the Del - - n,⁶ I am certain we all mean well, but you

5 Dr. Hugh Williamson, of North Carolina, member of the Philadelphia Convention that framed the Federal Constitution; member of the Congress of the Confederation from 1784 to 1787; member of Congress from 1790 to 1793. Dr. Williamson was a physician, naturalist, and historian. For an extended sketch of this interesting personality see Wheeler's History of North Carolina, II., 91, *et seq.*

6 Delegation from North Carolina in the halls of Congress. Evidently Grove wishes to transfer the burden of the company's interests from the shoulders of the North Carolina delegation to the hands of counsel paid by the company: yet he does not wish it to appear that he is not zealous for his constituents' interests.

know better than I can tell you what one might say *of us all*: a Man may be very capable of judging & forming a tolerable just idea & determination on a subject when he hears all the arguments, takes all the evidence that may be offered, who would make a bad hand of stating & summing up all these arguments with decency— In short one may be an Excellent Jury man, who would be a bad advocate or Lawyer— and a number of reasons seem to impress me with a belief that the subject of our claims are more properly a Judicial question, than a matter of Legislative interference, in the first instance Was there any Court Competent to the Subject—

You shall hear from me as soon as anything is done in this business, & therefore shall proceed to other matters of Congressional deliberation &c —

We have passed a Law for raising the pay of the Militia to 6 2-3 Dollars per Month when called into service I hope & believe there may be few occasions to trouble them— but you recollect there was much uneasiness on this subject last summer in our State.⁷ Some further Amendmants are proposed to the Militia Law— including a proposition of arming those Citizens who are not able to purchase & equip themselves &c— a Bill has passed our House amending the Naturalization Law,⁸ prolonging the time of Residence to 5 years before Aliens can become Citizens and to make Noblemen & others holding titles in Europe renounce such titles before they are admitted to the rights of Citizens— these amendments have been brought forward & advocated under the impression that most of the Emigrants to this Country at this time & perhaps for some time to come, are very highly charged with *one or other* of two political manias— the spirit of *Aristocracy* or of *anarchy*— both have indeed been in some cases evident— but I confess I was not so fully impressed with the Necessity or policy of this Law as seemed to be generally the case with the Members— altho there are & may be some such Characters, I am persuaded the

7 Caused by the general opposition to the federal Excise Law, culminating in Pennsylvania in the so-called "Whiskey Rebellion" in 1794, the summer previous to the date of this letter.

8 This Amended Naturalization Bill passed into law and was approved January 29, 1795.

good sense of the whole will never give way to their follies, and mad views I feared such a Law might check the spirit of Emigration to this Country, which in my opinion for a Century to come should be encouraged by every reasonable means; I am led to this impression the more strongly by being a Southern Man;⁹ tho many differ with me as to the policy of this Subject—

A very important subject is under consideration as respects the whole community, tis the forming and establishing a Systematick plan by Law for paying off and Sinking the Public debt¹⁰— I think it will be done, & if we remain at peace & our Revenues continue increasing as for 2 years past & Government not extravagant, the whole may be paid in 12 years, by redemption & purchase on the part of Govert. without one penny additional tax— then being out of debt the Government will have no excuse to continue any Revenue Law¹¹ which may be thought impolitic or injurious— I confess myself in favor of applying every nerve of the Governt. towards melting down that Public debt which hangs over us, & which has in many cases been considered as a Colossus of Speculation¹² which had infused itself into the Administration of our Federal Counsils to the dishonour &c. of C - gr— Whether this be true, or not is not in my power to answer but I fear there has been too much reason to found such an opinion on and from my heart as a Man, as a friend to Justice, to the Constitution & the Peace of my Country, I lament it— and the sooner the possibility of such

9 Grove was singularly clear-sighted as to the needs of his own section, though the vision of many of his compatriots had already begun to be obscured by the incubus of slavery.

10 Upon the meeting of the 4th Congress in March, 1795, it was found that the Republicans were in a majority in the lower house, quite a safe one at first. This majority determined upon retrenchment in public finance as a rebuke to the Federalist party. Grove, despite his ardent Federalist principles, sympathized with this purpose of his party opponents and lent it his encouragement. Temporarily defeated, the plan was resumed when Jefferson became president in 1801.

11 A reference to the federal Excise Law, passed by Congress May 8, 1792, and repealed by the Republican Congress in 1802.

12 The assumption of State debts by the federal government during the first Congress gave rise to much speculation in the public securities that to a degree cast discredit upon Hamilton's wise financial policy.

an influence (if it does exist,) is removed the better— and therefore instead of Indian Wars &c Let us pay our Debts— and make a fair start— for so far as I am capable of judging from experience in our own Country, and reading of others— I think a large Public debt the very opposite to a Public Blessing—

I make no doubt you partake in the general anxiety respecting the result of our Demand &c at the Court of St. James,¹³ & at the Silence of the President on that subject he having not laid before either House one Syllable of Mr Jay's Communication— Some here think this amiss in him, but perhaps while the business is in a fair train & nearly completed it might be improper to disclose parts— therefore We are on the top of hope & expectation that all things are well, & like to be better in a little time— before the Sessn. closes we must know everything, or— the public mind will begin to despair— If events in Europe can have any influence on the British Court (& I confess to think they must have important effects) these events seem to favour our Expectations to obtain all our Just demands—

I have seen a letter of the 2d. Nov. from a Merchant of Consequence in London to one of that kind here, which enters into detail of the nature & objects of Negoceation between the British & American Ministers, he says Commissrs. are to be appointed to fix on the Boundary to the No. Es. as fixed in the Treaty viz to determine on the proper River St Croix— that all our Western Forts are to be immediately delivered to us—that Commissrs. are to ascertain the loss of Negroes actually taken by the British during the War & payment made— that all kinds of impediment are to be removed respecting the payment & recovery of old British debts— and that we are to have a free trade to the Ws. Indies for Vessels of or under 120 tons— altho all these things are probable, politic, & just as respects both Nations, remember tis Merchants News—

13 John Jay, of New York, had been sent to England in May 1794 to negotiate a treaty of commerce with that country and to settle all outstanding differences left over from the Peace of Paris in 1783. As is well known, the treaty when finally effected was entirely unsatisfactory to the bulk of opinion in this country, yet the Federalist party, in an extra session of the Senate, was strong enough to force its ratification despite the storm of protest throughout the country.

that I may have the pleasure of Confirming it all & more from official information before the 3 of March is my Sincere prayer— That Prusia has solicited and obtained Peace with the French Republic¹⁴ Is Confermed from all quarters— that Spain & Germany are Negotiating to that end with the French is also most certain— that the States of Holland are Willing & must accept any terms is evident for the French are nearly in Possession of their Whole Country— The French begin to treat the Conquered People with the strictest Justice & respect, & propose to grant the request of the States of Holland, upon their, *in every respect* detaching themselves from England & its interest— Indeed it seems to be the whole bent of the Convention & Nation of France to establish the *River Rhine* as the extent and boundary of the Republic & to have Peace with all the World but their old Rival and Enemy Gr Britain, who it seems they are Resolved to have one fair Campaign with, perhaps with a view of paying that *Nation in coin*, as to dictating a Form of Government for them— What the consequences and results of all these transactions will come to the L—d only knows— but I hope the Spirit of Moderation & humanity which seems at present predominant in the Convention may bring about a Speedy & glorious Peace to the advantage of the real liberty & happiness of Mankind, in those Nations more particularly where the reverse has been too prevalent.

That the French meditate some attack on G. B. and the Ws. Indies seems the more probable, from the circumstance, that the Paris papers say the Govt. are aware that too many of their Vast armies should not be discharged at once & brought into the Body of the Nation, before all things on a firm & proper basis are formed on a Constitution & Laws &c. and therefore to humble the pride &c &c of the British Court may be a proper object of Employment

14 The Republic of France, established September 2, 1792, was now rapidly moving along that aggressive course which was to lead the nation into conflict with all Europe and was finally to culminate in Waterloo, 1815. All public men in America were profoundly interested in European affairs during all this period, and especially in that the influences of the European conflict created the largest political problems of the young American Republic during its first quarter century of life.

of a half a million or so of their brave *Sans Culottes*¹⁵— This may prove an obstinate and Vexatious Job to them for altho John Bull has been shamefully treated in this War, & much of his treasure exhausted yet if all his family & Connections unite and make War their object without regard to Commerce as the French have done, they would make a formidable and dredfull resistance—

For my own part I dont think tis the real Intert. of America that the Navy of Gr. Britain should be so formadable as it is, for it makes them very arrogant & dictatorial to People they have no business with, & therefore I wish *that part* of their force lessened—

Yet remember I should not like even our friends the French, to have a Very decided Superiority on the ocean to all other Nations in War Ships, and therefore I believe it would not be amiss for them to distroy each others Floating War Machines down to a moderate number— the Peace, Happiness, & Expenses of their own People would be bettered by such an event— and the Americans would have less to fear of either, of their future ambition or mad projects—

I now thank you for your favr. of the 2d. Jany from Hillsboro— the former part of this letter answers it so far as respects the Land business.

I assure you I feel much obliged for the acct. you gave me of the affair between Bob & [*One word illegible*] by same post that brt. your last. Mr Taylor¹⁶ from Raleigh just mentioned something of the affair, in a slight & hasty manner, which would have made me very uneasy but for your letter, giving a full account of the cause & manner of Bob's attack on his old tutor;¹⁷ however from your information of the business I approve of Bob's conduct, only that he did not I fear give the Fellow a sufficient drubbing—

15 A name of reproach and ridicule conferred by the French aristocrats upon those belonging to the extreme republican party, the members of which had rejected short breeches, as an article of dress peculiar to the upper classes.

16 John Louis Taylor, of Fayetteville, Grove's home, is very probably meant here. He was a member of the State Commons in 1792, 1793, 1794; in 1798 he was elected a judge of the Superior Court, and in 1818 a judge of the Supreme Court.

17 I have been unable to determine who was Bob or his tutor.

for surely there could not have been in my mind a Baser, more brutal, unmanly behaviour than your account of [*One word illegible*] conduct—to be sure the Fellow is lost to every sense of Decency and I hope all who have any pretensions to it will treat him accordingly—

I ask pardon for this Long letter, when I sit down to write or talk to you, I generally forget how the time passes until *the Bell rings*— Be so good as remember me with respectful compliments to all my Female friends & acquaintances in Hillsboro; and say to any of my acquaintances among the Gentlemen that I should be glad to hear from them—

Pray how does Mr. Ker¹⁸ go on at Chapel Hill and is things like to do well there; the more I think of that Seminary & the State of our Country I mean No. C.— the more anxious I am for its success— our Country wants Men of literature more than any other *want* on earth—

Morse's Book¹⁹ has injured the reputation of our State extremely, by his false, infamous account of the Country & its inhabitants— the Book being the first of its kind published in America since the Revolution was bought with avidity by Europeans, & has undergone a French & German Edition— Dr. Williamson proposes writing the History²⁰ of the State & I have Subd for 3 Copies, he is a man of such prejudices that I fear all that time which he has acted *so conspicuous a part* in the State— which is from his first coming into it, that the Book will not be much prized— however the early part of the History will probably be correct, for he has great industry in procuring materials— some say he furnished Morse with some of the most objectional parts of his acct. of the

18 Dr. David Ker, first professor and also, as Presiding Professor, the first executive of the University of North Carolina which institution had just been opened Jan. 15, 1795, six days before the date of Grove's letter.

19 American Universal Geography, by Jedidiah Morse, D. D. This book reached its fifth edition in 1812, being published in that year by Thomas and Andrews, Boston, Mass.

20 Williamson's History of North Carolina appeared in 1812. Grove proved to be singularly correct in his estimate of the probable value of Williamson's work, parts of it being of unusual value, due in the main to the author's indefatigability in the collection of material.

State, if I thought so I would despise him—

Carey is now publishing a Geography of the Un States, and I have got him to expunge all Morse's libels— and Gov. Martin²¹ has written several little additions to the acct. of the State, that in some measure may commence a refutation of that illiberal and ignorant authors Book— (Morse's)— I have taken care that our Town & Wilmington should not be unnoticed— as respects their Trade &c &c

I intended to bid you Adieu two sheets ago but finding myself entering on the last side of the fifth sheet & 20th. page— I feel compassion for your Patience and bid you Farewell, with a confidence that he who writes or taulks much must be troublesome to his friends— pray then forgive all the Superfluous of this letter and

believe me

with esteem

your friend

& very Hum. Ser.

W B Grove

To James Hogg

Phila. June 24th. 1797

Dear Sir

Mr Rich & Mr McDonald the Commissioners on the part of G Britain arrived in May, & met Colo Innis¹ & Mr. Fitzsimmons the Commissrs. on the part of the U States for adjusting the Business of the old British debts agreeably to Treaty, a Mr Guilnard was nominated by the British for the 5th Com-

²¹ Alexander Martin of Guilford, elected governor of North Carolina in 1782 and again in 1789; member of Philadelphia Constitutional Convention, 1787, and United States Senator 1793-1799.

¹ Colonel Henry Innis of Virginia, afterward federal District Judge in Kentucky before whom was had the Frankfort hearing of Aaron Burr just before the latter's conspiracy was uncovered in 1806.

missr., & Mr Ames² on the part of the U States; the Lot fell on the former; they have formed a Board and are ready to enter on the subject of their appointment, as you will see by their notice in the Ns papers; No Business has been yet brought before them, & Mr Innis with whom I am in habits of intimacy, tells me they have agreed on no particular principles yet, as to the mode & manner of establishing claims; He is opinion all claims must have gone through the Courts of Law before they can be entered on, by Commissioners, who he thinks have not by the Treaty Original Jurisdiction, this however he fears is a point to be contended, and should it be settled in such a way as to extend the powers of the Commissn., from whose decision there is no appeal he expresses an apprehension that considerable sums may be awarded against the U States, which were not intended by the Treaty to be covered.

Mr Innis says he finds a disposition on the part of some of the Gentlemen to make this place the permanent Seat of the Board, but that he shall urge a removal to the South in the fall: agents will be appointed to attend to the interests of the U States, to obtain testimony & prevent frauds & Collusions &c— A report was some time ago in circulation that the Commissn. in London for adjusting claims for Spoilations had refused to proceed, it seems this is not so; the Court of Appeals had indeed adjourned, which might retard the decisions of the Commiss. for a short time. I suppose tis not improbable but the failure of the Federal Court in N. C.³ may have a like tendency— I regret really that our State has been so unfortunate in failures of this kind, which must increase the dissatisfaction of many, & bring those Courts into disrepute.—

Our affairs with France wear's a gloomy aspect, and yet many

2 Fisher Ames of Massachusetts, ardent Federalist, member of Congress from his State, famous political orator, one of his best known speeches being that in defense of the Jay Treaty made April 28, 1796, two weeks after the Senate had ratified that document.

3 A quorum of the Judges of the Circuit Court for the District of North Carolina did not attend for the June term, 1797, hence there was no court. This made necessary a congressional act, approved July 5, 1797, for reviewing and continuing suits and processes. See *Annals of Congress*, 5th Cong., 1797-1799. Vol. III., 3692. *Acts of Cong.*

have hopes that matters will be more amicably adjusted by our new mission of Envoys⁴ Extraory.; I most fervently hope it may be so, and for the sake of the *Peace & happiness of our Country* We should suppress the honest indignation excited by their *injuries & insults*,⁵ provided they adjust matters with Justice & liberality— I can not omit saying what I firmly believe, that many among us have been induced to justify the French more from the enthusiasm we felt at the blaze of their Successes, than from any candid investigation which can be made into their Conduct towards the United States— I suspect those⁶ in our own Country who blame the American Government for pursuing measures calculated to maintain the Neutrality of the Country, *have themselves been neutral*, and therefore blame the Constituted authorities because their acts did not go the *length of their mad Views*— While we rejoice at the prospect of a great Nation obtaining rational Liberty, we ought not to forget the Duty & respect we owe to our own rights & Country.

Congress will rise in seven or eight days, without doing any thing more of Consequence than taking some preparitory steps for Defence in case of the worst.

The Spanish Government has refused to run the line from the Mississippi agreeably to Treaty⁷ and offer some very flimsy pre-

4 This was Adams' first mission to France, composed of Charles Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry, the treatment of whom by France resulted in the famous X.Y.Z. affair.

5 France was in a deadly grapple with England and resented America's policy of neutrality. Her minister, Fauchet, accused the America, government of the violation and inexecution of treaties, one of which, made in 1778, he regarded as an offensive and defensive alliance; the other of amity, navigation, and commerce under which France claimed the right of bringing prizes into United States ports, and of fitting out ships against her enemies, all of which the American government opposed.

6 Grove's complaint here is directed against the Republican party, whose sympathies were pro-French. The Federalists' sympathies were with the English in the great international conflict. In case the policy of neutrality was abandoned the Republicans wished to fight England, while the Federalists wished to fight France.

7 In 1796 the United States had affected a treaty with Spain by which the Mississippi River was to be opened, New Orleans made a port of deposit for three years, and the thirty-first degree of latitude agreed upon as part of the southern boundary of the United States. But in 1797 this excellent treaty

tences for this Conduct, but it is pretty well understood that French influence is the real cause, & it is said the Florida's & Louisiana⁸ is to be relenquished to the Republic; perhaps Canada may also fall into their hands— If so I fear from their power and *ambition*, they may become troublesome neighbors to this Country.

The Empiror has certainly been driven into a separate Peace in consequence of the wonderful victories of the French armies, the terms have been dictated by Buonaparte⁹ under the direction of the Directory; a Congress is to be held at Basle¹⁰ at which some of the German *Princes* & G. Britain are to be permitted to send *Negociators* to effect a general Peace; in the mean time it seems from French papers the Republic are resolved to annihilate the British Government & destroy her Naval power if she can—

If these things are effected it must have great and important consequences on the affairs of Europe and the Commercial Wourld, and I am not persuaded but it would have an unhappy influence on the affairs of our own Country; for either France, or G Britain to have such a Complete power over the other, would destroy rivalry which has at times prevented both nations from overrunning the rights of others.

Be so good as remember me to all friends & believe to be with esteem

D Sir

Your Hum Sert.

W. B. GROVE

seemed for a time likely to fail. Spain had taken offense at the Jay Treaty with England and refused for a time to run out the boundary line which separated her possessions from those of the United States.

8 West Florida and Louisiana were both possessions of Spain at this date. Louisiana was ceded by Spain to Napoleon at the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, 1800.

9 These terms were not actually signed between Emperor Francis II and Bonaparte until October 17, 1797. It was the treaty of Campo Formio dictated by Bonaparte to Francis, one hundred miles from Vienna and after his wonderful victories in northern Italy. By it the Emperor agreed to the extension of France over the Netherlands and the Rhenish Provinces, and the virtual annexation of Lombardy, Modena, and the Papal States, while Austria was allowed to take over the ancient Republic of Venice.

10 This Congress actually met at Rastadt, November, 1797, but did noth-

To James Hogg.

Philadelphia Decem. 18. 1797

Dear Sir

I wrote you a few lines sometime ago and expect shortly to have the pleasure of an answer, In the mean time tis proper I should give you some information on the subject of your Money put into my Hands to be vested in some public fund here— In the first place the Gold when weighed at the Bank amounted to \$807.37— of course you lost \$2.64— as the sum you gave me was \$810.1— but had not the enclosed moidore (contained in parcel No 1—) proved base, your money would have over run your calculation— It was cut at the bank.— This money I deposited in the Bank on the 18th. Nov.— and have since Deposited the \$500 you gave me in paper.

I mentioned to you that Mr Steele¹ & others had advised the purchase of *Bank Stock*, Viz Bank Shares, in preference to 6 p Ct. Stock as less liable to fluctuation or depreciation— Bank Stock is above par, & the other something below, but on further enquiries into the subject I dont perceive so much difference in their *actual Value* as I at first apprehended— for instance a Bank Share say \$400 sells at 23 to 25 *pr Ct. advance*, and the Dividend on this is generally 7 p Ct. to 8 p Ct. half yearly— 6 p Ct. Stock is about 17 having had 2 years of the original principal of 2 p Ct. on each \$100 paid agreeably to Law, and the redemption continues to go on at that rate quarter yearly until the whole debt shall be redeemed— this *redeemable quality* in the Debt of the U. States, lessens its value with *Stock Jobbers*. But tis an admirable plan for the public to get rid of the Debt— and should not be deviated from under *No Circumstances*; but in case of War or any great pub-

ing beyond the ratification of the secret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio. England was not represented and continued the war against France.

1 John Steele, of Salisbury, N. C., Comptroller of the United States Treasury under Washington's and Adams' administrations, and for two years under Jefferson. He resigned his post in the fall of 1802.

lic disturbance, this redemption of principal as well as payment of interest *might be delayed*; but I hope & trust neither will happen, notwithstanding the gloomy prospect of things for some time past as regards our affairs with France. I have advised also with Mr John Storey,² the friend of Mr Jno Hogg,³ who I shall get to do the necessary Business as regards the purchase of the Stock &c. which I shall attend to, so as to see the proper transfer made—

The reason why nothing has been yet done, is, that it being so near the end of the *year*, & *quarter* Mr S. thinks it best to purchase so as to commence from the first of Jany., and he is now casting about for a sum to or near the amt of Cash, I hope ere long to give you further accounts, and I am now the more particular to afford you a better idea of these matters than perhaps you may have had before. —

We have had more harmony in Congress than usual, & I hope a Continuance of it, tho' there has been very little yet before us of a nature to Excite the Spirit of Party— I send you the Report of our Committee of last Sessn. & the Documents relative to Blounts Conspiracy⁴— you will perceive Mr Liston⁵ gave more Countenance to the Scheme. than had been apprehended, and I would not be surprised if the President should request his recall; it would gratify many who think Mr L. has had more to do in the Business than has ever appeared, & it would silence those who wish to make a Charge of partiality against the Government— You will also discover an attempt to insinuate that the Secrt'y. of State⁶ was desir-

2 Probably a stock broker of Philadelphia.

3 Cousin of James Hogg. John Hogg was a merchant, doing business in both Fayetteville and Wilmington and residing in the main in the latter town.

4 William Blount, first United States Senator from Tennessee, impeached before the bar of the Senate and expelled for exciting the Indians and Tennessee and Kentucky adventurers to make hostile incursions against Spanish territory.

5 Robert Liston, minister to the United States from Great Britain, was included in the plan to make war on the Spanish Floridas. It was for co-operation with this English scheme of wresting the Floridas from Spain that Wm. Blount was impeached.

6 Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State under Adams.

ous to screen the British Minister— I suspect the insinuation proceeded from Malice, or a misunderstanding of Eatons⁷ information to Ripley.

Our Envoys⁸ are at Paris, but We yet know nothing of their prospects; I need not tell you that We are *all anxiety on this Subject*. As the *result of their Mission* I apprehend must have an important influence on the affairs of this Country, I earnestly hope it may be favourable to *Reason & Justice*.

There is some flying Report that French Garrisons are in some or all of the Ports on the Mississippi I hope tis not true nor never may be; they are too Powerful and Ambitious to be *honest* and *Just Neighbors*.⁹

Few arrivals latterly from Europe, but what have long passages; but information has got here from several quarters that Admrl. Duncan¹⁰ had a most severe action the 12th. Oct. with the Dutch Fleet— 8 or 9 of the Dutch line of Battle Ships are taken and some of the British Vessels nearly disabled—

It was expected that 3 years after the Mint began to Coin, there would be a Sufficiency of the Silver Coins of the U. S. in circulation," to admit the calling in such silver Coins as are supposed to have more alloy than is proper, but it is proved to be otherwise, & the time admitting those coins to circulate will be prolonged, as well as for gold coins —

7 Probably General William Eaton, a captain at this date on the Seminole frontier in Georgia, later, in Jefferson's administration the real hero of the Tripolitan war.

8 Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry. Grove's fears were fully realized a little later in the X.Y.Z. explosion.

9 The general American dread of France as a neighbor on our southwestern border accounts for Jefferson's disregard of constitutional scruples and his hasty purchase of the Louisiana territory in 1803 after it had been transferred by Spain to France in 1800.

10 Admiral Duncan, of the English navy, defeated the Dutch fleet off Camperdown, on the coast of Holland, Oct., 11, 1797. The Dutch were allied with the French.

11 An act of Congress in 1793 had provided that, three years from the day, on which the first silver coin and again three years from the day on which the first gold coin was struck at the mint, gold and silver bearing the stamp of foreign powers should, save Spanish milled dollars and parts thereof,

The Stamp tax¹² will not go into operation until 1st. July— I hope we shall alter and amend the Excise Law¹³ so as to remove your objections, in part, at least— by permitting the Distillers to enter for *one week*, at any time through the year; and from Week to Week as they may think proper —

I will thank you to remember me to my friends Mr & Mrs Estes and inform them, I mean to write Mr Estes soon— I suppose they have heard of my Brother Robert Rowan¹⁴ affliction with the Rheumatism.

When he arrived at New York from the Lakes he was as helpless as a Child, he could neither use hands or legs— I Visited him immediately on hearing of his situation, & am happy to say he was much better before he left New York for Wilmington, & that the Medical Men say they have no doubt but that the warm climate, warm bath & Electricity will soon restore him— Be pleased to offer my respects to your family & be assured I am Dear Sir, with Esteem

yr. Hum Ser.

W B GROVE

cease to be legal tender. In 1797 when the three years had expired it was found that the U. S. mint had not supplied a sufficient coinage, hence the time had to be extended.

12 In anticipation of war with France the Federal Congress in 1797 passed a stamp act that required a revenue stamp on such documents as insurance policies, merchants' bonds, promissory notes, bills of exchange, law licenses, and many other documents. It fell under severe criticism of the Republican party in Congress and was repealed in 1802.

13 This was the Excise Law of 1791 against which the Pennsylvania distillers rose in 1794; repealed during Jefferson's first term, but reimposed in Madison's administration under pressure of expense of war with England.

14 Half-brother of Grove. Grove's mother, as a widow, married Robert Rowan, of Fayetteville, who gave the name Rowan Street in that town. The elder Rowan was a member of the General Assembly from Cumberland county in 1778, 1779, 1785. A daughter, Susan Rowan, became the first wife of Dr. Joseph Caldwell, first president of the University of North Carolina.

To James Hogg.

Phila. Jany 18h. 1798

Dear Sir

I some time ago directed Clement Biddle, Broker, to purchase Stock of the U. States to the amount of your money say *Sixteen hundred & Seven Dollars & 37 cents*, & by mistake he has omitted to invest 7 Dollars 37 cents— I now send you enclosed a Regisd. Certificate being the evidence of the sum standing on the Books of the Treasury of the U. States to your credit, the interest, and reimbursement of 2 p Ct. thereof, can only be drawn by your atty for that purpose.

Mr. Biddle's acct. if inclosed by which you will see the real state & nature of your Stock, leaving in my hands 7 Dolls. & 37 Cents subject to your order, or to be added to any other sum you may choose to invest in this way —

In reply to your enquiries how monies can be got from our Country to this place, I can give you no information unless you can meet with Bank notes.

I have made some enquiries about the Value and probability of selling your Lands in Tennessee & Kentucky within Henderson grants¹; I am told these Lands must become Valuable, but at present not more than half a Dollr. could be had for the Kentucky Land, & the Value of Powels Valley will depend on the extinguishment of the Indian claims, and this event is likely to take place shortly, as the President has nominated Mr Ad. Moore² of N. C. Bushrod Washington³ of Virga. & Fisher Ames,⁴ to hold a Treaty with the Cherokees under hope that they may be prevailed

1 The Transylvania Land Company, explained in an earlier note.

2 Alfred Moore, senior, of Brunswick, N. C., Attorney General of North Carolina, 1790-1798; Superior Court Judge 1798-1799; Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court 1799-1805; resigned on account of ill health, and died Oct., 15, 1810.

3 Relative of President Washington, member of Congress from Virginia, appointed by Adams an Associate Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court.

4 Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts, noted earlier.

on to sell & relinquish some of their Lands to which the white People have legal claims under N. Carolina, and I am induced to think tis probable, that part of the Country where your Lands are situated is the most likely to be given up by the Indians —

I hope Mr Moore may be prevailed on to accept and act in this Business; there are very considerable interest in No. Carolina depending on this matter, & indeed the Peace of the Country is in some measure at stake, for the honest claimants will never be at ease until they see a fair attempt made on the part of the U. States to obtain those Lands from the Indians, & the weight & respectability of the Commissioners will go far in *satisfying good Men* let the result be as it may — I wish the frauds⁵ lately discovered at Raleigh may not have a bad effect in this Business, I assure every Body here, the *State will sift the matter to the bottom* and not permit any of those fraudulent claims to prevail — yet it may create doubt &c &c

In haste I am

D Sir your Hum Sert

W. B. GROVE

To James Hogg.

Phila. Jany 18th. 1798

Dear Sir

By this mail, & of this date, I have sent you a letter covering a Certift. of the Six p Ct. Stock which was purchased with *Sixteen hundred Dollars* Cash at 16/10d in the pound — I hope that letter & its enclosures may arrive safe — you must have an atty or agent here to convert *your interest & dividend of reimbursement*, as it becomes due at the end of each quarter into New Capital by this means it has the effect of Compound inters —

⁵ Certain frauds in the Land Office at Raleigh under Glasgow. Glasgow was removed from office in latter part of 1797 and a commission appointed to sift the whole matter.

The Commissrs.¹ on British debts have done nothing *decisive yet*, as Mr Fitzsimmons tells me; they have been delayed by their Colleague Colo Innis of Virga. who has been very ill; they have however been preparing Business and will probably soon proceed to fix on *principles* after that is done they will make pretty short work of such claims as may be brought before them— and I fear they will bring *us* in deeper than was expected— this will certainly be the case if it is determined to take up any Business that has not gone through a Court.

I am amazed you have not urged your Brothers Creditors² forward before now; If I have rightly understood the situation of that Concern, they have claims for legal impediments if any in America have— In my letter, of to-day I have told you what had been done towards satisfying the No. Carolina land holders in Tennessee;³ I hope the result of it may be favourable to all sides and that Mr. Moore may agree to act as one of the Commissioners— I think it would be but *Justice* that some of the gentry lately taken in committing frauds⁴ should grace Gallows Hill— Nothing but hemp will keep such fellows from preying on the honest part of the World I apprehend as long as they live --

I am both ashamed & chagrined at the Conduct of my old friend Genl. Willis;⁵ I told him [*Words illegible*] delicate terms as I

1 Mr. Rich, Mr. McDonald, and Mr. Guilmard on the part of Great Britain and Mr. Innis and Mr. Fitzsimmons on the part of the United States.

2 James Hogg and his cousin, John, were members of a mercantile firm doing business in Wilmington and Fayetteville and had suffered certain losses at the hands of the British during the Revolution. They were now looking to the commission for an adjustment.

3 Congress had lately appointed a commission consisting of Bushrod Washington of Virginia, Fisher Ames of Massachusetts and Alfred Moore of North Carolina to undertake a negotiation with the Cherokee Indians with a view extinguishing their claims to lands in Tennessee that had been granted by North Carolina before the cession of Tennessee to the federal government.

4 The frauds in the land office, mentioned in a former letter and explained in note.

5 I am unable to determine who General Willis was, or the import of this reference. It may have been John Willis of Robeson county, member of State Senate, 1787-1791, and member of the Commons 1794 and 1795; also a trustee of the State University from 1795 to 1801.

could that he was [*Words illegible*] the first, but I had no conception he would have bottomed his opposition in the manner and on the grounds his Petition held forth; it seemed to be the mere effusion of Violent Passion directed against a whole People.

With best regards

I am Dear Sir

your Very Hum Ser.

W. B. GROVE

To James Hogg.

Phila. Feby 14h. 1798

Dear Sir

I have latterly had such a host of letters to answer from different parts of the State, that I postponed writing you immediately after the recd. of yours of the 18 Jany covering a line for Mr Storey:¹ I am now to acknowledge that letter, also yours of the 26 same month enclosing the unfortunate Generals *paper War*, from which it appears he so exposed *his lines* as to suffer the Enemy to break through them & *cover him with disgrace*

I can assure you I have felt not a little Chagrined at the whole of this affair— With you, and many others I entertained a good opinion of Genl. Willis, and indeed had a regard for him beyond common friendship, and as I was confident he knew it, I took the liberty of prevailing on him not to Contest the Election of his opponent, and said more to him on that head than I would to most of my acquaintances; but he was Resolved, little did I expect he could or would have gone on the ground he has taken— I have written my mind to him pretty freely—

Mr Storey will write you in answer to your letter to him, and says he will attend to your Business. rest assured that I shall at all times aid him, in any of your desires as to Matters here, with pleasure.

1 A Philadelphia stock broker, referred to in letter of date Dec., 18, 1767.

I hope the Certif. of your Stock has reached you in Safety, and that you are not dissatisfied with what I done, tho' I perceive that 6pC have fallen to 16/Sd.

I should advise you still to lay out your money in Bank Stock, a Share originally was 400 Doll. they are over par from 20 to 22 pC— so one share costs \$480. to 488— any Surplus over the price of a Share to be laid out in 8 pCt.— so you will have all your money *Vested*; and in case of any uproar, war &c. your Bank Shares are safest— tho' I am of opinion all the funds are secure, yet they may not be so in the public estimation— this is said to be a fine time to purchase as the uncertainty of affairs have a greater effect on the *Stocks* than the risk warrants —

As I wrote you fully on this subject before, I need add nothing more; I also asked you the price of your Kentucky Lands &c &c., this however is a bad Market I am told for new Lands, yet I might fall in with some person inclined to purchase if I could say at what price you held them.

Pray will Mr Moore accept the appoint. of Commissioner to treat with the Indians, it is considered of importance here, that something should be done If Possible to obtain those Lands from the Cherokees— The Executive is fully of this opinion, & therefore he made so *weighty* an appointment as Moore, Washington and Ames. In consequence of the Death of Genl Skinner the Commissr.² of Loans, our Senators³ & Mr Steele,⁴ recommended Colo Rowan⁵ to fill that office, and the President has nomenated him, he will I suppose be concurred with by the Senate— & the office will be kept at Fayette Ville —

2 Joshua Skinner, of Perquimans county, appointed commissioner of loans by President Washington; was member of State Senate 1790-1794.

3 Timothy Bloodworth, of New Hanover, and Alexander Martin of Guilford, both Republicans. Bloodworth succeeded Benjamin Hawkins, Federalist, in 1795, and Martin succeeded Samuel Johnston, Federalist, 1793.

4 General John Steele, of Salisbury, comptroller of the U. S. Treasury under Washington, Adams, and through a part of Jefferson's first term; was influential in the distribution of federal patronage in North Carolina.

5 Robert Rowan, of Fayetteville; Revolutionary patriot; first signer of the "Cumberland Association," June 20, 1775, formed for the purpose of resistance to Britain; frequently a member of the State legislature from the Revolution to 1785.

No accounts from our Envoys in France that are official— some late news state that 3 Commissrs. are named to adjust differences with them at Paris, bad news is apt to *travel fast*, or I should have no hopes left, as things are, I have *yet some hopes*⁶ —

We have been shamefully perplexed with a Dirty matter committed in Congress Hall, by one of the members on the Person of another,⁷ on the outside of the Bar of the House — you read the papers & need say nothing of it, as those Vehicles of Scandal are filled with it, to our Shame — It may not be amiss to say *Lyon spit in the face of Mr Griswold*, & we could not expel him for this *dirty assault* — 64 Votes made 2-3d. & 52 only Voted for his Expulsion, 44 against it— As an example I wish he had been Expelled, it is proper to deal with severity against those who shall dare to Violate the Sanctuary of a Deliberative assembly.

I want to say a great deal more to you, but at present have not time — Remember me to all friends, and be assured I am

D Sir

with regard & esteem

y Hum Ser

W B GROVE

The Snow is 6 inches deep
& the river again fast —

6 See Note 4, letter of date June 24, 1797.

7 Matthew Lyon, member of Congress from Vermont, rabid Republican and very much hated by the Federalists, made an attack on the floor of the House upon another member, Roger Griswold of Connecticut. The House failed to expel him, though he was later tried under the Sedition Act for the publication of a letter in a Vermont paper severely criticising the government for its "ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation, and selfish avarice." He was fined \$1000 and sent to prison for four months. His friends got up a petition for his pardon, but as he refused to sign it, the President refused to pardon him. But he was triumphantly re-elected to Congress while still in prison.

To James Hogg.

Phila. March 23d 1798

Dear Sir

My Correspondents have so increased latterly, which in addition to my duty, in these unpleasant times, to extend my Communications to my Constituents, has prevented me from writing to you for sometime past — your favour of the 21st ult. came to hand a few days ago, and afforded me pleasure to hear you were well, and that my letter covering the Certif. of your Stock had reached you in safety — I perceive the Value of Stocks are affected by the very unpleasant state of affairs with France — this is to be expected in any Country, but especially in a young Country like ours, where Capitals are invited into a thousand other Channels — I cannot think however things can ever become so desperate among us as to induce a departure from the plighted faith of the Govt. — It may be Possible the redemption of the 2 p C. Capital may be diverted to more pressing objects — I say thus much to you as I presume you may feel some anxiety on this score — for myself I feel none, having never had one penny of Funded debt, or Bank stock in my Life — this has been owing to *a thousand reasons*, but *one of them* alone was sufficient — viz I had it never in my Power or inclination to purchase —

To you it is unnecessary to go into detail on the state of our affairs with France,¹ you can & have investigated with coolness and candour the unremitted Solicitude of the Govt. of the United States to maintain Peace & amity with the French, while they have been trying how far they can insult Plunder & degrade us, because we were not disposed to make our Country a Tool to their Views & ambitions — I have on every occasion from the present Revolution in France felt and expressed the most sincere hope that

¹ The X.Y.Z. disclosures had reached Philadelphia March 5, and left Adams' government sorely perplexed and offended. Grove, as an ardent Federalist, shared the sentiments of that party relative to that course of America's relations with France. In this letter he is adroitly using the insult from France to justify to his constituents his well known anti-French attitude.

the event might terminate speedily in a Government calculated to make them a Free & Happy People — and while I lamented & Shuddered at many of the transactions of that Country, I still hoped and believed for a long time, that each of those horrid events, would be the last act of Disgrace & Tyranny that should be committed under “Fair Liberty’s sacred name” — But alas! how silly have I been as well as thousands of others on this Subject —

Ambition, avarice, & Bloody Revenge seems now to be the order of the Day among the Rulers of France, and these, they seem to deal out to the Nations around as if they meant to destroy the Wourld — Even the Peaceful and unoffending Americans must partake of their overflowing Wrath — our increasing Wealth & happiness has become painful to them — and as we were once their allies they seem disposed to treat us, as they have their own Country, & reduce us to a State of Poverty, & wretchedness — as they have Holland —

With all my attachment to the Cause of the French, let me here avow what I defy the Wourld to deny, *that my Love, Veneration & Duty to my own Country* was never shaken, by the blaze of French Victories, or any other Circumstance on earth — and I can look back with pleasure to every Vote I gave from the days of Genet² to the present moment, and console myself that those votes have been in support of our own Govert. and the genuine principles of Neutrality that was adopted. — even in 1794 when British Depred. had agitated & inflamed all our Minds, I had the good fortune to be on the Side of Moderation and Negociation, tho it was then called a Pussillanimous measure by men who now are as gentle as Lambs in the Case of France who have denied to Negociate with us, altho We have made two attempts.

I have taken the liberty to write of myself thus freely to you, to whom I am in some degree accountable as a friend, and my constituent. —

The Presidents last Message on the 19th. March exorting us to

² Edmond Charles Genet, first minister of the French Republic to the United States, arrived in 1793. Genet insisted upon disregarding American neutrality between England and France; treated President Washington in a very boorish manner and finally forced the government to request his recall.

take vigorous measures for the Defense of the Country & Commerce of the Nation in case of the worst, is called here a *Declaration of War* & is highly Censured by those who have generally opposed every measure of the Admish. since the Present War has commenced in Europe — While General Washington was President, the same opposition existed as does now, for Mr Adams has adopted and avowed he will pursue the same line of Conduct & Principles — But let it be remembered that Mr Adams Character however irreproachable it certainly is, does not carry with it that Confidence & Veneration which was entertained for Genl. Washington's, particularly in the Southern Country — It is therefore of the utmost importance at a time like the present, that all men who regard the *Honour & interests* of the Country, should come out Boldly & plainly to Inculcate union, & *Confidence* in the Government.

I mean that union of Sentiment whereby every Man pledges himself to stand by his Country and support the National Political institutions thereof, which secures to all in the Community Life, Liberty, & Property — and that Honest Confidence, which examines and appreciates with Candour the acts of Public Men & measures. — It is said and believed by some, that the French have been taught to consider us to the Southward as *Devoted to their Will*, and from a persuasion of this kind they expect to Divide Distract and Govern us — the Idea is as false as tis Degrading to our Country, and I feel Confidt. If it should be ever Necessary to Defend and Protect ourselves against an Invading Enemy,³ the People to the South will to a man repel the Foe, whether he comes under the name of a British, or Spanish Monarchy or a French Republic — I have written fully to many of my friends in N. C. on this subject, and I can not help adding that I hope a true American Spirit of attachment and regard for our Government may evidence itself among the People, and that they may set a noble example of *Self-respect, and Veneration* for the Constituted authorities of their Country — If they do not, We may become the

3 Grove is anticipating war with France, a thing narrowly averted by President Adams' second mission to France in February, 1799. Indeed naval war had already begun.

Sport of Foreign intrigues, and intestine Broils — and the Fate of Poland may be our Lot — If so, it were better our Ancestors had never found this New WOULD —

Remember me to all friends, & Be assured I am

Dear Sir

Your friend

& Humble Sert.

W. B. GROVE

To James Hogg.

Phila. May 29th 1798

Dear Sir

I am now to acknowledge the receipt of your several favors of the 17h. April, 2d. & 16th. May from Fayette Ville—in reply to the former I can assure you [*One word illegible*] glad to find the affairs of our University are getting forward so cleverly — the Friends & promoters of that Institution are the real Patriots of No. Carolina.¹

I can not but feel much satisfaction in the account I receive from Various parts of the State, that it is likely our representation² in Congress will be more respectable for Talents & proper qualifications for such a Situation — I can not help thinking that one of the greatest causes of the loss of Confidence of many in the Federal government arises from that Source — How in the name of God is any Government to act wisely, or remain Reputable in the eyes

1 Grove was a member of the Board of Trustees for the University from 1789 to 1818; his correspondent, James Hogg, was a trustee from 1789 to 1802. Both were deeply interested in its fortunes.

2 At the date Grove writes he was the only Federalist in Congress from North Carolina. The French war scare and the popularity the government derived from its prompt resentment of France's course in the X.Y.Z. affair caused North Carolina to return four Federalists in 1799, these being Grove, Archibald Henderson, Wm. H. Hill, and Joseph Dixon. North Carolina had ten representatives in all at this date.

of a Jealous & discerning People, If they themselves appoint Men totally incapable of thinking or acting on the great affairs of a great Nation — permit me my good Sir, to say, what I do, with sincere regret. I lament there are too many of this description in the Councils of our Country, who are more the Representatives of Prejudice and illiberal Suspicion, than of the true interests and sound policy of the U States. I will add what I am sure you and every reflecting Man in your District already knows full well, that *your member*³ is not among the *most enlightened*, of the *most ignorant*; — and to learn that he is likely to have a majority of the Suffrages of so Respectable a District again is certainly a singular thing, unless indeed you are Resolved to Satirize Congress as some suggest.

Let me here assure you I am not actuated by Personal feelings, or difference in Politics to make these remarks — they spring from a higher Motive. —

Your remarks on Mr Harpers⁴ speech are in a great degree just enough, but as false Religion has been made the Cloak for great Vices, so has a pretended Philosophy been the ground work of Vast mischiefs — In the eyes of the discreet & discerning, true Religion, & real Philosophy. should not loose any of their important & Divine influence, because base men have prostituted both by false pretentions —

Your observations relative to the incorrect information on the real State of affairs among the great mass of the People, & the causes of it correspond entirely with my own opinion; to find fault, abuse, and write infamous insinuations to Degrade our own Government, is the highth of some Mens Ambition, & the greatest evi-

3 Grove's party bias incapacitated him for a fair estimate of his party opponents. His reference here is to Nathaniel Macon, Republican representative of the Hillsboro District (Warren, Franklin, Granville, Wake, and Orange counties) from 1791 to 1815, in the latter year entering the United States Senate where he served until 1828, resigning because of advancing age. Macon was Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1801 to 1806. Without showy qualities, Macon possessed a keen, though perhaps somewhat narrow intellect, and was unquestionably one of the ablest legislators in Congress during his thirty-seven years of continuous service.

4 Robert Goodloe Harper, an able and active Federalist member of Congress from South Carolina.

dence of their attention to the Happiness & interests of their Country men; — their object is to flatter the ignorant, & to increase their own Consequence among the Malcontents; this Kind of *Patriotic* information is jumbled together in a *printed Circular* and sent throughout the Country to Poison the People like the effluvia which rises from this City in the *time of a Pestilence* — I now and then get a squint at these effusions of Congressional Literature, & baseness — for I consider it the basest act on earth to libel and Degrade ones own Country —

I have lately seen a printed letter of this kind by chance, sent by a Colleague to the Western District, *I say sent*, for tis evidently not penned by him — tis replete with charges & insinuations the most false and inimical to the Union, & the Independence of America — and to confidence in the Government of our Country that you can Conceive, and in my opinion If the People can rely fully and implicitly on the Information, they should resist the authority of their own Governmt. — If a Copy of this Letter can be had it will be and must be published — and indeed I am not sure but some further notice must be taken of it — the name of Joe McDowell⁵ is annexed to the letter I allude to — and my reason for Supposing *he did not pen it*, is that tis generally spelt right, & the stile & grammer is tolerable tho this may have been done for him by a contemptable wretch here named Calendar⁶ who tis said gets his bread by writing circulers for the more illiterate Jacobin Mem-

5 Colonel Joseph McDowell is here meant. He was a Republican of the strongest type, and representative in Congress of the Western District of North Carolina from 1793 to 1795 and from 1797 to 1799. Colonel McDowell was a major at the battles of Cowpens and King's Mountain; after the Revolution was often a member of the General Assembly; was a member of the State Constitution Convention of 1788; also a commissioner to run the dividing line between North Carolina and Tennessee. He died in August, 1801.

6 James Thompson Callender, a Scotchman, serving as a hack writer for the Republicans in their attacks upon the Federalist Administration. He was frequently used even by Jefferson himself to perform unsavory political tasks. In 1800 Callender was tried under the Sedition Law for the production and publication of "The Prospect Before Us," an attack upon Adams and the administration. A fine of two hundred dollars and imprisonment for nine months failed to reform him, he devoting the period of imprisonment to the production of further scurrilous pamphlets.

bers⁷ of Congress.

I made the enquiry you desired about Messrs. Laird & Edie, and learn that no claims from them are before the Board — Very few claims are before the Commissrs.,⁸ their Determination on these will establish the Principles that will govern them on all Similar cases, & We are in great fear that very different Construc-tions are intended to be put on the 6th. artic. of the Treaty than we expected, which will have a Very unpleasant & arbitrary, nay unjust, operation on the U. States.

I can assure you that I feel much gratified that your prospects are so favorable from the rising Value of your Western Lands — and I hope they may enable you to get through any and all old embarrassments which has given you so much anxiety — It is said that Kentucky Lands in the old Settlements are rather on the fall, perhaps your's may rise in proportion being on the frontier.

Your last of the 16th. from F. Ville I can not now answer, as I have seen none of the Heirs of Mr Morriss⁹ to taulk to them on the subject of your letter, but I will attend to its object. —

We had not learned by last accounts that our Commissrs¹⁰ had left France, and We are astonished at their remaining in that Country after assurances they would leave it before now, & the accos. of Negotiations being Commenced is without Foundation — I fear they have been Deluded to remain under Various pretexts, for the insiduous purposes of keeping alive the hopes & designs of their friends among us, while they were preparing to take more Hostile measures against us.

Our Coast — Bays, & mouths of Rivers have been for some time past swarming with French Picaroons & Privateers who take all Vessels they meet with in, or outward Bound — Our Small Fleet will soon be at Sea, & We have Authorized the taking &c all such Piratical armed Vessels as may be found on our Coast Committing

7 The Republicans were called Jacobins by the Federalists because of their pro-French sympathies.

8 Commissioners on British Debts, already noted.

9 Reference to the settlement of an estate of which Grove was administrator.

10 Adams' first commission, Pinckney, Gerry, and Marshall.

Depredations on our Peaceful Commerce — this measure the opposition gentry have the folly & impudence to call *waging war*¹¹ on the French — thus to Defend our property & Country against the basest plunderers, brings upon the Adminisn. the Vilest epithets — and charges of partiality for Britain — These Gentlemen even try to induce a Belief that all the Conversation of our Commissrs in Paris was with a lot of Swindlers &c. &c. — & that the great Directory had no hand in the Business —

However a Genl. Hedonville who the French have lately sent to Command in the Ws. Indies having seen the Dispatches were published in this Country, has written to the French Consul here, a letter which he and their Emissaries in this Country thought might be useful in taking off part of the odium on the French Govert. & it has been published — but that letter Confirms if any Conformation was wanting that the French Govert. had Resolved to *demand of us Contributions* &c &c.

I shall end this letter by saying If I did not see a Spirit among some People to prostrate our Country & its Independence to France, I should feel no fear or apprehension from any Foreign Nation on earth, for I verily believe we have little to fear from any Nation except that Ambitious & avaricious quarter —

With best respects to all friends I am

Dear Sir

your friend

& Hum Sert.

W. B. GROVE

To James Hogg.

Philadelphia July 8, 1798

Dear Sir

I wrote you a line immediately on the arrival of Genl.

¹¹ Desultory naval warfare begun with France almost immediately after the X. Y. Z. disclosures.

Marshall,' & informed you of our expectation that *your friend Genl Pinckney* would soon be with us, as he left Paris about the 15th. of April and went to the South of France only for a short time to recruit the Health of his Daughter – since that we have no accounts of him, I earnestly wish for his arrival & Safety.

Mr Gerry² remained in consequence of Tallyrand's intimation, & contrary to the opinion of his Colleagues, & of Genl Pinckney's in particular – this conduct of Mr G. has excited some uneasiness, more especially as tis an evidence of "the Diplomatic Skill of France" to Divide and Disunite us – his friends seem confident he will do nothing to dishonour himself, or the Nation, and yet his obstinacy may increase our Difficulties by keeping alive the Spirit of the Partizans of France among us, for it begins now to appear pretty clearly that this Country must either become *Tributary to France*, or Defend itself with *Vigour & energy* – The latter is certainly the Choice of all Men who regard the *Independence, or rights of a Free People*, and under this impression Congress have acted since the Views of France have been fully unfolded – If We are united & true to each other, We can procure Justice & an honorable indemnification, & will prove to the World, that tho' We are slow to take Arms even to avenge our Wrongs, yet when insulted into resentment, We will act like Men who know the Value of our rights, & who are Resolved to Defend them at the risk of every thing – We have greatly augmented our Maritime force, & from the public spirit of the monied men in the great towns, It is expected we shall add several Frigates &c to our little Fleet – private Subscripsns. to an immense amount is obtained in Boston, N. York, Phila. Baltimore &c. to Build Ships to be loaned to Government – We have authorized the increase of our Military establishment to ten thousand Men, In addition to a Provisional Army of the same number, & such Volunteer Corps as may offer their services under the 2d clause of this Law. –

1 John Marshall, of Virginia, one of the commissioners to France, recently returned to the United States.

2 Elbridge Gerry, the only Republican member of the commission, at the invitation of Tallyrand, French minister of foreign affairs, remained at Paris and had some further negotiations with the French government after his col-

Need I tell you that all our preparations for Defence will require additional funds, We shall however try to apportion the sums to be raised in as equitable a manner as possible.

It is proposed to raise 2 Million of Dollars in the U. States on Houses, Lands, & Negroes, the latter are to be rated at half a Dollar pr head from 12 to 50 years of age - Houses & Lands are to be valued & pay a Certain pr. Centage on their value - each State pays their own quota according to the Number of Inhabitants - White Polls pay nothing.

I hoped to have been at Home before now, and [*Remainder of letter missing.*]

To James Hogg.¹

have the utmost respect & Confidence in Mr H integrity & good Policy² yet they are not so drilled as the opposition generally are, Not to dare to express an opinion contrary to the sentiments of a Jef - - n, a Gall - - n,³ or a Nicholas⁴ - Tis probable from the Divisions in the Legislature of this State as to the mode of Electing Electors,⁵ that they will have no vote; The Federal Men desire that Electors

leagues had departed, thus incurring the severe displeasure of the administration and the Federalist party generally.

1 The beginning of this letter is missing. Its precise date cannot be determined, but from the content we know it to have been written a short time before the presidential election of 1800.

2 Thomas Jefferson.

3 Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania.

4 John Nicholas, Representative in Congress from Virginia and a staunch Republican.

5 Grove wrote from Philadelphia. At that date, like all the other States, three excepted, Pennsylvania chose her presidential electors in joint session of her legislature. In 1800 the Senate being Federalist and the House Republican, there was a deadlock, the Senate hoping to defeat the will of the Republican majority by refusing to go into joint session, thus to prevent the vote of the State being cast at all. A compromise was finally reached by which Adams was given seven votes and Jefferson eight.

should be appointed by Districts, the other party, as in Virgia. want a general ticket by which Faction & party have a greater field to display itself, & the People are obliged to vote for many Men they know nothing of —

New York appoint by *joint Ballot* and no doubt is entertained but Mr Adams will have the whole of that State, also Jersey and the whole of the Eastern States — Deleware — and perhaps the whole of Maryland, as the State Legislature have it in contemplation to meet for the express purpose of Appointing the Electors themselves, to counteract the new Virginia plan.⁶ If Maryland elect Districts, it is supposed Adams will have 7 — I do hope that our State will not be so completely under the guidance of her overgrown, imperious Sister again the dupe of her local and insinuating intrigues as upon a former occasion;⁷ and tho' Commissioners may be again sent to *reside near our Board of Electors*, and Coax, or threaten them — I trust they will prove of no avail, and that every Federal Man may be as firm as *Martin*, of Moore, who I hope will be our Elector from F. Ville⁸ again, and tho' him and myself have some cause to be chagrined, at his not having been offered a Captaincy upon my recommendation & without his knowledge, yet I am persuaded he is above a resentment on the Country, by not voting for Adams because there seems to have been some inattention or mistake, in paying that respect to him which his conduct merited — I have explained the thing to him as far as I am Capable from the information I have had — & the neglect has produced some censure on the War Depart. here, among those who the thing has been mentioned to — But the President knew nothing of this matter, till latterly —

Genl. Pinckney,⁹ or Major Pinckney¹⁰ is taulked of as Vice P — by

6 Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland chose electors by popular vote in districts.

7 A reference to Virginia's influence, politically upon North Carolina, especially in the election of 1790 when the North Carolina Federalists carried only one electoral vote for Adams.

8 Fayetteville, Grove's home.

9 Charles C. Pinckney of South Carolina, Federalist vice-presidential candidate in 1800 and presidential candidate in 1804. In 1800 Adams and Pinckney secured 65 electoral votes as against 73 for Jefferson and Burr.

the Federal side – I dont know the Genl., but what I hear he is a man of more *eclat* of Character, but I am inclined to believe We have few men in our Country possessing more of the qualities of Washington than Major P---- He is not a great Orator, but he is a man of excellent practical sense, and Classical Education – a perfect Gentleman in his manners, *Firm, mild, unaffected*, & Dignified in his Deportment; commanding at once respect, and Esteem from all who are in his Company. –

It is supposed however by some that the Genl, is the most Popular, & more likely to succeed in getting Votes as he is more Personally known in many of the States, and is a very pleasant Companionable Man –

As the latest European news is by the way of Charleston, I presume you will have seen the accounts before we had them here – the only matters of importance is the new Constitun.¹⁰ of France; & the Correspondence between Consul Buonaparte & Lord Grenville¹² about Peace –

The Constitution seems to me to be a strange mixture of Despotism, and insult offered to the nation, *with Liberty, equality & Republicanism*, hashed up in the French stile, to hide from the most Vulgar & Ignorant, the Contemptable & deplorable Situation the great Mass of the People are brought to by their own folly, and the *Infamous treachery* of most of their Pretended Patriots – What is to be the end of the Colossal Consul, & his Government is not easy to conjecture in a nation like France, where nothing is to be calculated on the ground of *Reason or experience* – some think He will soon share the fate of Caesar, whilst others expect He will become a second Cromwell, and make Crowned Heads tremble on their throne, and renovate the energies of his Nation – It seems from the reply of Lord Grenville, that notwithstanding the *New*

10 Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina, Federalist vice-presidential candidate in 1796 and a brother of C. C. Pinckney.

11 The French Directory was overthrown by Bonaparte in November, 1799, and the Consulate set up under a constitution that gave Bonaparte supreme power.

12 Lord William Grenville, England's Foreign Minister in the younger Pitt's cabinet, resigned office February 1801; Prime Minister 1806-1807.

*King*¹³ had written in Very flattering terms to his Brother of England, the *old King*¹⁴ seems to have Very little Confidence in his proposals, & recommends him to restore the *antient Princes*, tho he does not make that a *Sine qua non* to a Peace¹⁵ —

We are in hourly expectations of hearing from the Envoys,¹⁶ and think it somewhat Strange that Capt. Barry does not return — It is fully expected from the Complexion of affairs that all our differences will be amicably settled and If the French *let us alone*, they may have a Revolution every decade if they please —

I was not a little Vexed at seeing in Gales¹⁷ paper a censure on Cap. Truxton¹⁸ for having so Gallantly beat the French 51 — Such actions will tend more to insure Justice and Respect from France, and the World, than a thousand whining speeches in Congress about Peace, the Power of France, and the inability of this Country to Defend her national rights on the Ocean —

'Tis very late at night — please Remember me to Mr Alves.¹⁹
I am

Dr Sir

Yr Huml Sert

W B GROVE

13 A contemptuous reference to Bonaparte and his assumption of Sovereign authority in France.

14 George III.

15 These negotiations ultimately led to a temporary peace between Bonaparte and England signed at Amiens in March, 1802.

16 This was Adams' famous second mission to France, composed of Oliver Ellsworth, Wm. Vans Murray, and William R. Davie.

17 Joseph Gates, editor of the *Raleigh Register*. This paper was established at Raleigh in 1789 as the organ of the Republican party in North Carolina.

18 Barry and Truxton were Commodores in the American Navy. Desultory sea-fighting with France proceeded in 1799 and 1800 while the negotiations of Adams' second commission were under way. In February, 1800, Commodore Truxton, in command of the American frigate *Constellation*, attacked the French fifty-four gun frigate, *La Vengeance*, off Basseterre and after a long drawn out and desperate engagement put her to flight.

19 Walter Alves, brother of Mrs. James Hogg and member from Orange county of the lower branch of the State Legislature in 1793, 1794, 1795; also Treasurer, Secretary, and Trustee of the University of North Carolina. He later removed to Kentucky and settled near Henderson in that State.

To James Hogg.

Raleigh 14th. March 1801

Dear Sir

Some Business led me to take Halifax in my way Home, that circumstance prevents me from adding to the length of my journey by calling at your place—Before this you will have seen Mr Jeffersons address to the public at his inauguration,¹ which many think very clever and as moderate as could be expected—

If we compare it with those writings attributed to Mr J. viz his letter to Mazzini &c. — one of two things occurs, either that he is a great Hypocrite, or that his *Notions* of our Constitution is greatly changed—In his letter he says “they have given us the forms of the British Governt, & now endeavoring to give us the Substance” — in his address *our Constitution is the best & Strongest, & the Worlds last hope &c*

However, these are only trifles to the inconsistencies & evidences of Mr Jeffersons arts & machivelian policy to get at the head of American affairs; I earnestly hope & pray we may have no worse proofs of those arts & that policy, *than his words & inconsistencies*—

It is very certain our new Admin. have very strong prejudices against Britain, & partiality for France, but they are aware that tho’ they expressed & inculcated those sentiments heretofore, that now they are *Responsible* for the Peace of the Country, having the direction of the Government, it will not do to indulge in those feelings to the extent of their wishes, as it might endanger their *Popularity* with the nation, who regard Peace & Commerce with our best Customers as a primary object — this is a circumstance of which Mr J. & his friends are fully aware of, & will tend to *check their hatred, & partiality* not a little—for tho’ these impressions are strongly rooted in many of them, yet the *wish & Love of Popu-*

1 The Federalist party had been overturned in 1800 and Jefferson, regarded by his party opponents as a rabid radical in whose hands the fate of the country was unsafe, was inaugurated president March 4th 1801. Grove was correspondingly disgruntled. However, Grove was able to again effect his own re-election to Congress this year, but this proved to be his last term.

larity in the new Adminn. will in my opinion bear down all other considerations —

As I presume you have seen Mr Henderson,² I suppose, you have rec'd from him all the news of the day that I am possessed of, therefore I shall add nothing more at present —

The Certift. about your Funded debt, I will forward you at some other time after I get home — I could not get any Bank notes at Washington,³ but *Columbia Bank notes*, and I was informed they did not pass freely in this State, or to the Westward, owing to the small intercourse between the trading part of the Community & the new City — I recd. three quarters Dividends of your Funded debt amounting to \$131 — as well as I now remember, but when we meet, I will furnish you with an exact acct. in the mean time I enclose you \$109 — including one bank note of \$10 — If I am not at your next Supr. Court, I hope to see you at Fayette —

In the mean time I am

with real regard

Dr Sir

Yr. Humbl Sert

W. B. GROVE

To James Hogg.

Washington 9th. March 1802

Dear Sir

Had anything very interesting occurred here, I would have done myself the pleasure of troubling you with a letter before now — You will have seen in the News papers, the course & progress of Public measure under the new Adminish. — time, and wise men, will unfold how far some of those measures are consistent with the Constitution & real interests of the Nation — To undo, much of what had been done under former Adminishs. seems to be the order of the day¹ —

² Archibald Henderson, of Salisbury, Representative of his district in Congress. A Federalist, like Grove, Henderson also lost his seat in 1803.

³ The government took up its permanent residence at Washington, the new Capital, June 15, 1800.

¹ The new Republican Administration, supported by Congress, set itself

On the arrival of the French troops at St Domingo the *Blacks*² resisted their landing, & burnt & massacred all before them — the scene must have been dreadful —

It is feared here, that part of the French forces are intended for New Orleans, as tis believed the Spaniards have ceded that country to Buonaparte³ — this apprehension gives us some uneasiness, for all Parties seem to prefer, the indolent *Aristocratic Dons* for Neighbors, to the *Ambitious* and turbulent *Monsieurs*, notwithstanding their high pretensions to Liberty & Republicanism.

I have recd. from Mr Hooper⁴ your Power of atty to *transfer* your Funded Stock to him, & the Dividends due from Jany 1800 — but tho' the power is sufficient to *transfer the Stock* tis not sufficient to *receive* the Dividends standing in your name — As Mr H. wishes the Stock sold, and the Dividends *received*, I take the liberty to request you to forward me by first Post, a power to draw & receive the same, in the same form, as those you heretofore sent me, to the end I may comply with Mr Hoopers request — I have dropped Mr H. a line informing him of the *defect* in the old power in regard to *receiving* the Dividends standing in your name —

I hope to get away from this place about the middle of April, tho' I suspect Congress will not rise before the 1st. May —

Mrs Grove is pretty well, & desires me to send her respects to you, & Complements. to you and your Household —

With real regard

I am

Dear Sir

yr Humb Ser.

W. B. GROVE

the task of repealing much of the objectionable Federalist legislation effected in its last years and months of power; among these were the Alien and Sedition Acts, the "Mid-night" Judiciary Act, etc.

2 The Island of Hayti was at this date in rebellion against French authority, the blacks being led by the famous Toussaint L'Ouverture.

8 This supposition was correct, the transfer having been made in the treaty of San Ildefonso in the year 1800. All America was stirred by the transfer, fear not being allayed until the territory was purchased from France in 1803.

4 Very probably Thomas Hooper, lawyer, of Hillsboro, son of Wm. Hooper, signer of the Declaration of Independence.

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